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AN

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

CRITICAL STUDY AND KNOWLEDGE

OF THE

HOLY SCRIPTURES.

BY

THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, B.D.

OF SAINT JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;

RECTOR OF THE UNITED PARISHES OF SAINT EDMUND THE KING AND MARTYR AND SAINT NICHOLAS ACONS, LOMBARD STREET; PREBENDARY OF SAINT PAUL'S.

NEW EDITION,

FROM THE EIGHTH LONDON EDITION, CORRECTED AND ENLARGED.

ILLUSTRATED WITH NUMEROUS MAPS AND FAC-SIMILES OF BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

VOLUME I.

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TO

THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

WILLIAM,

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,

In offering to the British Public a new edition of the Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, to whom can I dedicate it with more propriety than to your Grace?

While you, my Lord, presided over the Diocese of London, when I was unknown, except by the publication of the first edition, you were pleased to consider the production of a layman, who, by the death of his parents, had been deprived of the opportunity of prosecuting his studies at one of the Universities, sufficient to authorize your Grace to admit me to Holy Orders: and I was thus enabled to realize the long-cherished wish of devoting myself to the service of our Reformed Church, in attachment to whose principles I had been educated at the Royal and Ancient Foundation of Christ's Hospital.

Your Grace has since honoured my various publications with your approbation; and, in presenting me to the benefice which I now hold, your Grace has enhanced the value of the favour conferred, by the manner in which it was bestowed; kindly and promptly, without expectation, without solicitation.

The former editions of this introduction were inscribed to a late eminent nobleman,* from whom I had received many favours, the grateful remembrance of which I hope to cherish through life. But I could not suffer the work again to go forth to the public, without offering some memorial of my gratitude to your Grace.

The very kind and encouraging reception given to my efforts for facilitating the study of the Sacred Volume has animated me to renewed exertion; and in dedicating to your Grace the Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, with the latest corrections and additions, I indulge the hope that it may prove not unworthy of the patronage which your Grace has been pleased to extend to its author.

I have the honour to subscribe myself, my Lord,

Your Grace's much obliged and faithful Servant,

Thomas Hartwell Horne.

JUNE IV. MDCCCXXXIV.

147021

* The Rt. Hon. Charles, Baron Colchester

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TO

THE SEVENTH LONDON EDITION.

In preparing this edition for the press, encouraged by the very favourable reception given to the former impressions of this work, the Author has carefully revised it throughout; and has availed himself of numerous suggestions for simplifying and improving the arrangement of the several volumes, which, at various times, have been communicated to him. By enlarging the pages, and abridging various parts which would admit of being condensed, as well as by transferring to the appendixes certain articles which had before been incorporated in the body of the work, the Author has been enabled to introduce a considerable quantity of new and important matter, without materially enlarging its size, or at all increasing its price. These various alterations and additions, he trusts, will be found to render his labours not unworthy of a continuance of that patronage with which they have hitherto been honoured; and also, with the Divine Blessing upon his work, will contribute to facilitate the devout and attentive study of "the Holy Scriptures, which alone are able to make us wise unto salvation, through faith, which is in Christ Jesus."

London, June 4, 1834.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

NEW AMERICAN FROM THE SEVENTH LONDON EDITION.

The publishers, on presenting this extensive and valuable work to the public, take the opportunity to say, that they have spared no pains to secure a correct arrangement and impression of the work from the latest London edition, and to have it appear in an improved form and style, and yet at a *lower price* than the former edition. By referring to the Author's Advertisement above, it will also be readily seen that this edition has many and important advantages over any other. It comprises all the Author's most recent improvements and additions; and it will be seen that he has revised the whole work, simplified its arrangement, and added much new and important matter

Philadelphia, October, 1835.

LET THE SWEET SAVOUR OF JEHOVAH OUR GOD BE UPON US,
AND THE WORK WE TAKE IN HAND DIRECT FOR US;
THE WORK WE TAKE IN HAND DO THOU DIRECT!

PSAL. XC. 17. BISHOP HORSLEY'S VERSION.

IF I HAVE DONE WELL AND AS IS FITTING THE STORY, IT IS THAT WHICH I DESIRED; BUT IF SLENDERLY AND MEANLY, IT IS THAT WHICH I COULD ATTAIN UNTO.

2 MACCABEES XV. 38.

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PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.*

The Author of the present work cannot offer a new edition of it to the Public, without expressing the grateful sense he entertains of the very favourable manner in which his volumes have been received. In addition to the extensive circulation which his work has obtained in the Universities and other Theological Seminaries in England, he has the satisfaction of knowing that it has been adopted as a text book in various Universities and Theological Seminaries in North America.

Thus encouraged, the Author has sedulously availed himself of the suggestions which have been liberally communicated to him for correcting his work, and improving its arrangement. By enlarging the pages, as well as employing a small but clear and distinct type in several parts of the work, he has been enabled to introduce a large mass of new and important matter.

The Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, once more offered to the Public, is designed as a comprehensive Manual of Sacred Literature, selected from the labours of the most eminent biblical critics, both British and foreign. It originated in the Author's own wants many years since, at an early period of life; when he stood in need of a guide to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, which would not only furnish him with a general introduction to them, but would also enable him to solve apparent contradictions, and to study the Bible with that attention which its supreme importance demands: for "every sentence of the Bible is from God, and every man is interested in the meaning of it."† At this time the Author had no friend to assist his studies,—or remove his doubts,—nor any means of procuring critical works. At length a list of the more eminent foreign biblical critics fell into his hands, and directed him to some of those sources of information which he was seeking; he then resolved to procure such of them as his very limited means would permit, with the design, in the first instance, of satisfying his own mind on those topics which had perplexed him, and ultimately of laying before the Public the result of his inquiries, should no treatise appear that might supersede such a publication.

The idea thus conceived has been steadily kept in view for more than twenty years;* and although, during that interval, several valuable treatises have appeared on the study of the Holy Scriptures, to which he gladly acknowledges himself indebted for many important hints and illustrations; yet, since no one has been published in the English language, embracing *all* those important subjects, which the Author apprehends to be essential to the Critical Study of the sacred volume, he has been induced to prosecute his investigations, the result of which he tenders for the assistance of others.

The two Volumes,† of which the work now consists, will be found to comprise the following topics:

Volume I. contains a Critical Inquiry into the Genuineness, Authenticity, uncorrupted Preservation and Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, including, among other subjects, a copious investigation of the testimonies from profane authors to the leading facts recorded in the Scriptures, particularly a *new branch of evidence for their credibility*, which is furnished by coins, medals, inscriptions, and ancient structures.—This is followed by a full view of the arguments afforded by miracles and prophecy, for the inspiration of the Scriptures, and by a discussion of the internal evidence for their inspiration, furnished by the sublimity and excellence of the doctrines, and by the purity of the moral precepts, revealed in the

* This preface was first printed in the year 1821: it is now reprinted with the requisite alterations, to adapt it to the present improved arrangement of the following work.

† Bishop Horsley.

* Now upwards of thirty years. [1834.]

† This work being originally in four volumes, the Preface has been slightly altered to suit the present arrangement in two volumes.

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Bible;—the harmony subsisting between every part;—the preservation of the Scriptures to the present time;—and their tendency to promote the present and eternal happiness of mankind, as evinced by an historical review of the beneficial effects actually produced in every age and country by a cordial reception of the Bible; together with a refutation of the very numerous objections which have been urged against the Scriptures in recent deistical publications.

In the first edition of this work* the Author had given a very brief outline of the evidences for the genuineness and inspiration of the Old Testament, and a more extended view of the genuineness, credibility, and inspiration of the New Testament; and, being unwilling to augment, unnecessarily, the number of treatises extant on these subjects, he referred his readers to a few which are justly accounted the most valuable. In preparing the second edition for the press, it was his intention to condense these remarks, and to subjoin a few additional considerations: but he was induced to deviate from this design by the extensive circulation of infidel works and tracts, whose avowed object was, by the unblushing reassertion of old and often refuted objections, or by specious insinuations, to undermine and to subvert the religion of Jesus Christ—"the pillar of society, the safeguard of nations, the parent of social order, which alone has power to curb the fury of the passions, and secure to every one his rights; to the laborious the reward of their industry, to the rich the enjoyment of their wealth, to nobles the preservation of their honours, and to princes the stability of their thrones." *Called upon* by name *from the press*, to consider these objections to Divine Revelation, the author felt it his duty not to shrink from the task; and as the antagonists of the Scriptures have in some degree varied the ground of their attacks, he indulges the hope that a temperate discussion of this subject, accommodated to the present times, may be not unacceptable to the biblical student, who may, perhaps, at some future time, be exposed to meet with the enemies of the Scriptures. To his own mind, indeed, the result of the laborious inquiries, in which he has thus been necessarily involved, has been highly satisfactory:—for, not having access to all the numerous and able defences of Christianity against the infidels of former ages, he has been obliged to consider every objection for himself;—and in every instance he has found that the numerous—he had almost said innumerable—contradictions, alleged to exist in the Sacred Writings, have disappeared before an attentive and candid examination. It may, perhaps, be thought that the gross and illiberal manner, in which some of the productions in question have been executed, renders them unworthy of notice: but nothing surely is unworthy of notice that is calculated to mislead the ignorant or the unwary; and though some of the objections raised by the modern opposers of Divine Revelation are so *coarse* as to carry with them their own refutation, yet others are so concisely and speciously expressed, as to demand several pages,—the result of many days' laborious research, in order to detect their sophistry and falsehood.

When the Author began to prepare this first volume for the press, he had it in contemplation to publish it in a detached form, in order to furnish a ready and immediate reply to the objections which at that time were almost daily issued from the press. In such a form it had even been announced to the Public: but as the objections continued to be multiplied, the work imperceptibly accumulated in its progress; and when the first volume was completed, the Author was obliged reluctantly to abandon the idea of a distinct publication, on account of the additional pecuniary loss which he would inevitably have incurred. He has only to express his ardent hope, that this part of his labours may, through the Divine Blessing, enable his readers to be *ready* ALWAYS *to give an answer to* EVERY MAN *that asketh them a reason of the hope that is in them;* and he most earnestly requests that they will examine and combine, with candour and attention, all the various evidences here adduced for the genuineness, authenticity, credibility, and divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; and then solemnly and deliberately, as rational and accountable beings, deduce that inference from the whole, for which they must hereafter answer at the tribunal of God.

The remainder of this volume, in Two Parts, treats, first, on SACRED CRITICISM; including an Historical and Critical Account of the Original Languages of Scripture, and of the Cognate or Kindred Dialects;—a Critical History of the Text of the Holy Scriptures;—a Critical Notice of the Divisions and Marks of Distinction occurring in Manuscripts and Printed Editions of the Scriptures, and of the Principal Manuscripts of the Old and New Testaments;—and an Account of the Ancient Versions of the Scriptures. These

* The first edition was published June 4th, 1818.

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discussions are followed by dissertations,—On the Causes and Sources of the Various Readings occurring in the Scriptures, with a Digest of the chief Critical Canons for weighing and applying them; on the Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, with New Tables of the Quotations at length,* in Hebrew, Greek, and English, and a Classification of them; showing, *first*, their relative agreement with the Hebrew and with the Septuagint; and, *secondly*, whether they are prophecies cited as literally fulfilled; prophecies typically or spiritually applied; prophecies cited in the way of illustration; or simple allusions to the Old Testament;—and on Harmonies of the Scriptures; including the different schemes of Harmonizers, and observations on the duration of the Public Ministry of Jesus Christ.

The Second Part of the First Volume is appropriated to the INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES; comprehending an investigation of the Sense of Scripture, and of the Signification of Words;—the SUBSIDIARY MEANS for ascertaining the SENSE OF SCRIPTURE; viz. the Testimony of Contemporary Writers, Ancient Versions, Scholiasts and Glossographers, and the Testimony of Foreigners who have acquired a Language; the Context; Subject-Matter; Scope; Analogy of Languages; Analogy of Faith; the Assistance to be derived from Jewish Writings and also from the Greek Fathers, in the Interpretation of the Scriptures; Historical Circumstances; and Commentaries.

These discussions are followed by the application of the preceding principles, for ascertaining the sense of Scripture, to the SPECIAL INTERPRETATION of the Sacred Writings, including the Interpretation of the Figurative Language of Scripture, comprehending the principles of Interpretation of Tropes and Figures; together with an examination of the Metonymies, Metaphors, Allegories, Parables, Proverbs, and other figurative modes of speech occurring in the Bible;—the Interpretation of the Poetical Parts of Scripture; the Spiritual Interpretation of Scripture, including the Interpretation of Types;—the Interpretation of Prophecy, including general Rules for ascertaining the Sense of the Prophetic Writings, with Observations on the Accomplishment of Prophecy in general, and especially of the Predictions relative to the Messiah;—the Interpretation of the Doctrinal and Moral Parts of Scripture, and of the Promises and Threatenings therein contained;—the Interpretation and Means of harmonizing Passages of Scripture, which are alleged to be contradictory;—and the Inferential and Practical Reading of the Sacred Writings.

The utmost brevity, consistent with perspicuity has been studied in this portion of the work; and, therefore, but few texts of Scripture, comparatively, have been illustrated at great length. But especial care has been taken, by repeated collations, that the very numerous references which are introduced should be both pertinent and correct; so that those readers, who may be disposed to try them by the rules laid down, may be enabled to apply them with facility.

An Appendix to this volume comprises a particular examination of the books commonly termed the Apocrypha, of the miracles of the ascension of Jesus Christ, and the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles, and of the difficulties attendant on the propagation of Christianity. These discussions are followed by a table of the chief prophecies relative to the Messiah, both in the Old and New Testament, and by an examination of the genuineness of Josephus's testimony concerning Jesus Christ.

In VOLUME II. will be found a SKETCH OR SUMMARY OF BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUITIES, in four parts:—

PART I. includes an outline of the HISTORICAL and PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY of the Holy Land.

PART II. treats on the POLITICAL and MILITARY AFFAIRS of the Jews, and other nations incidentally mentioned in the Scriptures.

PART III. discusses the SACRED ANTIQUITIES of the Jews, arranged under the heads of Sacred Places, Sacred Persons, Sacred Times and Seasons, and the Corruptions of Religion among the Jews, their Idolatry and various Sects, together with a description of their Moral and Religious State in the time of Jesus Christ.

PART IV. discusses the DOMESTIC ANTIQUITIES, or the PRIVATE LIFE, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AMUSEMENTS, &c. of the Jews, and other nations incidentally mentioned or alluded to in the Holy Scriptures.

This volume contains (besides chronological and other tables of money, weights, and measures) a Biographical, Historical, and Geogra-

* In the first edition, Tables of *References* only were given to the Quotations from the Old Testament in the New; but as these quotations have been frequently made the subject of cavil by the adversaries of the Scriptures, and as *all* students have not the time to find out and compare several hundred references, the Author has now given them at length, accompanied with the best critical remarks which he could collect.

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phical Index of the most distinguished Persons, Nations, Countries, and Places mentioned in the Bible, especially in the New Testament; including an abstract of profane oriental history, from the time of Solomon to the captivity, illustrative of the History of the Hebrews as referred to in the Prophetic Writings, and presenting historical notices of the Assyrian, Chaldee, Median, and Persian empires. In this Index are incorporated References to the Principal Matters contained in this Volume; so as to render it, in fact, both a concise SYSTEM and a DICTIONARY OF BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES.

In this Volume the Author has attempted only a *sketch* of Biblical Geography and Antiquities. To have written a complete treatise on this interesting subject,—as he conceives such a treatise should be written,—would have required a work nearly equal in extent to the present: but though he has been designedly brief in this part of his undertaking, he indulges the hope that few really essential points, connected with sacred antiquities, will appear to have been omitted.

The remainder of this volume is appropriated to the ANALYSIS OF SCRIPTURE. It contains copious Critical Prefaces to the respective Books, and Synopses of their several contents. In drawing up these synopses, the utmost attention has been given in order to present, as far as was practicable, at one glance, a comprehensive view of the subjects contained in each book of Scripture. In executing this part of his work, the Author has endeavoured to steer between the extreme prolixity of some analysts of the Bible and the too great brevity of others; and he ventures to hope, that this portion of his labours will be found particularly useful in studying THE DOCTRINAL PARTS OF THE SCRIPTURES.

A copious APPENDIX to this volume comprises (among other articles) bibliographical and critical notices, methodically arranged, of the principal editions of the Holy Scriptures, and Versions thereof, both ancient and modern, including a history of the chief modern Versions; together with notices of the principal Philologers, Critics, and Commentators who have elucidated the Text, History, and Antiquities of the Bible. These bibliographical notices have been derived partly from the Author's knowledge of their works, partly from the recorded opinions of eminent biblical critics, and partly from the best critical journals and other sources: the preference being invariably given to those which are distinguished by the acknowledged talent and ability with which they are conducted. The facility of commercial intercourse with the Continent, and the sales by auction of several valuable divinity libraries, have also enabled the Author to procure many critical works that would otherwise have been inaccessible.

Throughout the work references have been made to such approved writers as have best illustrated particular subjects; and care has been taken to specify the particular editions of the authorities cited in the notes to the following pages. They are all referred to for the statements contained in the text; many of them furnish details which the limits of the present volumes would not admit; and some few give accounts and representations which the Author thought he had reason to reject. All these references, however, are induced for the convenience of those readers, who may have inclination and opportunity for prosecuting more minute inquiries.

Such are the plan and object of the work, once more submitted to the candour of the Public. The Author has prosecuted his labours under a deep sense of the responsibility attached to such an undertaking; and, though he dares not hope that he can altogether have avoided mistake, yet he can with truth declare that he has anxiously endeavoured not to mislead any one

The Author cannot conclude this preface without tendering his grateful acknowledgments to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London (now ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY), for his liberal offer of access to the Episcopal Library at Fulham;—an offer, the value of which (though he had occasion to avail himself of it only to a limited extent) was greatly enhanced by the kindness and promptitude with which it was made.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

CRITICAL STUDY AND KNOWLEDGE

OF

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

ON THE GENUINENESS, AUTHENTICITY, INSPIRATION, ETC. OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE POSSIBILITY, PROBABILITY, AND NECESSITY OF A DIVINE REVELATION.

I. Revelation defined.—II. Possibility of a Divine Revelation.—III. Probability of such Revelation shown, 1. From the Credit given, in all ages, to false Revelations; 2. From the fact that the wisest philosophers of antiquity thought a Divine Revelation probable, and also expected one.—IV. Necessity of such Revelation proved, 1. From the inability of mere human reason to attain to any certain knowledge of the will of God;—2. From the utter want of authority, which attended the purest precepts of the ancient philosophers; 3. From the actual state of religion and morals among the modern heathen nations.—V. Refutation of the objection, that Philosophy and right Reason are sufficient to instruct men in their Duty.—VI. Possible means of affording a Divine Revelation.

THAT there now is, and that for more than three thousand years there has been, in the world, a separate people called the JEWS, who are distinguished by peculiar customs, and profess a peculiar religion:—Further, that there now is, and that for eighteen centuries there has existed, in the world, a religion called the CHRISTIAN; and that its professors, as well as the Jews, appeal to certain books, by them accounted sacred, as the basis on which their religion is founded:—These are FACTS which no one can controvert.

I. The volume, to which Jews and Christians thus respectively appeal, is termed the BIBLE, that is, THE BOOK, by way of eminence. It comprises a great number of different narratives and compositions, written by several persons, at distant periods, in different languages, and on various subjects. Yet all of these, collectively, claim to be a DIVINE REVELATION, that is, a discovery afforded by God to man of Himself or of His will, over and above what He has made known by the light of nature, or reason.

The objects of our knowledge are of three kinds:—Thus, some things are discernible by the light of nature, without revelation; of this kind is the knowledge of God from the creation of the world, "for his invisible things, even his eternal power and godhead, since the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made." Other things are of pure and simple revelation, which cannot be known by the light of nature: such is the doctrine of the salvation of the world by Jesus Christ. Others, again, are discoverable by the light of nature but imperfectly, and therefore stand in need of a revelation to give them further proof and evidence; of this sort are a future state and eternal rewards and punishments. But of what degree soever the revelation may be, whether partial or entire, whether a total discovery of some unknown truths, or only a fuller and clearer manifestation of them, it must be supernatural, and proceed from God.

II. POSSIBILITY of a Divine Revelation.

No one, who believes that there is a God, and that He is a Being of infinite power, wisdom, and knowledge, can reasonably deny, that He can, if He thinks fit, make a revelation of himself and of his will to men, in an extraordinary way, different from the discoveries made by men themselves, in the mere natural and ordinary use of their own rational faculties and powers. For, if the power of God be almighty, it must extend to whatever does not imply a contradiction, which cannot be pretended in this case. We cannot distinctly explain the origin of our ideas, or the way in which they are excited or impressed upon the human mind; but we know that these ways are very various. And can it be supposed that the author of our being has it not in his power to communicate ideas to our minds, for informing and instructing us in those things, which we are deeply concerned to know? Our inability clearly to explain the manner in which this is done, is no just objection against it.[1]

And as it cannot be reasonably denied that God can, if he sees fit, communicate his will to men in a way of extraordinary revelation, so he can do it in such a manner as to give those, to whom this revelation is originally and immediately made, a full and certain assurance that it is a true divine revelation. This is a natural consequence; for, to suppose that God can communicate his will in a way of extraordinary revelation, and yet that he is not able to give a sufficient assurance to the person or persons to whom he thus reveals his will, is evidently absurd and contradictory. It is, in effect, to say, that he can reveal his will, but has no way of making men know that he does so; which is a most unreasonable limitation of the divine power and wisdom. He, who pretends to pronounce that this is impossible, is bound to pronounce where the impossibility of it lies. If men can communicate their thoughts by speech or language in such a way as that we may certainly know who it is that speaks to us, it would be a strange thing to affirm that God, on supposition of his communicating his mind and will to any person or persons in a way of extraordinary revelation, has no way of causing his rational creatures to know that it is He, and no other, who makes this discovery to them. To admit the existence of a God, and to deny him such a power, is a glaring contradiction.[2]

III. Since then it cannot reasonably be denied, that it is *possible* for God to reveal his will to mankind, let us in the next place consider the PROBABILITY of such a revelation.

1. If any credit be due to the general sense of mankind in every age, we shall scarcely find one that believed the existence of a God, who did not likewise believe that some kind of commerce and communication subsisted between God and man. This was the foundation of all the religious

[1] This has been acknowledged by a late distinguished antagonist of revelation; who observes, that "an extraordinary action of God upon the human mind, which the word inspiration is now used to denote, is not more inconceivable than the ordinary action of mind on body, or body on mind;" and "that it is impertinent to deny the existence of any phenomenon, merely because we cannot account for it." Lord Bolingbroke's Works, vol. ii. p. 468. 4to. edit.

[2] Leland's Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation vol. i pp. 13—15. (8vo. edit. Glasgow, 1819.)

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rites and ceremonies, which every nation pretended to receive from their deities. Hence also the most celebrated legislators of antiquity,—as Zoroaster, Minos, Pythagoras, Solon, Lycurgus, Numa, &c. &c. all thought it necessary to profess some intercourse with heaven, in order to give the greater sanction to their laws and institutions, notwithstanding many of them were armed with secular power.[1] And what gave birth and so much importance to the oracles, divinations, and auguries, in ancient times, was the conscious sense entertained by mankind of their own *ignorance*, and of their *need* of a supernatural illumination; as well as the persuasion, that their gods held a perpetual intercourse with men, and by various means gave them intelligence of future things.

2. The probability of a divine revelation further appears from this circumstance, that some of the wisest philosophers, particularly Socrates and Plato, confessed that they stood in need of such a revelation to instruct them in matters which were of the utmost consequence. With regard to the state of morals, they acknowledged that, as the state of the world then was, there was no human means of reforming it. But they not only saw and acknowledged their great want of a divine revelation, to instruct them in their conduct towards God and towards man; they likewise expressed a strong hope or expectation, that God would, at some future time, make such a discovery as should dispel the cloud of darkness in which they were involved.[2]

IV. From the preceding remarks and considerations, we are authorized to infer, that a divine revelation is not only probable, but also absolutely NECESSARY.

1. In fact, without such revelation, the history of past ages has shown, that mere human reason *cannot* attain to any *certain* knowledge of the will or law of God, of the true happiness of man, or of a future state. To a reflecting and observant mind, the harmony, beauty, and wisdom of all the varied works of creation are demonstrative evidence of a First Great Cause; and the continued preservation of all things in their order, attests a divine and superintending Providence. But the *ultimate* design of God in all his works cannot be perfectly known by the mere light of nature, and consequently our knowledge of his preceptive will or law is equally uncertain, so far as his works disclose it or philosophy has discovered it.[3] Indeed, if we examine the writings of the most celebrated ancient philosophers, we shall find that they were not only ignorant of many important points in religion which revelation has discovered to us, but also that endless differences and inconsistencies prevailed among them in points of the greatest moment; while some of them taught doctrines which directly tend to promote vice and wickedness in the world; and the influence of all, in rectifying the notions and reforming the lives of mankind, was inconsiderable. A concise statement of facts will confirm and illustrate this observation:

(1.) The ideas of the ancients respecting the nature and worship of God were dark, confused, and imperfect.

While some philosophers asserted the being of a God, others openly denied it: others, again, embraced, or pretended to embrace, the notion of a multiplicity of gods, celestial, aërial, terrestrial, and infernal; while others represented the Deity as a corporeal being united to matter by a necessary connexion, and subject to an immutable fate. As every country had its peculiar deities, the philosophers (whatever might be their private sentiments) sanctioned and defended the religion of the state; and urged a conformity to it to be the duty of every citizen. They "diligently practised the ceremonies of their fathers; devoutly frequented the temples of the gods; and sometimes, condescending to act a part on the theatre of superstition, they concealed the sentiments of an atheist under the sacerdotal robes."[4] It is true that insulated passages may be found in the writings of *some* of the philosophers, which *apparently* indicate the most exalted conceptions of the divine attributes and perfections These and similar passages are sometimes regarded with a Christian eye, and thence acquire a borrowed sanctity: but, in order to discover their real value, they must be brought to their own standard, and must be interpreted upon principles *strictly pagan*, in which case the context will be found, either to claim such perfections for the deified mortals and heroes of the popular theology, or to connect them with some of those physiological principles which were held by the different philosophical sects, and effectually subverted the great and fundamental doctrine of one supreme Creator.[5] The religion of the ancient Persians is said to have been originally founded on their belief in one supreme God, who made and governs the world.[6] But a devotion founded on a principle so pure as this, if it survived the first ages after the flood, which cannot be proved, is known with certainty to have been early exchanged for the Sabian idolatry; the blind and superstitious worship of the host of heaven, of the sun, the planets, and the fire,[7] the water, the earth, and the winds.

In consequence of these discordant sentiments, the grossest polytheism and idolatry prevailed among the ancient heathen nations. They believed in the existence of many co-ordinate deities, and the number of inferior deities was infinite:[8] they deified dead, and sometimes living persons; the former often out of injudicious gratitude, the latter usually out of base and sordid flattery. According to the vulgar estimation, there were deities that presided over every distinct nation, every distinct city, every inconsiderable town, every grove, every river, every fountain. Athens was full of statues dedicated to different deities. Imperial Rome, from political principles, adopted all the gods which were adored by the nations who had yielded to her victorious arms, and thought to eternise her empire by crowding them all into the capital. Temples and fanes were erected to all the *passions*, *diseases*, *fears*, and *evils*, to which mankind are subject. Suited to the various characters of the divinities were the rites of their worship. Some were vindictive and sanguinary; others were jealous, wrathful, or deceivers; and all of them were unchaste, adulterous, or incestuous. Not a few of them were monsters of the grossest vice and wickedness: and their rites were absurd, licentious, and cruel, and often consisted of mere unmixed crime, shameless dissipation, and debauchery. Prostitution, in all its deformity, was systematically annexed to various pagan temples, was often a principal source of their revenues, and was, in some

[1] This fact is remarkably confirmed by the celebrated heathen geographer Strabo, whose observation on the supposed intercourse between mankind and the Deity is too striking to be omitted: "Whatever," says he, "becomes of the real truth of these relations, this however is certain, that *men* DID BELIEVE *and think them true*: and, for this reason, prophets were held in such honour, as to be thought worthy sometimes of royal dignity, as being persons who delivered precepts and admonitions from the gods, both while they lived, and also after their death. Such were Tiresias, Amphiaraus, &c. &c. Such *were Moses and his successors*." Strab. Geogr. lib. xvi. pp. 1084, 1085. ed. Oxon.

[2] Plato, de Rep. lib. iv. & vi. and Alcibiad. ii. Dr. Samuel Clarke has exhibited these and other testimonies at length in his Discourse on the Evidence of Natural and Revealed Religion, proposition vi. (Boyle Lectures, vol. ii. pp. 130—135. folio edit.)

[3] On this subject the reader may peruse, with equal pleasure and instruction, Dr. Ellis's elaborate treatise on the "Knowledge of Divine Things from Revelation, not from Reason or Nature," published many years since at Dublin, and reprinted at London in 1811. 8vo. Dr. E. also threw the substance of this treatise into a single discourse, which may be substituted for the preceding by those who may not be able to command the requisite leisure for reading a large volume. The discourse in question is printed in the first volume of the well-known and excellent collection of tracts entitled "The Scholar armed against the Errors of the Time;" and is entitled "An Inquiry, whence cometh Wisdom and Understanding to Man?" It shows satisfactorily, that Religion and language entered the world by divine revelation, without the aid of which man had not been a rational or religious creature; that nothing can oblige the conscience but the revealed will of God; and that such a thing as the law of nature never existed but in the human imagination. The same argument is also discussed in an able but anonymous tract, (now of rare occurrence, and known to be written by the Rev. Dr. James Paton, a divine of the Scottish church,) entitled "An Attempt to show that the knowledge of God has, in all Ages, been derived from Revelation or Tradition. not from Nature." Glasgow, 1773. 8vo.

[4] Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. i. p. 50.

[5] Dr. Ireland, Paganism and Christianity compared, pp. 46, 47. Frank's Essay on the Use and Necessity of Revelation, p. 44. "These ideas of the philosophers of Europe," says Dr. Robertson, "were precisely the same which the Brahmins had adopted in India, and according to which they regulated their conduct with respect to the great body of the people. Wherever the dominion of false religion is completely established, the body of the people gain nothing by the greatest improvements in knowledge. Their philosophers conceal from them, with the utmost solicitude, the truths which they have discovered, and labour to support that fabric of superstition which it was their duty to have overturned." Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India, pp. 283, 284.

[6] Asiat. Researches, vol. ii. p. 58.

[7] Leland's Advant. and Necessity of the Christ. Rev. vol. i. pp. 59. 79.

[8] Thus, the *Chaldeans* had twelve principal deities, according to the number of months in the year; and Zoroaster, the great Persian reformer taught the Medians and Persians that there were two spirits or beings subordinate to one supreme, eternal, and self-existent being, viz. Oromasdes, the angel of light and promoter of happiness and virtue, and Arimanes, the angel of darkness and author of misery and vice.—Varro makes three sorts of *heathen* theology;—the *fabulous*, invented by the poets; the *physical*, or that of the philosophers; and *civil* or popular, which last was instituted in the several cities and countries.—The Greek theology was thus distinguished:—1. God, who rules over all things;—2. The gods, who were supposed to govern above the moon;—3. The demons, whose jurisdiction was in the air below it;—and, 4. The heroes, or souls of dead men, who were imagined to preside over terrestrial affairs. And, besides all these, the evil demons were worshipped, from fear of the mischief they might commit. These facts will account for the prodigious multitude of heathen deities, of which Hesiod computes thirty thousand to be hovering about the earth in the air, unless he is to be understood as meaning an indefinite number. Orpheus reckoned only *three hundred and sixty-five*; Varro enumerated *three hundred* Jupiters; although he himself, together with Cicero, Seneca, and some other eminent philosophers, were ashamed of the heathen deities, and believed that there is but one God.

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countries, even compulsory upon the female population. Other impurities were solemnly practised by them in their temples, and in public, from the very thought of which our minds revolt. Besides the numbers of men who were killed in the bloody sports and spectacles instituted in honour of their deities, human sacrifices were offered to propitiate them.[1] Boys were whipped on the altar of Diana, sometimes till they died. How many lovely infants did the Carthaginians sacrifice to their implacable god Moloch! What numbers of human victims, in times of public danger, did they immolate, to appease the resentment of the offended deities!

It has been said that the mysteries were designed to instruct the people in the principles of true religion and of true morality; and ingenious and learned men have laboured to represent them in this light, and also to show how well calculated they are for this end. "They have said, that the errors of polytheism were detected and exposed, and the doctrines of the divine unity[2] and supreme government taught and explained in them; that the initiated became bound by solemn engagements to reform their lives, and to devote themselves strictly to the practice and cultivation of purity and virtue; and that the celebration of the mysteries was extensive, and their influence great:—'*initiantur*,' says Cicero, '*gentes orarum ultimæ*.'

"It is true, that the priests of the mysteries were highly ostentatious of their own morality, and zealous in their professions to regenerate the people. But the means which they employed were neither suitable nor adequate to that end; nor did they answer it. The mysteries, which it has been pretended were calculated to produce it, served only, in fact, to explain some of the subjects of mythology, and to promote the designs of human policy—to inspire heroism, and to secure civil subordination and obedience. In proof of this we may ask, if they contributed at all to change the people's polytheistical opinions, or to improve their morals? Did they not, in place of becoming better by them, degenerate daily? were they not oppressed more and more by superstition, and dissolved in vice? Did not some of the best and wisest philosophers disapprove of the mysteries?—Alcibiades mocked the gods—Anaxagoras was expelled by the Athenians for the neglect of them. Socrates certainly had no good opinion of the mysteries—he was not initiated into them; and circumstances attending them have been suggested which ought to render their moral tendency more than suspicious.

"They were celebrated in the silence and darkness of the night, with the utmost secrecy. They were frequently conducted under the patronage of the most licentious and sensual deities. The most indecent objects were exhibited, and carried in procession. 'It is a shame,' saith the Apostle, 'even to speak of those things which were done of them in secret.' At last they became so infamous, in respect both of morality and good order, that it was found necessary to prohibit them.

"It is hard to conceive how the mysteries could have any good effect on the morals of the people. It might excite the ambition of a few, to be told that the gods were nothing more than eminent men; but it was more likely to disgust the greater part of them, and to render them completely unbelieving and irreligious. Besides, considering how few were initiated, the influence of the mysteries, even supposing them to have had a beneficial influence, must have been very small on the mass of the people. Farther, the initiated were prohibited, under a solemn oath, ever to reveal the mysteries. Whatever benefit, therefore, they might themselves derive from them, they could communicate none to others; nor could the impression, however strong during the initiation, be always retained with equal strength during life. On the whole, taking the account even of those who favour them, the mysteries neither diminished the influence of polytheism nor promoted the belief of the divine unity; they contributed rather to the increase of superstition, and to the prevalence of licentiousness and vice. If they were designed, as has been affirmed, to show that the public religion had no foundation in truth—to hold it up to contempt—what could have a worse effect on the mind of the people? what more injurious to religious and moral principles and practice, than to exhibit the whole civil and ecclesiastical constitution as a trick and imposition as reared by falsehood and maintained by hypocrisy."[1]

But whatever motives may have induced the first inventors of mysteries to introduce them, the fact is, that they neither did nor could correct the polytheistic notions or the morals of the people, and in the course of time they became greatly corrupted; consequently, they could not but have a bad effect on the people, and tend to confirm them in their idolatrous practices. All men, indeed, under pain of displeasing the gods, frequented the temples and offered sacrifices; but the priests made it not their business to teach them virtue. So long as the people were punctual in their attendance on the religious ceremonies of their country, the priests assured them that the gods were propitious, and they looked no further. "Lustrations and processions were much easier than a steady course of virtue; and an expiatory sacrifice, which atoned for the want of it, was much more convenient than a holy life." Those who were diligent in the observance of the sacred customary rites, were considered as having fulfilled the duties of religion; but no farther regard was had to their morals, than as the state was concerned. It cannot therefore excite surprise, that the polytheistic religion was every where preferred to virtue; and that a contrary course of thinking and acting proved fatal to the individual who professed it.

(2.) They were ignorant of the true account of the creation of the world.

The notion of a Creative Power, that could produce things out of nothing, was above the reach of their natural conceptions. Hence one sect of philosophers[2] held that the world was eternal; another,[3] that it was formed in its present admirable order by a fortuitous concourse of innumerable atoms; and another,[4] that it was made by chance; while those who believed it to have had a beginning in time, knew not by what gradations, nor in what manner, the universe was raised into its present beauty and order.

(3.) They were also ignorant of the origin of evil, and the cause of the depravity and misery which actually exist among mankind.

The more judicious heathens saw and lamented the universal tendency of men to commit wickedness; but they were ignorant of its true source. They acknowledged, generally, that the chief good of man consisted in the practice of virtue; but they complained of an irregular sway in the wills of men, which rendered their precepts of little use: and they could not assign any reason why mankind, who have the noblest faculties of any beings upon earth, should yet generally pursue their destruction with as much industry as the beasts avoid it.

(4.) Equally ignorant were the heathens of any means, ordained and established by the Almighty, by which a reconciliation could be effected between God and man, and His mercy exercised, without the violation of His justice; and by which the pardon of sinners might not only be made consistent with the wisdom of His government, and the honour of His laws, but also the strongest assurances might be given them of pardon, and restoration to the divine favour.

[1] The chief oracles among the heathens appointed human sacrifices: as that at Delphi, that of Dodona, and that of Jupiter Saotes. It was a custom among the Phœnicians and Canaanites, in times of great calamity, for their kings to sacrifice one of their sons, whom they loved best; and it was common both with them, as well as with the Moabites and Ammonites, to sacrifice their children. Further, the Egyptians, the Athenians, and Lacedæmonians, and, generally speaking, all the Greeks;—the Romans, Carthaginians, Germans, Gauls, and Britons;—in short, all the heathen nations throughout the world offered human sacrifices upon their altars; and this, not on certain emergencies and imminent dangers only, but constantly, and in some places every day. Upon extraordinary accidents, *multitudes* were sacrificed at once to their sanguinary deities. Thus, during the battle between the Sicilian army under Gelon and the Carthaginians under Amilcar, in Sicily, the latter remained in his camp, offering sacrifices to the deities of his country, and consuming upon one large pile the bodies of numerous victims. (Herod. lib. vii. c. 167.) When Agathocles was about to besiege Carthage, its inhabitants, seeing the extremity to which they were reduced, imputed all their misfortunes to the anger of Saturn; because, instead of offering up children of noble descent (who were usually sacrificed) there had been fraudulently substituted for them the children of slaves and foreigners. Two hundred children of the best families in Carthage were therefore immolated, to propitiate the offended divinity; to whom upwards of three hundred citizens voluntarily sacrificed themselves, from a sense of their guilt of this pretended crime. (Diod. Sic. lib. xx. c. 14.) On another occasion, the Carthaginians having obtained a victory, immolated the handsomest of their captives, the flame of whose funeral pile was so great as to set their camp on fire. (Ib. lib. xx. c. 65.) Lactantius (Divin. Instit. lib. i. c. 21.) has recorded numerous similar horrid sacrifices of human victims. Besides the preceding authorities, the reader will find numerous additional testimonies, drawn from classic authors, in Dr. Harwood's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. pp. 111—116.; Mr. Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology, vol. ii. pp. 224. 266. 312.; and also in Dr. Leland's Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation, vol. i. ch. 7. pp. 134—157.

[2] Dr. Hill (Essays on the Institutions, &c. of Ancient Greece, p. 52.) is of opinion, after many eminent writers, that the doctrine of the unity of God was taught in the mysteries. See also Bp. Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses, book ii. sect. 4. But Dr. Leland has long since examined the various proofs adduced in support of this sentiment; and has shown that there is great reason to think that the notion of the Deity taught in the mysteries was not a right and just one; and even if it were so, that it would have been of little use, as it was communicated only to a few, and under the strictest seal of secrecy. Advant. and Necessity of the Christian Revelation, vol. i. pp. 169—169

[1] Dr. Ranken's Institutes of Theology, pp. 180, 181. Glasgow, 1822. 8vo.

[2] The Peripatetics. [3] Democritus and his followers [4] The Epicureans.

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"Man is not only a subject of the divine government, and therefore in the highest degree concerned to know the divine law, that he may obey it; but he is also a rebel subject, and therefore in the highest degree concerned to discover the means of restoration to the favour of God. Man has violated such precepts of the divine law as are discovered and acknowledged either by reason or revelation;—such precepts, for instance, as require him to be thankful to his Maker, and sincere, just, and kind to his fellow-men. These things may be considered here as known to be parts of the law of God; because those philosophers who acknowledge God, generally agree that these are, plainly, duties of man. But all men have violated the precepts which require these things. The first interest of all men is, therefore, to obtain a knowledge of the means, if there be any, of reconciliation to God, and reinstatement in the character and privileges of faithful subjects. To be thus reconciled and reinstated, men must be pardoned; and pardon is an act of mere mercy. But of the mercy of God there are no proofs in his Providence."[1] The light of nature, indeed, showed their guilt to the most reflecting of the ancient philosophers; but it could not show them a remedy. From the consideration of the divine goodness, as displayed in the works of creation, some of them indulged the hope that the Almighty *might*, in some way or other (though to them inscrutable), be reconciled; but, in what manner, revelation only could inform them. That God will receive returning sinners, and accept repentance instead of perfect obedience; and that He will not require something further for the vindication of his justice, and of the honour and dignity of his laws and government, and for more effectually expressing his indignation against sin, before He will restore men to their forfeited privileges,—they could not be assured. For it cannot be positively proved from any of the divine attributes, that God is absolutely obliged to pardon all creatures all their sins, at all times, barely and immediately upon their repenting. There arises, therefore, from nature, no sufficient comfort to sinners, but, on the contrary, anxious and endless solicitude about the means of appeasing the Deity. Hence the various ways of sacrificing, and numberless superstitions, which overspread the heathen world, were so little satisfactory to the wiser part of mankind, even in those times of darkness, that the more reflecting philosophers could not forbear frequently declaring[2] that they thought those rites could avail little or nothing towards appeasing the wrath of a provoked God, but that something was wanting, though they knew not what.

(5.) They were ignorant, at least they taught nothing, of divine grace and assistance towards our attainment of virtue, and perseverance in it.

Some of their philosophers forbad men to pray to the gods to make them good,[3] which, they said, they ought to do themselves; while others equalled themselves to the gods;[4] for these, they affirmed, "are what they are by nature; the wise man is what he is by his own industry."[5]—"The gods excel not a wise man in happiness, though they excel him in the duration of happiness."[6]

(6.) They had only dark and confused notions of the *summum bonum* or supreme felicity of man.

On this topic, indeed, Cicero informs us, that there was so great a dissension among the philosophers, that it was almost impossible to enumerate their different sentiments. At the same time he states the opinions of more than twenty philosophers, all of which are equally extravagant and absurd.[7] Not to to enter into unnecessary details, we may remark that, while one sect[8] affirmed that virtue was the sole good, and its own reward, another[9] rejected that notion in the case of virtue in distress, and made the good things of this life a necessary ingredient of happiness; and a third[10] set up pleasure, or at least indolence and freedom from pain, as the final good which men ought to propose to themselves. On these discordant opinions, Cicero very justly remarks, that they who do not agree in stating what is the *chief end or good*, must of course differ in the *whole system* of precepts for the conduct of life.[11]

(7.) They had weak and imperfect notions of the immortality of the soul, which was absolutely denied by many philosophers as a vulgar error, while others represented it as altogether uncertain, and as having no solid foundation for its support.

Concerning the nature of the human soul, various and most contradictory sentiments prevailed: its existence after death was denied by many of the Peripatetics, or followers of Aristotle, and this seems to have been that philosopher's own opinion. On this important topic the Stoics had no settled or consistent scheme; the doctrine of the immortality of the soul was not a professed tenet of their school, nor was it ever reckoned among the avowed principles of the Stoic sect. And even among those philosophers who expressly taught this doctrine, considerable doubt and uncertainty appear to have prevailed. Thus Socrates, shortly before his death, tells his friends, "I hope I am now going to good men, though this I would not take upon me peremptorily to assert; but, that I shall go to the gods, lords that are absolutely good, this, if I can affirm any thing of this kind, I would certainly affirm. And for this reason I do not take it ill that I am to die, as otherwise I should do; but I am in good hope that there is something remaining for those who are dead, and that it will then be much better for good than for bad men."[12] The same philosopher afterwards expressed himself still more doubtfully, and said, that though he should be mistaken, he did at least gain thus much, that the expectation of it made him less uneasy while he lived, and his error would die with him; and he concludes in the following terms:—"I am going out of the world, and you are to continue in it; but which of us has the better part, is a secret to every one but God."[13]

What has been said of Socrates may in a great measure be applied to Plato, the most eminent of his disciples; but they greatly weakened and obscured their doctrine relative to the immortality of the soul, by blending with it that of the transmigration of souls and other fictions, as well as by sometimes expressing themselves in a very wavering and uncertain manner concerning it. And it is remarkable that, though there were several sects of philosophers, who professed to derive their original from Socrates, scarcely any of them taught the immortality of the soul as the doctrine of their schools, except Plato and his disciples; and many of these treated it as absolutely uncertain.

Cicero is justly considered as among the most eminent of those philosophers who argued for the immortality of the soul; yet, he laboured under the same uncertainty that distressed their minds. Though he has treated the subject at considerable length, and has brought forward a variety of cogent arguments in behalf of this doctrine; yet, after he has spoken of the several opinions concerning the nature and duration of the soul, he says, "Which of these is true, God alone knows; and which is most probable, a very great question."[14] And he introduces one complaining, that, while he was reading the arguments for the immortality of the soul, he thought himself convinced; but as soon as he laid aside the book and began to reason with himself, his conviction was gone. All which gave Seneca just occasion to say, that "Immortality, however desirable, was rather *promised* than *proved* by those great men."[15] While the followers of these great philosophers were thus perplexed with doubts, others of the heathen entertained the most gloomy notions,—imagining either that they should be removed from one body to another, and be perpetual wanderers, or contemplating the grave as their eternal habitation,[16] and sadly complaining that the sun and stars could set again, but that man, when his day was set, must lie down in darkness, and sleep a perpetual sleep.[17]

1 Dr. Dwight's Two Discourses on the Nature and Danger of Infidel Philosophy, p. 16.
2 See particularly Plato's Alcibiades, ii. throughout.
3 The Stoics. See Seneca, epist. 31. (op. tom. iii. p. 99. ed. Bipont.)
4 Ibid. ep. 92. (tom. iii. p. 386.)
5 Ibid. ep. 53. (tom. iii. p. 155.)
6 Ibid. ep. 73. (tom. iii. p. 242.)
7 According to Varro, there were nearly *three hundred* opinions concerning the chief good. Augustin. de Civit. Dei. lib. xix. c. 1.
8 The Stoics.
9 The Peripatetics.
10 The Epicureans.
11 Cicero, Acad. Quest. lib. i. in fine.

12 Plato, Phædon. (op. tom. i. p. 143. ed. Bipont.)
13 Apol. Socratis, in fine. (op. tom. i. p. 96.)
14 Cicero, Tusc. Quæst. lib. i.
15 Seneca, ep. 102. See also ep. 117.
16 It is called *Domus Aeterna* in many inscriptions. Gruter, p. dcclx. 5 dccxc. 5. dcccxiii. 6, &c.

17 Soles occidere et redire possunt:
Nobis, quum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda. *Catullus*, V.

Αι αι ται μαλαχαι μεν επαν κατα κᾶπον ολωνται,
Η τα χλωρα σελινα, το τ' ευθαλες οὖλον ανηθον,
Ὕστερον αὖ ζωοντι, και εις ετος αλλο φυοντι·
Αμμες δ' οι μεγαλοι και καρτεροι ησοφοι ανδρες,
Ὁπποτε πρῶτα θανωμεν, ανακοοι εν χθονι κοιλᾳ,
Ευδομες εὖ μαλα μακρον ατερμονα νηγρετον ὕπνον.

Alas! the tender herbs, and flow'ry tribes,
Though crushed by winter's unrelenting hand,
Revive and rise when vernal zephyrs call.
But we, the brave, the mighty, and the wise,
Bloom, flourish, fade, and fall,—and then succeeds
A long, long, silent, dark, oblivious sleep;
A sleep, which no propitious Pow'r dispels,
Nor changing seasons, nor revolving years.
Moschus, Epitaph. Bion.

Jortin's Discourses concerning the Christian Religion, p. 299

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(3.) If the philosophers were thus uncertain concerning the immortality of the soul, their ideas were equally confused respecting the certainty of the eternal rewards and punishments of a future state, and of the resurrection of the body.

For, though the poets have prettily fancied, and have portrayed, in beautiful and glowing verse, the joys of elysium, or a place and state of bliss, and the miseries of tartarus, or hell; and though the ancient philosophers and legislators were sensible of the importance to society and also of the necessity of the doctrine of future punishments, yet they generally discarded them as vain and superstitious terrors; and rejected the very idea of the resurrection of the body as a childish and senseless fable.[1] Hence, in progress of time they were disregarded and ridiculed even among the vulgar, who consequently had no notion whatever concerning the resurrection of the body. Their poets, it is true, made frequent mention of the ghosts of departed men appearing in a visible form, and retaining their former shape in the shades below; yet by these representations (if they mean any thing) they mean no more, than that the soul, after this life, passes into another state, and is then invested with a body composed of light aërial particles, altogether different from those of which it had previously been composed; but that the gross matter, which they saw laid in the grave and turn to corruption, or which had been reduced to ashes on the funeral pile, and had been scattered in the air, should ever be again collected together, raised from the dead, and revivified;—of this the most speculative philosophers never entertained the slightest conception.

This uncertainty concerning those great and fundamental truths was attended with fatal effects, both in principle and practice. In *principle*, it naturally led mankind to call in question the providence, justice, and goodness of God, when they observed the prosperity of the wicked, and the calamities of the righteous, without being sure that either of them should suffer or be rewarded in another state; or else to doubt whether there really was any essential difference between Virtue and Vice, and whether it did not wholly depend upon the institution of men. In *practice*, hope and fear are the two things which chiefly govern mankind, and influence them in their actions; and they must, of course, govern and influence, more or less, in proportion to *the certainty* there is, that the things feared and hoped for are real, and the rewards and punishments assuredly to be expected. And as the corrupt inclinations of human nature will overcome any fear, the foundation of which is but doubtful; so these, being let loose and freed from the apprehension of a future account, will of course carry men into all manner of wickedness. Nor is it sufficient to say, that they are under the restraint of *human* laws; since it is certain, that very great degrees of wickedness may be both harboured in the heart, and carried into execution, notwithstanding the utmost that human authority can do to prevent it.[2]

2. From the ignorance and uncertainty, which (we have seen) prevailed among some of the greatest teachers of antiquity, concerning those fundamental truths, which are the greatest barriers of virtue and religion, it is evident that the heathens had no perfect scheme of moral rules for piety and good manners. Thus, with the exception of two or three philosophers, they never inculcated the duty of loving our enemies and of forgiving injuries; but, on the contrary, they accounted revenge to be not only lawful, but commendable. Pride and the love of popular applause (the subduing of which is the first principle of true virtue) were esteemed the best and greatest incentives to virtue and noble actions; suicide was regarded as the strongest mark of heroism: and the perpetrators of it, instead of being branded with infamy, were commended and celebrated as men of noble minds. But the interior acts of the soul,—the adultery of the eye and the murder of the heart—were little regarded. On the contrary, the philosophers countenanced, both by arguments and example, the most flagitious practices. Thus theft, as is well known, was permitted in Egypt and in Sparta:[3] Plato[4] taught the expediency and lawfulness of exposing children in particular cases; and Aristotle, also, of abortion.[5] The exposure of infants, and the putting to death of children who were weak or imperfect in form, was allowed at Sparta by Lycurgus:[6] at Athens, the great seat and nursery of philosophers, the women were treated and disposed of as slaves, and it was enacted that "infants, which appeared to be maimed, should either be killed or exposed;"[7] and that "the Athenians might lawfully invade and enslave any people, who, in their opinion, were fit to be made slaves."[8] The infamous traffic in human blood was permitted to its utmost extent: and, on certain occasions, the owners of slaves had full permission to kill them. Among the Romans, masters had an absolute power over their slaves, whom they might scourge or put to death at pleasure;[10] and this right was exercised with such cruelty, especially in the corrupt ages of the republic, that laws were made, at different times, in order to restrain it. Death was the common punishment; but, for certain crimes, slaves were branded on the forehead, and sometimes were compelled to carry a piece of wood (called *furca*) round their necks wherever they went. When punished capitally, they were commonly crucified.[11] By the Roman laws, a slave could not bear testimony without undergoing the rack; and if the master of a family were slain in his own house, all his domestic slaves were liable to be put to death, though their innocence was ever so manifest.[12] For the relief of the poor and destitute, especially of slaves, no provision whatever was made. By the Romans, who kept them in great numbers, they were most inhumanly neglected, their masters turned them out of doors when sick, and sent them to an island in the river Tiber, where they left them to be cured by the fabled god Æsculapius, who had a temple there. Some masters, indeed, were so cruel that they killed them when they were sick; but this barbarity was checked by the Emperor Claudius, who decreed that those who put their slaves to death should be punished as murderers; and also that such sick slaves as were turned out by their masters, should have their liberty if they recovered.[13] Customary swearing was commended, if not by the precepts, yet by the example of the best moralists among the heathen philosophers, particularly Socrates, Plato, Seneca, and the Emperor Julian, in whose works numerous oaths by Jupiter, Hercules, the Sun, and other deities, are very frequent. The gratification of the sensual appetites, and of the most unnatural lusts, was openly taught and allowed. Aristippus maintained, that it was lawful for a wise man to steal, commit adultery, and sacrilege, when opportunity offered: for that none of these actions were naturally evil, setting aside the vulgar opinion, which was introduced by silly and illiterate people; and that a wise man might publicly gratify his abominous propensities.[14]

Corresponding with such principles was the moral conduct of the ancients—the most distinguished philosophers and heroes not excepted, whose lives are recorded by Plutarch in a manner the most favourable to their reputation. Many of them

[1] Omnibus à supremo die eadem, quæ ante primum: nec magis à morte sensus ullus aut corpori, aut animæ, quam ante natalem.—.... Puerilem ista deliramentorum, avidæque nunquam desinere mortalitatis commenta sunt. Similis et de asservandis corporibus hominum ac revivisceudi promissa Democrito vanitas.... Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. c. 55.

Neque enim assentior iis, qui hæc nuper disserere cœperunt, cum corporibus simul animos interire, atque omnia morte deleri. Cicero, de Amicitia. c. 3.

[2] Bp. Gibson's Pastoral Letters, Letter ii. (vol. iv. p. 105. of Bp. Randolph's Enchiridion Theologicum, Oxford, 1792.)

[3] Diod. Sic. lib. i. Plutarch. in Lycurgo.

[4] Plato de Republica, lib. v. At Rome, infanticide was regulated by the law of Romulus; and this horrid practice was approved both by Plutarch and Seneca. See Jenkin's Reasonableness of Christianity, vol. ii. v. 521. At Rome a new-born infant was not held legitimate, unless the father, or in his absence some person for him, lifted it up from the ground (*terra levasset*), and placed it on his bosom. Hence the phrase *tollere filium*, to educate, *non tollere*, to expose. But even when his children were grown up, their father might imprison, scourge, send them bound to work in the country, and also put them to death by any punishment he pleased, if they deserved it. Adam's Roman Antiquities, p. 47. 5th edit.

[5] Aristot. Polit. lib. vii. c. 17. [6] Terent. Hecyra.

[7] In republican Athens, *man* was every thing, and women nothing. "Women were literally the serfs of the family inheritance, whether that inheritance consisted in land or money; they were made, with other property, the subject of testamentary bequest (Demosth. 1. Orat. contra Aphobum. Id. contra Stephanum, Orat. 1.); and, whatever delights heirship might convey to an Athenian lady, freedom of person or inclination was not among the number: single or wedded, she became, by the mere acquisition of property, at the mercy of the nearest male relation in succession: she could be brought from the dull solitude of the gynecæum, to become an unwilling bride; or she could be torn from the object of her wedded affection, to form new ties with perhaps the most disagreeable of mankind. And if, under any of these circumstances, nature became more powerful than virtue, life was the penalty paid for the transgression." (Quarterly Review, vol. xxix. p. 327.)

[8] Aristot. Polit. lib. vii. c. 17. [9] Aristot. Polit. lib. v. c. 14.

[10] The celebrated censor, Cato, was a bad master to his unfortunate slaves, whom he never failed to correct with leathern thongs, if they were remiss in their attendance at any entertainments which he gave to his friends, or had suffered any thing to be spoiled. He contrived means to raise quarrels among them, and to keep them at variance, ever suspecting and fearing some bad consequence from their unanimity; and when any of them were guilty of a capital crime, he gave them a formal trial, and in the presence of their fellow slaves put them to death. Plutarch in Catone. (Vitæ, tom. ii. pp. 355, 356. Ed. Brianl.)

[11] Juvenal. Sat. vi. 219, 220.

[12] Digest. lib. xxix. Tit. v. lib. xxxv. Tit. xi. Tacitus informs us, that when Pedanius Secundus, prefect of the city of Rome, was assassinated by a slave, *all* the slaves in his family (four hundred in number) were put to death. Annal. lib. xiv. c. 42—44. vol. ii. pp. 140—142. edit. Bipont. See also Pliny, Epist. lib. viii. ep 14.

[13] Suetonius in Claudio, c 25. [14] Diogenes Laërt. lib. ii. c. 8. § 4.

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it is true, entertained a high sense of honour, and possessed a large portion of patriotism. But these were not *morality*, if by that term we are to understand such dispositions of the mind as are right, fit, and amiable. Their *sense of honour* was not of that kind which made them scorn to do evil; but, like the false honour of modern duellists, consisted merely in a dread of disgrace. Hence many of them not only pleaded for self-murder (as Cicero, Seneca,[1] and others,) but carried about with them the means of destruction, of which they made use rather than fall into the hands of their adversaries, as Demosthenes, Cato, Brutus, Cassius, and others did. And their patriotism, generally speaking, operated not merely in the preservation of their country, but in endeavours to extend and aggrandize it at the expense of other nations: it was a patriotism inconsistent with justice and good-will to mankind. *Truth* was but of small account among many, even of the best heathens; for they taught that on many occasions, a LIE was to be *preferred to the truth* itself![2] To which we may add, that the unlimited gratification of their sensual appetites, and the commission of unnatural crimes, was common even among the most distinguished teachers of philosophy, and was practised even by Socrates himself, "whose morals" (a living opposer of revelation has the effrontery to assert) "exceed any thing in the Bible, for they were free from vice!"—"The most notorious vices," says Quinctilian, speaking of the philosophers of his time, "are screened under that name; and they do not labour to maintain the character of philosophers by virtue and study, but conceal the most vicious lives under an austere look and singularity of dress."[3]

There were indeed some *few* philosophers, who cherished better principles, and inculcated, comparatively, purer tenets; but their instructions were very defective, and they were never able to reform the world, or to keep any number of men in the practice of virtue. Their precepts were delivered to their own immediate pupils, and not to the lower orders of people, who constitute the great mass of society. Concerning these, indeed, the Stoics gave themselves no trouble, but seem to have considered them as little better than beasts. Further, the ethical systems of the philosophers were too refined for the common people; their discourses on subjects of morality being rather nice and subtle disputations than useful instructions; and even those things, of which the philosophers were not only certain themselves, but which they were also able to prove and explain to others with sufficient clearness and plainness (such as are the most obvious and necessary duties of life), they had not sufficient authority to enforce in practice. The truths, which they proved by speculative reason, wanted some still more sensible authority to support them, and render them of more force and efficacy in practice; and the precepts which they delivered, however reasonable and fit to be obeyed, were destitute of weight, and were only the precepts of men.[4] They could press their precepts only by temporal motives. They could not invigorate the patience, excite the industry, stimulate the hopes, or touch the consciences of their hearers, by displaying the awful prospects of eternity. And if *now*, even arguments, founded upon the sublime views of a future state, are often found insufficient to recommend religion and morality, what hopes could *they* have of raising the attention of the multitude?

Hence, the wisest instructions of the philosophers were unable to effect any remarkable change in the minds and lives of any considerable number of men; or to make them willing to lay down their lives for the sake of virtue, as the disciples and followers of Christ are known to have done. In speculation, indeed, it may perhaps seem possible, that the precepts of the philosophers might at least be sufficient to reform men's lives for the *future*; but, in experience and practice, it has appeared impossible for philosophy to reform mankind effectually, without the assistance of some higher principle. In fact, the philosophers never did or could effect any remarkable change in the minds and lives of men, such as the preaching of Christ and his apostles undeniably did produce. The wisest and most sensible of the philosophers themselves have not been backward to complain, that they found the understandings of men so dark and beclouded, their wills so biassed and inclined to evil, their passions so outrageous and rebellious against reason, that they considered the rules and laws of right reason as very difficult to be practised, and they entertained very little hope of ever being able to persuade the world to submit to them. In short, they confessed, that human nature was strangely corrupted; and they acknowledged this corruption to be a disease, of the true cause of which they were ignorant, and for which they could not find out a sufficient remedy: so that the great duties of religion were laid down by them as matters of speculation and dispute, rather than as rules of action; and they were not so much urged upon the hearts and lives of men, as proposed to their admiration. In short, the heathen philosophy was every way defective and erroneous: and, if there were any thing really *commendable* in it, it was owing to traces and scattered portions of the revelations contained in the Scriptures, with which the philosophers had become acquainted through various channels.

Further, if from the principles and practices that obtained in private life, we ascend to those which influenced the governments of the ancient heathen nations, we shall find that the national spirit, which was cherished by their different states, was every where of an exceptionable character. Thus "the eastern sovereigns aimed, with unbounded ambition, at the establishment and extension of despotic power; ruling, excepting in a few instances, with capricious tyranny and licentious indulgence, while their prostrate subjects were degraded and trampled down like the mire in the streets, and rendered base, superstitious, and vile in manners and conduct. The Grecian states cherished a love of freedom, and a generous ardour for noble actions; but they rarely manifested a respect for justice in their contests with other nations, and little regard to the rights of humanity; while, in the internal regulations of their governments, they seldom adhered to the principles of moderation and equity. Their distinguished men excited jealousy and commotions by ambition; and the general classes of the community exhibited a spirit of base ingratitude towards their benefactors, an ungenerous suspicion of their most virtuous rulers, and a hatred of all who were raised to distinction by pre-eminent qualities. They calumniated those who were most entitled to praise, and banished men whose talents did honour to the periods in which they lived, and who have transmitted the fame of their several countries to distant times, persecuting to expulsion and death those whose justice and wisdom have excited the admiration of all succeeding ages. The Romans professed to oppose tyranny, and to spare those subjected to their power; but their object was universal dominion. They displayed the virtues of a stern and military people in rising to eminence, and particularly a noble patriotism and devotion to the public interest; but their lusts engendered unceasing wars, and their internal state was disturbed and agitated with contests for an agrarian equality which never could exist, and with tumults of factious men clamouring for freedom, while they promoted sedition, and aimed at exorbitant power. Dissension and civil wars at length subjected them to imperial authority, which soon degenerated into the despotism of men, raised by military caprice to a short-lived and precarious power, or brought forward by the chance of revolutions; while the empire was shaken by internal enemies, or sunk, in its decline, into feebleness and decay. The laws of nations were not established upon any

[1] Seneca pleads for suicide in the following terms: "If thy mind be melancholy, and in misery, thou mayest put a period to this wretched condition. Wherever thou lookest, there is an end to it. See that precipice; there thou mayest have liberty. Seest thou that sea, that river, that well? Liberty is at the bottom of it. That little tree? Freedom hangs upon it. Thy own neck, thy own throat, may be a refuge to thee from such servitude; yea, every vein of thy body." De Irâ, lib. iii. c. 15.

[2] Dr. Whitby has collected many maxims of the most eminent heathen sages, in corroboration of the fact above stated. The following examples are taken from his note on Eph. iv. 25.:—

Κρειττον δε βλεσθαι ψευδος η αληθες κακον.—*A* lie *is better than a hurtful* truth.—Menander.

Το γαρ αγαθον κρειττον εστι της αληθειας.—Good *is better than* truth.—Proclus.

Ενθα γαρ τι δει και ψευδος λεγεσθαι λεγεσθω.—*When telling a lie will be profitable, let it be told.*—Darius in Herodotus, lib. iii. c. 62.

He may lie, who knows how to do it, εν δεοντι καιρω, *in a suitable time.* Plato apud Stobæum. Serm. 12.

There is nothing decorous in truth, but when it is profitable: Yea, sometimes και ψευδος ωνησεν ανθρωπους και τ' αληθες εβλαψεν.—*Truth is hurtful, and lying is profitable to men.* Maximus Tyrius, Diss. 3. p. 29.

To countenance this practice, Dr. Whitby remarks, that both Plato (de Rep. lib. ii. p. 607. and lib. iii. p. 611.) and the Stoics (Stobæus de Stoicis, tom. i. lib. ii. tit. iv. § 4. and Eclogæ. p. 183.) seemed to have framed a jesuitical distinction between *lying in words*, and *with an assent to an untruth*, which they called *lying in the soul.* The first they allowed *to an enemy in prospect of advantage, and for many other dispensations in this life.* That is, their wise man may tell a lie, craftily and for gain; but he must not embrace a falsehood through ignorance, or assent to an untruth.

[3] Quinctilian, Inst. Orat. Prœm.

[4] Quid ergo? nihilne illi [philosophi] simile præcipiunt? Imo permulta et ad verum frequenter accedunt. Sed nihil ponderis habent illa præcepta; quia sunt humana, et auctoritate majori, id est, divinâ illâ carent. Nemo igitur credit; quia tam se hominem putat esse qui audit, quam est ille qui præcipit. Lactantii Institutiones. lib. iii. c. 27.

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foundation commensurate with the importance of their objects; they were ill defined and little respected. War, particularly in its earliest periods, was little better than pillage and piracy.[1] A respect for heralds and ambassadors,[2] and for the claims of the vanquished, was often violated."[3]

3. Lastly, if we advert to the pagan nations of the *present age*, we learn from the unanimous testimony of voyagers and travellers, as well as from those who have resided for any considerable time among them, that they are immersed in the grossest ignorance and idolatry, and that their religious doctrine and practices are equally corrupt.

Thus, in Tartary, the Philippine islands, and among the savage nations of Africa, the objects of worship are the sun, moon, and stars, the four elements, and serpents; at Tonquin, the several quarters of the earth; in Guinea, birds, fishes, and even mountains; and almost every where, evil spirits. Together with idolatrous worship, sorcery, divination, and magic, almost universally prevail. Among their religious tenets, we may notice that, in Tartary, they believe in two gods, one of heaven, the other of the earth; in Japan, they hold that there are two sorts of gods, and that demons are to be feared; in Formosa, that several gods preside over the several quarters of the earth, one of whom is paramount above the rest, attaining his supremacy by passing through a multitude of bodies; the Tartars and American Indians believe in the transmigration of human souls into the bodies of beasts, and (as many African tribes also believe) that the souls of men after death require meat, drink, and other accommodations of this life. Corresponding with such principles, are the moral conduct of these, and indeed of almost all pagan nations. Polygamy, divorce at the caprice of the husband, and infanticide, are nearly universal. Among many of the African tribes, as well as in America, cannibalism prevails; and almost every where, human lives are sacrificed at the caprice of a tyrannical sovereign.[4] Many of these nations are yet in the deepest barbarism; but if we advert to the actual state of Hindostan and of China, which countries have been highly celebrated for their progress in the useful arts, we shall find that they are equally ignorant of the true object of worship, and equally immoral in private life.

The religion of the Hindoos, like that of the ancient Persians, is affirmed to have originally recognised but one supreme God.[5] But whatever may be found in the Vedas, or books by them accounted sacred, implying the unity of God, is completely disfigured and lost in the multitude of deities or idols associated with him; and in the endless superstitions into which the Hindoo worship has degenerated, from the earliest periods of authentic history. In Hindostan, indeed, the polytheism is of the grossest kind, not fewer than *three hundred and thirty millions of deities* claiming the adoration of their worshippers:—rites the most impure,—penances the most toilsome,—almost innumerable modes of self-torture, as various and extraordinary in kind as a distorted fancy can suggest, and as exquisite in degree as human nature can sustain,—the burning or burying of widows, infanticide, the immersion of the sick or dying in the Ganges, and self-devotement to destruction by the idol Juggernaut, are among the horrid practices that flow from the system of idolatry established among them, and which are exceeded in folly or ferocity by none to which paganism has given birth. The manifest effects of this system are, an immersion into the grossest moral darkness, and a universal corruption of manners. The Hindoo is taught that the image which he beholds is really God, and the heaviest judgments are denounced against him, if he dare to suspect that it is nothing more than the elements of which it is composed.[6] In the apprehensions of the people in general, the idols are real deities: they occupy the place of God, and receive that homage, fear, service, and honour which the ALMIGHTY CREATOR so justly claims. The government of God is subverted, together with all the moral effects arising from the knowledge of his perfections and his claims upon his rational creatures.

[1] Homer and Thucydides, lib. i. and Justin, lib. iv. c. 3.

[2] Herod. lib. vii. c. 133.

[3] Bp. Gray on the Connection between the Sacred Writings and the Literature of Jewish and Heathen Authors, &c. vol. i. pp. 217, 218. 220.

[4] See Miller's History of the Propagation of Christianity, vol. ii. ch. vii. pp. 197—337.

[5] See Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. 172., where the same thing is asserted of the faith of the Arabs and Tartars. See also Sir John Malcolm's Sketch of the Sikhs, p. 147., where the Hindoos are said to have degenerated from a worship, originally pure, into idolatry; though it is, at the same time, admitted in a note, "that the most ancient Hindoos, though they adored God, worshipped the sun and elements."

[6] Asiat. Researches vol viii. pp. 297, 298.

There are, it is true, eastern maxims of morality, which perhaps are not inferior to the purest doctrines of the Greeks and Romans; and it will not be denied by those who have examined them, that they have many points of resemblance even to Christian morality.[7] But, in consequence of the total want of authority (common to them with all other heathen nations), either to enforce what is pure in their morality, or to emancipate the people from the most inveterate and detestable usages, the Hindoos present to us all the same inherent defects which characterize the morality of the ancient western heathens. Institutions of a most malignant nature exist among them, by which the superior and privileged orders are enabled to keep the people in perpetual ignorance and slavery; and to exclude them for ever from the comforts, the duties, and even the society of their fellows. Hence the universal characteristics of the Hindoos are, habitual disregard of truth, pride, tyranny, theft, falsehood, deceit, conjugal infidelity, filial disobedience, ingratitude (the Hindoos have no word expressive of thanks), a litigious spirit, perjury,[8] treachery, covetousness, gaming, servility, hatred, revenge,[9] cruelty, private murder, the destruction of illegitimate children, particularly by procuring abortion (not fewer than *ten thousand* children are computed to be thus murdered in the single province of Bengal every month), and want of tenderness and compassion to the poor, the sick, and the dying.[10]

The religious and moral state of China, though less degraded than that of the Hindoos, is deplorable, notwithstanding its boasted superiority in arts and sciences, and in the wisdom of its institutions. Religion, as a system of divine worship, as piety towards God, and as holding forth future rewards and punishments, can hardly be said to exist among the Chinese. They have no sabbatical institution, no congregational worship, no external forms of devotion, petition, or thanksgiving to the Supreme Being: the emperor, and he alone,—being high-priest, and the only individual who stands between heaven and the people, having the same relation to the former that the latter are supposed to bear to him,—performs the sacred duties according to the ancient ritual, and at certain fixed periods; but the people have no concern with them. All ranks, from the emperor downwards, are full of absurd superstitions, and worship a multitude of imaginary deities. Most of the forms of mythology, which make any figure in the page of history, now exist in China. The Chinese have gods celestial, terrestrial, and subterraneous—gods of the hills, of the valleys, of the woods, of the districts, of the families, of the shop, and of the kitchen!—gods, that are supposed to preside over the thunder, the rain, the fire; over the grain, over diseases, births, and deaths; their idols are silver and gold, wood and stone, and clay, carved or molten. Altars are erected on the high hills, in the groves, and under the green trees; and idols are set up at the corners of the streets, on the sides of the highways, on the banks of canals, in boats and in ships. Astrology, divination, geomancy, and necromancy every where prevail: charms and spells every one possesses. The absurd notion of the transmigration of souls into other bodies is universal; and other articles of faith prevail among them, as various as the modes of worship; in all which the people appear to be rather actuated by the dread of evil in this life, than by the fear of punishment in another. The duties which they perform are more with a view to appease an angry deity, and avert impending calamities, than from any hope of obtaining a positive good. They rather consult or inquire of their gods what may happen, than petition them to grant it, for a Chinese can scarcely be said to pray. He is grateful when the event proves favourable to his wishes, petulant and peevish

[7] See Asiat. Researches, vol. iv. pp. 166, 167.

[8] "False witnesses may be obtained in every place, on the slightest notice, and for a mere trifle. Their price varies in different zillahs: in some sixteen may be had for a rupee, in others ten; but four annas each is what no true son of the trade was ever known to refuse in the interior; and at this rate any number may be collected, to testify to facts they never witnessed." Essays relative to the habits, &c. of the Hindoos, pp. 316 317. London, 1823, 8vo.

[9] Where other revenge for a supposed injury is not in their power, they are known to destroy themselves, expressly in order that the guilt of their death may rest upon their enemies; and in the hope, that, in the process of the metempsychosis (to which they give implicit credit), they may have more speedy opportunity of wreaking their full vengeance on the offender. This custom is called *Dhurna*. See Asiat. Researches, vol. iv. p. 337.

[10] See Ward's History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindoos, 4 vols 8vo. where the facts above noticed are fully detailed. See also Dr. Buchanan's Christian Researches in Asia, and especially Mr. Charles Grant's "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals, and on the means of improving it," in vol. x. of the Reports of the House of Commons (1812—1813). Tit East India Company, Fourth Part.

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with his gods when it is adverse. Though some *individual* instances of integrity have occurred in the intercourse of the Chinese with Europeans, yet their *general* character is that of fraud, lying, and hypocrisy. Polygamy universally prevails, as also the cruel practice of exposing infants to perish, not fewer than nine thousand of whom are computed to be annually destroyed at Pekin, and the same number in the rest of the empire.[1]

Nor is the case materially different with the Mohammedans. Though their religion includes the acknowledgment of one living and true God; yet, rejecting the Messiah, and attaching themselves to a sanguinary and lascivious impostor, it produces no good effect upon their morals, but leaves them under the dominion of barbarity and voluptuousness. These and similar instances of corruption in worship, doctrine, and practice, which have prevailed and still exist in the heathen world, fully prove the utter insufficiency of natural reason to be a guide in religion; and also show into what monstrous opinions and practices whole nations may be led, where that is their guide, without any help from revelation. Nor will it diminish the force of this argument, to say, that these instances of corruption are owing to an undue use of their reason, or that the measure of reason, possessed by the heathen nations, is low and imperfect; since they are sufficiently skilful in whatever concerns their political or personal interests, in the arts of annoying their neighbours, and defending themselves against incursions, in forming alliances for their defence, and conducting the ordinary affairs of life according to the manners and customs of their several countries. Nor are the absurdities in religion, which are found among the modern heathen nations, greater than those which (we have already seen)[2] existed among the polished nations of antiquity before the publication of the Gospel: which are a joint proof that no age or country, whether rude or civilized, instructed or uninstructed, infected or uninfected with plenty or luxury, is or can be secured by mere natural reason against falling into the grossest errors and corruptions in religion; and, consequently, that all mankind stand in need of a divine revelation to make known to them the will of God, and the duties and obligations which they owe to their Creator.

V. Notwithstanding these important *facts*, and regardless of the confessions of the most distinguished ancient philosophers of their need of a revelation, it is OBJECTED by many in our own times, that there is no necessity for one; that the book of nature is the only book to be studied; and that philosophy and right reason are sufficient to instruct and to preserve men in their duty.

ANSWER 1. It is an undeniable fact, that the doctrines of Christianity (without considering at present what evidence and authority they possess) have had a more powerful influence upon men, than all the reasonings of the philosophers: and though modern opposers of revelation ascribe the ignorance and corruption of the heathen, not to the insufficiency of the light of reason, but to their non-improvement of that light; yet, if this were true, it would not prove that there is no need of a revelation, because it *is certain* that the philosophers wanted some higher assistance than that of reason.

ANSWER 2. With regard to the pretences of modern deists, it is be observed that almost all men, where the Scriptures have been unknown, have in every age been gross idolaters; the few exceptions that have existed, being in general a kind of atheistical philosophers. Deists, properly so called, are chiefly found in Christian countries, in the later ages, since Christianity has extensively prevailed over idolatry,[3] and in the countries where gross pagan idolatry could no longer be practised with credit and security. In these circumstances, deists acquire, as it were at second-hand, their glimmering light from the book to which they oppose it; and it is a fact that almost all the things, which have been said wisely and truly by them, ARE MANIFESTLY BORROWED FROM THAT REVELATION WHICH THEY REFUSE TO EMBRACE, AND WITHOUT WHICH THEY NEVER COULD HAVE BEEN ABLE TO HAVE DELIVERED SUCH TRUTHS. *Now*, indeed, that our whole duty is clearly revealed, we not only see its agreement *with* reason, but are also enabled to deduce its obligation *from* reason: but, if we had been destitute of all revealed religion, it would have been a work of extreme difficulty to have discovered our duty in all points. What ground indeed have the modern contemners of revelation to imagine, that, if they had lived without the light of the gospel, they would have been wiser than Socrates, Plato, and Cicero? How are they certain that they would have made such a right use of their reason, as to have discovered truth? If their lot had been among the vulgar, are they sure that they would not have been idolaters? If they had joined themselves to the philosophers, what sect would they have followed? Or, if they had set up for themselves, how are they certain that they would have been skilful enough to have deduced the several branches of their duty, or to have applied them to the several cases of life, by argumentation and force of reason? It is *one* thing to perceive that the rules of life, which are laid before us, are agreeable to reason, and *another* thing to find out those rules by the mere light of reason. We see that many, who profess to govern themselves by the written rules of revealed religion, are nevertheless ignorant of their duty; and how can any man be sure that *he* should have made such a good use of his reason, as to have perfectly understood his duty without help? We see that many of those,—who profess firmly to believe in that great and everlasting happiness which Christ has promised to obedience, and that great and eternal misery which he has threatened against disobedience,—are yet hurried away by their lusts and passions to transgress the conditions of that covenant to which these promises and threatenings are annexed; and how can any man be sure, that he should be able to overcome these temptations, if these motives were less known, or less powerfully enforced? But, suppose that he could by strength of reason demonstrate all these things to *himself* with the utmost possible clearness and distinctness, yet all men are not equally capable of being philosophers, though all men are obliged to be equally religious. At least, thus much is certain, that the rewards and punishments of another world cannot be so powerfully enforced, in order to influence the lives of men, by a demonstration of their reality from abstract reasoning, as by one who assures them, by sufficient credentials, that he has actually been in that other state.

ANSWER 3. Besides, the contradictory and discordant speculations of the modern opposers of revelation, who boast that reason is their God (even if they had not long since been fully answered), are so great and so glaring, and the precepts delivered by them for a rule of life are so utterly subversive of every principle of morality, as to demonstrate the absolute necessity of a divine revelation *now* (supposing one had never been given), in order to lead men to the worship and knowledge of the true God, and also to impart to them the knowledge of their duties to him, and towards one another. A brief statement of the recorded opinions of the principal opposers of revelation in modern times, will prove and justify this remark.

1. *Concerning religion, the worship of God, and the expectations of mankind respecting a future state:*

LORD HERBERT, of Cherbury (who wrote in the former part of the seventeenth century, and was the first, as he was the greatest and best of the modern deistical philosophers), has laid down the following positions, viz. that Christianity is the best religion; that his own universal religion of na

[1] Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. iii. part i. article *China*. Barrow's Travels in China, pp. 418—487. Milne's Retrospect of the Protestant Mission to China, pp. 29, 30.

[2] See pp. 16, 17. *supra*.

[3] The name of *Deists*, as applied to those who are no friends to revealed religion, is said to have been first assumed, about the middle of the sixteenth century, by some gentlemen in France and Italy, who were willing to cover their opposition to the Christian revelation by a more honourable name than that of *Atheists*. The earliest author, who mentions them, is Viret, a divine of great eminence among the first reformers; who, in the epistle dedicatory prefixed to the first tome of his "*Instruction Chrétienne*" (which was published in 1563), speaks of some persons at that time who called themselves by a new name, that of *Deists*. These, he tells us, professed to believe a God, but showed no regard to Jesus Christ, and considered the doctrine of the apostles and evangelists as fables and dreams. He adds that they laughed at *all* religion; notwithstanding they conformed themselves, externally, to the religion of those with whom they were obliged to live, or whom they were desirous of pleasing, or whom they feared. Some of them, he observes, professed to believe the immortality of the soul; others were of the Epicurean opinion in this point, as well as about the providence of God with respect to mankind, as if he did not concern himself in the government of human affairs. He adds, that many among them set up for learning and philosophy, and were considered as persons of an acute and subtile genius; and that, not content to perish alone in their error, they took pains to spread the poison, and to infect and corrupt others by their impious discourses, and their bad examples. Bayle's Dictionary, article Viret, cited in Dr. Leland's View of the Deistical Writers, vol. i. p. 2.

Modern infidelity, though it may assume the title of Deism, is in fact little better than disguised atheism. A man seldom retains for any length of time his first deistical opinions; his errors gradually multiply, till he sinks to the last gradation of impiety. The testimony of an infidel writer substantiates this point. "Deism," says he, "is but the first step of reason out of superstition. No person remains a Deist, but through want of reflection, timidity, passion, or obstinacy."—Brittan's Modern Infidelity Portrayed, p. 9.

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sure agrees wholly with Christianity, and contributes to its establishment; that all revealed religion (meaning Christianity) is absolutely uncertain, and of little or no use; that there is one supreme God, who is chiefly to be worshipped; that piety and virtue are the principal part of his worship; that we must repent of our sins, and if we do so, God will pardon them; that there are rewards for good men, and punishments for wicked men in a future state; that these principles of his universal religion are clearly known to all men, and that they were principally unknown to the Gentiles (who comprised almost all men). Yet, notwithstanding his declaration in favour of Christianity, he accuses all pretences to revelation of folly and unreasonableness, and contemptuously rejects its capital doctrines.

MR. HOBBES, who was partly contemporary with Lord Herbert, affirms that the Scriptures are the voice of God, and yet that they have no authority but what they derive from the prince or the civil power; he acknowledges, that inspiration is a supernatural gift, and the immediate hand of God, and yet the pretence to it is a sign of madness; that a subject may hold firmly the faith of Christ in his heart, and yet may lawfully deny him before the magistrate, and that in such a case it is not he that denies Christ before men, but his governor and the laws of his country; that God exists, and yet that that which is not matter is nothing; that honour, worship, prayer, and praise are due to God, and yet that all religion is ridiculous.

MR. BLOUNT, who lived during the latter part of the seventeenth century, maintained that there is an infinite and eternal God, the creator of all things, and yet he insinuates that the world was eternal; that the worship we owe to God consists in prayer to Him, and in praise of Him, and yet he objects to prayer as a duty; that we are to expect rewards and punishments hereafter, according to our actions in this life, which includes the immortality of the soul, and yet that the soul of man is probably material (and of course mortal).

The EARL OF SHAFTESBURY lived during the close of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century. He affirms that nothing can be more fatal to virtue than the weak and uncertain belief of future rewards and punishments; and that this belief takes away all motives to virtue; that the hope of rewards and the fear of punishments make virtue mercenary; that it is disingenuous and servile to be influenced by rewards; and that the hope of rewards cannot consist with virtue; and yet that the hope of rewards is so far from being derogatory to virtue, that it is a proof we love virtue; that however mercenary the hope of rewards and the fear of punishments may be accounted, it is in many instances a great advantage, security, and support of virtue; that all obligation to be virtuous arises from the advantages (that is, the rewards) of virtue, and from the disadvantages (that is, the punishments) of vice; that those are to be censured who represent the Gospel as a fraud; that he hopes the Select Sermons of Dr. Whichcot (to which Lord Shaftesbury had written an elegant preface) will induce the enemies of Christianity to like it better, and make Christians prize it the more; and that he hopes Christians will be secured against the temper of the irreconcileable enemies of the faith of the Gospel; and yet he represents salvation as a ridiculous thing; and insinuates that Christ was influenced and directed by deep designs of ambition, and cherished a savage zeal and persecuting spirit; and that the Scriptures were a mere artful invention, to secure a profitable monopoly (that is, of sinister advantages to the inventors); that man is born to religion, piety, and adoration, as well as to honour and friendship; that virtue is not complete without piety; yet he labours to make virtue wholly independent of piety; that all the warrant for the authority of religious symbols (that is, the institution of Christianity) is the authority of the magistrate; that the magistrate is the sole judge of religious truth, and of revelation; that miracles are ridiculous; and that, if true, they would be no proof of the truth of revelation; that ridicule is the test of truth; and yet, that ridicule itself must be brought to the test of reason; that the Christian religion ought to be received when established by the magistrate; yet he grossly ridicules it where it was thus established; that religion and virtue appear to be so nearly connected, that they are presumed to be inseparable companions; and yet that atheists often conduct themselves so well, as to seem to force us to confess them virtuous; that he, who denies a God, sets up an opinion against the very well-being of society; and yet that atheism has no direct natural tendency to take away a just sense of right and wrong.

MR. COLLINS also wrote in the early part of the eighteenth century, and published a variety of objections against revelation. He affirms that man is a mere machine;—that the soul is material and mortal;—that Christ and his apostles built on the predictions of fortune-tellers and divines;—that the prophets were mere fortune-tellers, and discoverers of lost goods;—that Christianity stands wholly on a false foundation; yet he speaks respectfully of Christianity; and also of the Epicureans, whom he at the same time considers as atheists.

Contemporary with Collins was MR. WOOLSTON; who, in his Discourses on the Miracles of our Saviour, under the pretence of vindicating the allegorical sense of Scripture, endeavours absolutely to destroy the truth of the facts recorded in the Gospels. This writer asserts, that he is the farthest of any man from being engaged in the cause of infidelity;—that infidelity has no place in his heart;—that he writes for the honour of Jesus and in defence of Christianity;—and that his design in writing is to advance the Messiahship and truth of the holy Jesus; "to whom," he says, "be glory for ever, Amen;" and yet, that the Gospels are full of incredibilities, impossibilities, and absurdities;—that they resemble Gulliverian tales of persons and things, which out of romance never had a being;—that the miracles, recorded in the Gospels, taken literally, will not abide the test of reason and common sense, but must be rejected, and the authority of Jesus along with them; and at the same time, he casts the most scurrilous reflections on Christ.

With the two preceding writers DRS. TINDAL and MORGAN were contemporary. The former declares that Christianity, stripped of the additions which mistake, policy, and circumstances have made to it, is a most holy religion; and yet, that the Scriptures are obscure, and fit only to perplex men, and that the two great parts of them are contradictory;—that all the doctrines of Christianity plainly speak themselves to be the will of an infinitely wise and holy God; and yet, that the precepts of Christianity are loose, undetermined, incapable of being understood by mankind at large, give wrong and unworthy apprehensions of God, and are generally false and pernicious;—that natural religion is so plain to all, even the most ignorant men, that God could not make it plainer, even if he were to convey, miraculously, the very same ideas to all men; and yet, that almost all mankind have had very unworthy notions of God, and very wrong apprehensions of natural religion;—that the principles of natural religion are so clear, that men cannot possibly mistake them; and yet, that almost all men have grossly mistaken them, and imbibed a superstition worse than atheism. Dr. MORGAN asserts that God may communicate his will by immediate inspiration, and yet that it can never be proved that he has thus communicated his will, and that we are not to receive any thing on the authority of revelation.

Nearly at the same time were published numerous tracts by MR. CHUBB, in some of which he assumed the garb of Christianity, though it is not difficult to perceive that his true intention was to betray it. He declares that he hopes to share with his friends in the favour of God, in that peaceful and happy state which God has prepared for the virtuous and faithful, in some other future world; and yet, that God does not interpose in the affairs of this world at all, and has nothing to do with the good or evil done by men here;—that prayer may be useful, as a positive institution, by introducing proper thoughts, affections, and actions; and yet he intimates that it must be displeasing to God, and directly improper;—that a state of rewards and punishments hereafter is one of the truths which are of the highest concern to men; and yet, that the arguments for the immortality of the soul are wholly unsatisfactory; and that the soul is probably matter;—that men are accountable to God for all their conduct, and will certainly be judged and dealt with according to the truth and reality of their respective cases; and yet, that men will not be judged for their impiety or ingratitude to God, nor for their injustice and unkindness to each other; but only for voluntary injuries to the public; and that even this is unnecessary and useless;—that God may kindly reveal to the world, when greatly vitiated by error and ignorance, truths necessary to be known, and precepts necessary to be obeyed; and yet, that such a revelation would be, of course, uncertain and useless;—that Christ's mission is, at least in his view, probably divine; and yet, that Christ, in his opinion,

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was of no higher character than the founder of the Christian sect (that is, another Sadoc, Cerinthus, or Herbert);—that the New Testament, particularly the writings of the apostles, contain excellent cautions and instructions for our right conduct; and that the New Testament yields much clearer light than any other traditionary revelation; and yet that the New Testament has contributed to the perplexity and confusion of mankind, and exhibits doctrines heretical, dishonourable to God, and injurious to men; and that the apostles were impostors; and that the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles resemble Jewish fables and popish legends rather than accounts of facts;—that as, on the Christian scheme, Christ will be the judge of the quick and the dead, he has not on this account (that is, admitting this to be true) any disagreeable apprehension on account of what he has written; and yet he ridicules the birth and resurrection of Christ, represents his instructions as inferior to those of the heathen philosophers and lawgivers, asserts his doctrines to be dishonourable to God and injurious to mankind, and allows him not to be sinless, but merely not a gross sinner. He further declares, that the resurrection of Christ, if true, proves not the immortality of the soul;—that the belief of a future state is of no advantage to society;—that all religions are alike; that it is of no consequence what religion a man embraces; and he allows not any room for dependence on God's providence, trust in him, and resignation to his will, as parts of duty or religion.

LORD BOLINGBROKE declares that power and wisdom are the only attributes of God, which can be discovered by mankind; and yet that he is as far from denying the justice as the power of God; that his goodness is manifest; at the same time he ascribes every other perfection to God, as well as wisdom and power, and says, this is rational;—that the wisdom of God is merely a natural attribute, and in no sense moral; and yet, that the wisdom of God operates in choosing what is fittest to be done (of course, it is a moral attribute, involving perfect moral rectitude, as well as perfect knowledge);—that God is gracious and beneficent;—that whatever God has done is just and good;—that such moral perfections are in God as Christians ascribe to him; yet he censures divines for ascribing these perfections to God;—that we learn from our own power and wisdom, the power and wisdom of God; and yet, that it is profane to ascribe the excellencies of our nature to God, although without limit or imperfection. He undertakes to defend the righteousness of God against divines; and yet asserts that holiness and righteousness in God are like nothing in men; that they cannot be conceived of by men, nor argued about with any certainty; and that to talk of imitating God in his moral attributes is blasphemy;—that God made all things; and yet, that he did not determine the existence of particular men (of course he did not determine the existence of any man, all men being particular men);—that he will not presume to deny, that there have been particular providences; and yet, that there is no foundation for the belief of any such providences, and that it is absurd and profane to assert or believe them;—that God is just, and that justice requires that rewards or punishments be measured to particular cases, according to their circumstances, in proportion to the merit or demerit of every individual, and yet, that God does not so measure out rewards or punishments; and that, if he did, he would subvert human affairs; that he concerns not himself with the affairs of men at all; or, if he does, that he regards only collective bodies of men, not individuals; that he punishes none, except through the magistrate; and that there will be no state of future rewards or punishments;—that divines are deserving of censure for saying that God made man to be happy; and yet he asserts that God made man to be happy here, and that the end of the human state is happiness;—that the religion of nature is clear and obvious to all mankind; and yet that it has been unknown to the greatest part of mankind;—that we know material substance, and are assured of it; and yet, that we know nothing of either matter or spirit;—that there is, undeniably, something in our constitution, beyond the known properties of matter; and yet, that the soul is material and mortal; and that to say the soul is immaterial, is the same thing as to say that two and two are five;—that self-love is the great law of our nature; and yet, that universal benevolence is the great law of our nature;—that Christianity is a republication of the religion of nature, and a benevolent system; that its morals are pure; and that he is determined to seek for genuine Christianity with the simplicity of spirit with which Christ himself taught it in the Gospel; and yet a great part of his works, particularly of his philosophical works, was written for no other end but to destroy Christianity. He also declares, that there is no conscience in man, except artificially;—that it is more natural to believe many gods than to believe one.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century flourished DAVID HUME, whose acuteness of observation, and elegant style, have secured for his writings an extensive circulation. He asserts that there is no perceptible connection between cause and effect;—that the belief of such connection is merely a matter of custom;—that experience can show us no such connection;—that we cannot with any reason conclude that, because an effect has taken place once, it will take place again;—that it is uncertain and useless to argue from the course of nature, and infer an intelligent cause;—that we cannot, from any analogy of nature, argue the existence of an intelligent cause of all things;—that there is no reason to believe that the universe proceeded from a cause;—that there are no solid arguments to prove the existence of a God;—that experience can furnish no argument concerning matters of fact, is in this case useless, and can give rise to no inference or conclusion; and yet, that experience is our only guide in matters of fact, and the existence of objects;—that it is universally allowed, that nothing exists without a cause;—that every effect is so precisely determined, that no other effect could, in such circumstances, have possibly resulted from the operation of its cause;—that the relation of cause is absolutely necessary to the propagation of our species, and the regulation of our conduct;—that voluntary actions are necessary, and determined by a fixed connection between cause and effect;—that motives are causes operating necessarily on the will;—that man is a mere machine (that is, an object operated on necessarily by external causes);—that there is no contingency (that is, nothing happening without a settled cause) in the universe; and that matter and motion may be regarded as the cause of thought (that is, the soul is a material cause, and thought its effect);—that God discovers to us only faint traces of his character; and that it would be flattery or presumption to ascribe to him any perfection which is not discovered to the full in his works (and of course, that it would be flattery or presumption to ascribe any perfection to God);—that it is unreasonable to believe God to be wise and good;—that what we believe to be a perfection in God may be a defect (that is holiness, justice, wisdom, goodness, mercy, and truth may be defects in God);—consequently injustice, folly, malice, and falsehood may be excellencies in his character;—that no reward or punishment can be rationally expected beyond what is already known by experience and observation.

While Hume and Bolingbroke were propagating these sentiments in England, Voltaire, Diderot, D'Alembert, Frederick II. King of Prussia, and other distinguished writers had confederated for the avowed purpose of annihilating the Christian religion. The printed works of the three first-named writers are too voluminous to admit of extracts: but it may be stated generally, that their private correspondence, which has been published, exhibits a total disregard of truth and honour, together with such a disgusting compound of falsehood, envy, malignity, hatred, contempt of one another and of all the world, as cannot but convey a horrible impression of the spirit and tendency of infidelity. It is however principally in the posthumous works of the King of Prussia that we see a faithful delineation of the real tenets and opinions of the most celebrated philosophers of the Continent, of the founders and legislators of the great empire of infidelity, with the philosophic monarch himself at their head. Every secret of their hearts is there laid open in their familiar and confidential correspondence with each other; and there we see that they were pretended deists, but *real* atheists; that, although the name of a Supreme Being was sometimes mentioned, yet it was seldom mentioned but with ridicule and contempt; and that they never conceived him to be any thing more than the intelligent principle that animates all nature, the source of life and motion, the sensorium of the universe; but in other respects totally unconnected with the earth and its inhabitants. "In consequence of this doctrine these philosophers rejected all idea of a providence and a moral governor of the world. They ascribed every effect to fate or fortune, to necessity or chance; they denied the existence of a soul distinct from the body; they conceived man to be nothing more than an organized lump of matter, a mere machine, an ingenious piece of clock-work, which, when the wheels refuse to act, stands still, and loses all power and motion for

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ever. They acknowledged nothing beyond the grave, no resurrection, no future existence, no future retribution; they considered death as an eternal sleep, as the total extinction of our being; and they stigmatized all opinions different from these with the names of superstition, bigotry, priestcraft, fanaticism, and idolatry."[1]

Such are the various, contradictory, and impious tenets promulgated by the most eminent champions of what is called deism[2] (and which have been repeated in different ways by the opposers of revelation in our age), concerning religion, the worship of God, and the expectations of mankind respecting a future state. We shall only add, that though the infidels of the present day profess to be the disciples of nature, and to receive her unerring instructions, yet they differ from each other with an almost endless variety. Having gradually receded from true Christianity to false, some are unbelievers in the nature, some in the providence, and others even in the existence of a God; but all of them are unanimous in rejecting the divine testimony, and in renouncing the God of the Bible. Let us now take a brief view,

2. *Of their precepts concerning morals.*

LORD HERBERT declared, that men are not hastily, or on *small grounds*, to be condemned, who are led to sin by bodily constitution; that the indulgence of lust and of anger is no more to be blamed than the thirst occasioned by the dropsy, or the drowsiness produced by lethargy.

MR. HOBBES asserted that the civil or municipal law is the only foundation of right and wrong; that where there is no civil law, every man's judgment is the only standard of right and wrong; that the sovereign is not bound by any obligation of truth or justice, and can do no wrong to his subjects; that every man has a right to all things, and may lawfully get them if he can!

LORD BOLINGBROKE resolved all morality into self-love as its principle, and taught that ambition, the lust of power, sensuality, and avarice may be lawfully gratified, if they can be *safely* gratified; that the sole foundation of modesty is vanity, or a wish to show ourselves superior to mere animals; than man lives only in the present world, and is only a superior animal; that the chief end of man is to gratify the appetites and inclinations of the flesh; that modesty is inspired by mere prejudice; and that polygamy is a part of the law or religion of nature. He also intimates that adultery is no violation of the law of nature; and that there is no wrong, except in the highest lewdness.

MR. HUME (the immorality of whose principles is displayed in his *Private Correspondence* recently published)[3] maintained, that self-denial, self-mortification, and humility are not virtues, but are useless and mischievous; that they stupify the understanding, sour the temper, and harden the heart; that pride, self-valuation, ingenuity, eloquence, quickness of thought, easiness of expression, delicacy of taste, strength of body, and cleanliness, are virtues; and, consequently, that to want honesty, to want understanding, and to want strength of body, are equally the subjects of moral disapprobation; that adultery *must* be practised, if men would obtain all the advantages of life; that, if generally practised, it would in time cease to be scandalous; and that if practised secretly and frequently, it would by degrees come to be thought no crime at all!!!

MR. GIBBON, one of the most decent of modern infidels, has given a biographical account of himself, and what is the result of the moral portrait there exhibited? Amid all the polish and splendour of literary culture, not a single line of moral beauty is perceptible. There is "no fear of God, no reverence for sacred things, no regard for the welfare of the human race; but the most heartless and sordid selfishness, vain glory, a desire of admiration, adulation of the great and wealthy, contempt of the poor, and supreme devotedness to his own gratification."

Both VOLTAIRE and HELVETIUS advocated the unlimited gratification of the sensual appetites, and the latter held that it is not agreeable to policy to regard *gallantry* (that is, unlawful intercourse with married women) as a vice in a moral sense; and that, if men will call it a vice, it must be acknowledged that there are vices which are useful in certain ages and countries! In other words, that in those countries such vices are virtues. ROUSSEAU, a thief, a liar, and a debauched profligate, according to his own printed "Confessions;" also had recourse to *feelings* as his standard of morality. "I have only to consult myself," said he, "concerning what I do. All that I *feel* to be right, is right. Whatever I *feel* to be wrong, is wrong. All the morality of our actions lies in the judgment we ourselves form of them"[4] And just before the French revolution broke out, it is a known fact that the idea of moral obligation was exploded among the infidel clubs that existed in every part of France.

Such is the morality taught by some of those who in the last century claimed to be received as the masters of reason. It were no difficult task to add to their precepts many similar ones from the opponents of revelation in our own times; but as they only re-assert the atheistical and immoral tenets of their predecessors with increased malignity and grossness, we shall spare the reader the pain of perusing passages that cannot but shock the mind of every one who cherishes the least regard for decency or social order. Let us advert, however, for a moment, to the effects produced by these principles on an *entire people*, and also on *individuals*.

The only instance in which the avowed rejectors of revelation have possessed the supreme power and government of a country, and have attempted to dispose of human happiness according to their own doctrines and wishes, is that of France during the greater part of the revolution, which, it is now well known, was effected by the abettors of infidelity. The great majority of the nation had become infidels. The name and profession of Christianity was renounced by the legislature; and the abolition of the Christian æra was proclaimed. Death was declared by an act of the republican government to be an eternal sleep. The existence of the Deity, and the immortality of the soul, were formally disavowed by the National Convention; and the doctrine of the resurrection from the dead was declared to have been only preached by superstition for the torment of the living. All the religions in the world were proclaimed to be the daughters of ignorance and pride; and it was decreed to be the duty of the convention to assume the honourable office of disseminating atheism (which was blasphemously affirmed to be truth) over all the world. As a part of this duty, the convention further decreed, that its express renunciation of all religious worship should, like its invitations to rebellion, be translated into all foreign languages; and it was asserted and received in the convention, that the adversaries of religion had deserved well of their country! Correspondent with these professions and declarations were the effects actually produced. Public worship was utterly abolished. The churches were converted into "temples of reason," in which atheistical and licentious homilies were substituted for the proscribed service; and an absurd and ludicrous imitation of the pagan mythology was exhibited under the title of the "religion of reason." In the principal church of every town a tutelary goddess was installed with a ceremony equally pedantic, frivolous, and profane; and the females, selected to personify this new divinity, were mostly prostitutes, who received the adorations of the attendant municipal officers, and of the multitudes, whom fear, or force, or motive of gain, had collected together on the occasion. *Contempt* for religion or decency became the test of attachment to the government; and the gross infraction of any moral or social duty was deemed a proof of civism, and a victory over prejudice. All distinctions of right and wrong were confounded. The grossest debauchery triumphed. The reign of atheism and of reason was the reign of terror. "Then proscription followed upon proscription; tragedy followed after tragedy, in almost breathless succession, on the theatre of France. Almost the whole nation was converted into a horde of assassins. Democracy and atheism, hand in hand, desolated the country, and converted it into one vast field of rapine and of blood." In one part of France, the course of a river (the Loire) was impeded by the drowned bodies of the ministers of religion, several hundreds of whom were destroyed in its waters; children were sentenced to death for the faith and loyalty of their parents; and they, whose infancy had sheltered them from the fire of the soldiery, were bayoneted as they clung about the knees of their destroyers. The moral and social ties were unloosed, or rather torn asunder. For a man to accuse his own father was declared to be an act of civism, worthy of a true republican; and to neglect it, was pronounced a crime that should be punished with death. Accordingly, women denounced their

[1] Bp. Porteus's Charge in 1794. (Tracts, pp. 266, 267.)

[2] Dr. Dwight's Nature, &c. of Infidel Philosophy, pp. 20—42. Most of the preceding statements of the opposers of revelation, as well as of those which follow concerning morals, are selected from Dr. Leland's View of the Deistical Writers, where their identical expressions are given, and their fallacies are exposed with great depth of argument and learning.

[3] "Correspondence of David Hume with several distinguished Persons." London, 1820. 4to

[4] Helvetius, De l'Esprit, tom. i. disc. 2. ch. 15. p. 176, *et seq.*

[5] Emilius, tom. i. pp. 166—168.

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husbands, and mothers their sons, as bad citizens and traitors; while many women, not of the dress of the common people nor of infamous reputation, but respectable in character and appearance, seized with savage ferocity between their teeth the mangled limbs of their murdered countrymen. "France during this period was a theatre of crimes, which, after all preceding perpetrations, have excited in the mind of every spectator amazement and horror. The miseries suffered by that single nation have changed all the histories of the preceding sufferings of mankind into idle tales, and have been enhanced and multiplied without a precedent, without a number, and without a name. The kingdom appeared to be changed into one great prison; the inhabitants converted into felons; and the common doom of man commuted for the violence of the sword and bayonet, the sucking boat and the guillotine. To contemplative men it seemed for a season as if the knell of the whole nation was tolled, and the world summoned to its execution and its funeral." Within the short period of ten years, not less than three millions of human beings are supposed to have perished, in that single country, by the influence of atheism. Were the world to adopt and be governed by the doctrines of revolutionary France, what crimes would not mankind perpetrate? What agonies would they not suffer?[1] Yet republican France is held up in the present day as an example worthy to be followed in this country!

With regard to the influence of deism on individuals, we may remark that the effects which it produces are perfectly in unison with the principles which its advocates have maintained. In order to accomplish their designs, there is no baseness in hypocrisy to which they have not submitted. Almost all of them have worn a mask of friendship, that they might stab Christianity to the heart; they have professed a reverence for it, while they were aiming to destroy it. Lord Herbert, Hobbes, Lord Shaftesbury, Woolston, Tindal, Chubb, and Lord Bolingbroke, were all guilty of the vile hypocrisy of lying, while they were employed in no other design than to destroy it. Collins, though he had no belief in Christianity, yet qualified himself for civil office by partaking of the Lord's Supper; and Shaftesbury and others were guilty of the same base hypocrisy. "Such faithless professions, such gross violations of truth in Christians, would have been proclaimed to the universe by these very writers as infamous desertions of principle and decency. Is it less infamous in themselves? All hypocrisy is detestable; but none is so detestable as that which is coolly written with full premeditation, by a man of talents, assuming the character of a moral and religious instructor, a minister, a prophet of the truth of the infinite God. Truth is a virtue perfectly defined, mathematically clear, and completely understood by all men of common sense. There can be no haltings between uttering truth and falsehood, no doubts, no mistakes; as between piety and enthusiasm, frugality and parsimony, generosity and profusion. Transgression, therefore, is always a known, definitive, deliberate villany. In the sudden moment of strong temptation, in the hour of unguarded attack, in the flutter and trepidation of unexpected alarm, the best man may, perhaps, be surprised into any sin; but he, who can coolly, of steady design, and with no unusual impulse, utter falsehood, and vent hypocrisy, is not far from finished depravity.

"The morals of Rochester and Wharton need no comment. Woolston was a gross blasphemer. Blount solicited his sister-in-law to marry him, and being refused shot himself. Tindal was originally a protestant, then turned papist, then protestant again, merely to suit the times, and was at the same time infamous for vice in general, and the total want of principle. He is said to have died with this prayer in his mouth: 'If there is a God, I desire that he may have mercy on me.' Hobbes wrote his Leviathan to serve the cause of Charles I., but finding him fail of success, he turned it to the defence of Cromwell, and made a merit of this fact to the usurper; as Hobbes himself unblushingly declared to lord Clarendon. Morgan had no regard to truth; as is evident from his numerous falsifications of Scripture, as well as from the vile hypocrisy of professing himself a Christian in those very writings in which he labours to destroy Christianity. Voltaire, in a letter now remaining, requested his friend D'Alembert to tell for him a direct and palpable lie, by denying that he was the author of the Philosophical Dictionary. D'Alembert in his answer informed him, that he had told the lie. Voltaire has indeed expressed his own moral character perfectly in the following words: 'Monsieur Abbé, I must be read, no matter whether I am believed or not.'"[2] He also solemnly professed to believe the religious tenets of the Romish church, although at the same time he doubted the existence of a God, and at the very moment in which he was plotting the destruction of Christianity, and introducing the awful watch-word of his party, "*Ecrasez l'Infame*"[3]—at that very moment, with bended knee, and uplifted eye, he adored the cross of Christ, and received the host in the communion of the church of Rome. This man was also a shameless adulterer, who, with his abandoned mistress, violated the confidence of his visitors, by opening their letters;[4] and his total want of all principle, moral or religious, his impudent audacity, his filthy sensuality, his persecuting envy, his base adulation, his unwearied treachery, his tyranny, his cruelty, his profligacy, and his hypocrisy, will render him for ever the *scorn*, as his unbounded powers will the wonder, of mankind.

The dishonesty, perjury, and gross profligacy of Rousseau, who alternately professed and abjured the Roman catholic and protestant religions, without believing either, and who died in the very act of uttering a notorious falsehood to his Creator,—as well as of Paine and other advocates of infidelity,—are too notorious to render it necessary to pollute these pages with the details of them.

VI. Since then the history and actual condition of mankind, in all ages, concur to show that a divine revelation is not only possible and probable, but also absolutely necessary to recover them out of their universal corruption and degeneracy, and to make known to them the proper object of their belief and worship, as well as their present duties and future expectations; it remains that we consider THE POSSIBLE MEANS OF COMMUNICATING SUCH REVELATION TO THE WORLD.

There appear to be only two methods by which an extraordinary discovery of the will of God may be made to man: viz. 1. An immediate revelation, by inspiration or otherwise, to every individual of the human race; or else, 2. A commission, accompanied with indisputable credentials, bestowed on some to convince others that they were actually delegated by God, in order to instruct them in those things which he has revealed.

1. But it cannot seem requisite that the Almighty should *immediately inspire, or make a direct revelation to*, EVERY *particular person in the world*: for either he must so powerfully influence the minds and affections of men, as to take away their choice and freedom of acting (which would be to offer violence to human nature); or else men would, for the most part, have continued in their evil courses and practices, and have denied God in their lives; though their understandings were ever so clearly and fully convinced of his will and commandments, as well as of his eternal power and godhead.

But even if God were willing to vouchsafe some immediate revelation of himself to vicious and immoral persons, how can we be assured that they would be converted? Would they not rather find out some pretence to persuade themselves that it was no *real* revelation, but the effect of natural agents, or of melancholy and a disturbed imagination? They might, perhaps, be terrified for the present; but there is every reason to apprehend, from the known infirmity and depravity of mankind, that such persons would soon stifle their terrors with their accustomed arguments for atheism and infidelity.

Independently, however, of the *inefficacy* of immediate revelation to every man in particular, supposing it to be thus made—great and universal confusion would be the result. "It would unhinge our minds; it would break the main-spring of the mental world, and throw it back into the state of moral chaos. It would render uncertain every criterion of right and wrong, of truth and error. It would set aside all those rules by which we learn, and reason, and judge. It would break down every barrier of reason, and let the fancy loose to play her wildest freaks, and indulge her most delirious dreams. It would destroy the freedom as well as the regularity of our minds, and compel an involuntary assent to whatever God might be supposed to dictate:" and, in short, it would fill the world with continual impostures and delusions; for, if every one had a revelation to himself, every one might pretend to others what he

[1] The details, on which the above representation is founded, may be seen at length in the Abbé Barruel's Memoirs of Jacobinism; Gifford's Residence in France during the Years 1792—1795, vol. ii. and Adolphus's History of France, vol. ii. Dwight's System of Theology, vol. i. p. 82.

[2] Dwight on Infidelity, pp. 47, 48.

[3] *Crush the Wretch!* meaning Jesus Christ.

[4] See the publication intituled *Vie Privée de Voltaire et de Madame du Chatelet*, Paris, 1820, 8vo.

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pleased; and one man might be deluded by the pretence of a revelation made to another, against an express revelation made to himself. And this, we may conclude, would often happen from what we experience every day: for if men can be perverted by the arts and insinuations of others, against their own reason and judgment, they might as well be prevailed upon to act against a revelation made to them; though revelations should be things as common and familiar among men as reason itself is.

Immediate revelations, therefore, to every particular individual, would have been needless and superfluous; they would have been unsuitable to the majesty and honour of God: they would have been ineffectual to the ends for which they were designed; and would have afforded occasion for many more pretences to impostures than there are now in the world.

2. The only other way by which the divine will can be revealed to mankind, is that which the Scriptures affirm to have actually been employed; viz. the qualifying of certain persons to declare that will to others, by infallible signs and evidences that they are authorized and commissioned by God. What those evidences are, will be discussed in a subsequent page. It is, however, but reasonable to suppose, that divine revelations should be committed to writing, in order that they might be preserved for the benefit of mankind, and delivered down genuine and uncorrupted to posterity: for,

(1.) Oral Tradition is so uncertain and so insecure a guide, that if a revelation claiming to be divine be not transmitted by writing, it cannot possibly be preserved in its purity, or serve mankind as a certain rule of faith and of life.

In illustration of this remark, we may observe, that writing is a more secure method of conveyance than tradition, being neither so liable to involuntary mistakes, through weakness of memory or understanding, nor so subject to voluntary falsifications, suppressions, or additions, either out of malice or design. "It is also a method of conveyance more natural and human. It is nothing extraordinary for a book to be transmitted pure and entire from generation to generation: but a traditionary doctrine, especially if it be of any considerable length, cannot really be preserved without a miracle, without the occasional interposition of Almighty God to renew the memory of it at particular intervals, or his continual assistance and inspiration to keep it always alive and vigorous. It is likewise a method of conveyance more complete and uniform, presenting itself to all at once, and to all alike, to be compared together; whereas a traditionary doctrine must be communicated by little and little, and without doubt communicated differently at different times by different persons. It is, moreover, a method of conveyance more general and diffusive. A man's writings reach further than his words; and surely we need not observe, that it is the practice of mankind, whenever they would publish any thing, to have it written or printed in a book."[1]

(2.) Further, *experience* shows that writing is a method of conveyance more lasting than tradition.

It is an old and trite observation, that a word heard perishes, but a letter written remains.[2] Jesus Christ is said to have performed many other miracles, and to have done many other memorable things, besides those which have been committed to writing;[3] but, observe, how much more faithful record is than mere report; the few, comparatively speaking, which were written, are preserved and credited, while the many, which were not recorded in writing, have long since been utterly lost and forgotten. "Every thing, of any consequence, we desire to have in writing. By this, laws are promulgated; by this, arts and sciences are propagated; by this, titles and estates are secured. And what do we know of ancient history, but the little that cometh down to us in books and writings? Tradition passeth away like the morning cloud; but books may live as long as the sun and moon endureth."[4]

(3.) To the preceding arguments for the usefulness and expediency of written revelation, arising from the uncertainty of oral tradition, and the greater security and advantages of writing, we may add, that it is certainly more fair and open, more free from suspicion of any fraud or contrivance, to have a religion preserved in writing, there to be read and examined by all, than to have it left only with a few, to be by them communicated in discourse to others; as no two persons express the same thing exactly in the same manner, nor even the same person at different times.

The heathen philosophers had their *exoteric* and *esoteric* doctrines, as they distinguished them; that is, some which they generally delivered, and others which they communicated only to a few select auditors: but the first propagators of Christianity, knowing no such distinction, delivered the *whole* doctrine which they professed to have received from God. The heathen priests had their mysteries, which were to be concealed from the profane vulgar; but Christianity can never be made too public. Most other religions also are committed to writing for the use of their particular professors; and it would be a prejudice to the Christian religion if it did not enjoy the same advantage. "The Jews had what they called an oral law, as well as a *written* one; and the one as well as the other they asserted to have been given by God on Mount Sinai—the oral to serve as a comment or explanation of the written law. But, in process of time, these traditions multiplied so fast, that the Jews found it necessary to keep their traditions no longer as traditions, but committed them to writing; and they are now preserved in the books called the Talmuds. So fallible is tradition, so much more secure is writing, even in the opinion of the greatest traditionists: and if the doctrines of religion must, one time or other, be written, it is better surely to have them written by inspired authors at first, than by others afterwards."

(4.) Lastly, the importance of the matter, the variety of the subjects, and the design of the institutions, contained in those books, which Jews and Christians account to be sacred, are additional reasons why they should be committed to writing. "The matter is of no less importance than the whole will of God and the salvation of mankind, our duty here and our happiness hereafter; and if any thing deserves to be written, do not these things [deserve to be recorded] in the most lasting characters? The subjects likewise are very various histories of times past and prophecies of things to come, orations and epistles, sublime points of faith and plain rules of practice, hymns and prayers and thanksgivings, all too excellent to be forgotten, but too many all to be remembered. The law was for a single nation; but the Gospel is for the whole world. For a single nation it was requisite that their laws should be written, or to what can they appeal, and by what can they regulate their practice? And if it was necessary for the law to be written, it was certainly much more necessary for the Gospel, which was designed to be both of perpetual and universal obligation, a religion for all ages and for all nations."[5]

The necessity of a divine revelation having been proved and the probability that such a revelation would be given to mankind having been shown, it remains that we examine the pretensions of the Old and New Testaments to be that revelation. Among the numerous attacks which have been made on the truth of Christianity, one of the most formidable is that which is directed against the authenticity of the Scriptures. It has been asserted, that we derive a set of rules and opinions from a series of books, which were not written by the authors to whom we ascribe them; and that the volume to which we give the title of divine, and which is the basis of our faith and manners, is a forgery of later ages. It is therefore of importance to ascertain, first, the genuineness, authenticity, and incorruptness of the several books contained in the Bible, considered simply as compositions: the credibility of their respective authors will next be investigated; and their claims to be received as divinely inspired will then be examined. In discussing these momentous topics, it would, perhaps, be the shorter way, to prove first, the genuineness, authenticity, incorruptness, and inspiration of the New Testament:[6] for, if its claims to be received as a divinely inspired book be admitted, no reasonable doubt can be entertained of the divine inspiration, &c. of the Old Testament; because the writers of the New Testament incessantly appeal to it, and make ample quotations from it. As, however, the modern impugners of revelation have directed their arguments chiefly *against*

[1] Bp. Newton's Works, vol. iv. dissert. 2. pp. 19—23. 8vo. edit. The same line of argument, and nearly in similar terms, is stated and illustrated by Archbishop Tillotson, Works, vol. vi. pp. 233. et seq. London, 1820. 8vo.

[2] Vox audita perit, littera scripta manet. [3] John xx. 30. xxi. 25

[4] Bp. Newton's Works, vol. iv. p. 24.

[5] Bp. Newton's Works, vol. iv. p. 28.

[6] This is the method pursued by Bishop Marsh, in his Course of Lectures on the several Branches of Divinity. Part. VII Lectures xxxi.—xxxvii. Cambridge. 1823, 8vo.

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the Old Testament, in order that, by impeaching its credibility, they may with greater probability of success undermine and invalidate the dispensation revealed in the New Testament, we shall commence with the Old Testament;[1] because if that be true (the dispensation it contains being introductory to that contained in the New Testament) the latter, being founded on and perfective of the former, must of necessity be true also. By adopting this arrangement, it is possible that some few arguments may be repeated; but the importance of the subjects discussed will (it is hoped) be deemed a satisfactory apology for such unavoidable repetitions.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE GENUINENESS AND AUTHENTICITY OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

SECTION I.

ON THE GENUINENESS AND AUTHENTICITY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. *The Hebrew Scriptures why termed the Old Testament.*—II. *Great importance of the question, whether the Books contained in the Old Testament are genuine or spurious.—Genuineness and Authenticity defined.*—III. *Genuineness of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament.*—1. EXTERNAL PROOFS *of the Genuineness of the Old Testament.*—(1.) *The Manner in which these Books have been transmitted to us.* (2.) *The Paucity of Books extant when they were written.* (3.) *The Testimony of the Jews.* (4.) *A particular Tribe was set apart to preserve these Writings.* (5.) *Quotations of them by ancient Jews.* (6.) *The evidence of ancient Versions.*—2. INTERNAL EVIDENCE.—(1.) *Language, style, and manner of writing.* (2.) *Circumstantiality of the Narratives contained in the Old Testament.*—IV. *Proofs of the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch in particular.*—1. *From the language in which it is written.*—2. *From the nature of the Mosaic law.*—3. *From the united historical testimony of Jews and Gentiles.*—4. *From the contents of the Pentateuch.*—V. *Objections to the authenticity of the Pentateuch considered and refuted.*

I. THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES WHY TERMED THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The books, which the Hebrews, Israelites, or Jews have long venerated as divine, are usually called "THE OLD TESTAMENT," in order to distinguish them from those sacred books, which contain the doctrines, precepts, and promises of the Christian religion, and which are distinguished by the appellation of "THE NEW TESTAMENT." The appellation of "TESTAMENT" is derived from 2 Cor. iii. 6. 14.; in which place the words ἡ Παλαιὰ Διαθήκη and ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη are by the old Latin translators rendered *antiquum testamentum* and *novum testamentum*, old and new testament, instead of *antiquum fœdus* and *novum fœdus*, the *old and new covenant*; for although the Greek word διαθήκη signifies both testament and covenant, yet it uniformly corresponds with the Hebrew word *Berith*, which constantly signifies a covenant.[2] The term "old covenant," used by St. Paul in 2 Cor. iii. 14., *does not* denote the entire collection of writings which we term the Bible, but those ancient institutions, promises, threatenings, and, in short, the whole of the Mosaic dispensation, related in the Pentateuch, and in the writings of the prophets; and which in process of time were, by a metonymy, transferred to the books themselves. Thus we find mention made of the *book of the covenant* in Exodus (xxiv. 7.), and in the apocryphal book of Maccabees (1 Macc. i. 57.): and after the example of the Apostle, the same mode of designating the sacred writings obtained among the first Christians, from whom it has been transmitted to modern times.[3]

II. GREAT IMPORTANCE OF THE QUESTION, WHETHER THE BOOKS CONTAINED IN THE OLD TESTAMENT ARE GENUINE OR SPURIOUS.

If the books contained in the Old Testament were not written by those authors to whom they are ascribed, or nearly in those ages to which they are supposed to belong, but, on the contrary, were written by authors who lived at a much later period—that is, if they were *suppositious* or *spurious*, the history which is related in them would by no means be worthy of the great credit that is given to it; the design which pervades these books would have been an imposition upon a later age, and the accomplishment of that design in the New Testament would be altogether an extraordinary and singular occurrence; the miracles therein recorded to have been anciently performed would have been the invention of a later age, or natural events would have been metamorphosed into miracles; the prophecies, asserted to be contained in those books, would have been invented *after* the historical facts which are narrated in them; and, lastly, Jesus Christ and his apostles would have approved and recommended the works of impostors. Hence it is evident of what GREAT IMPORTANCE the question is, whether these books are GENUINE, that is, *whether they were written by the persons whose names they bear*, and (especially if the authors be unknown) *about that time which is assigned to them, or at which they profess to have been written*; and also, whether they are AUTHENTIC; that is, *whether they relate matters of fact as they really happened, and in consequence possess authority.* For, a book may be genuine that is not authentic; a book may be authentic that is not genuine; and many are both genuine and authentic, which are not inspired. The first epistle of Clement, Bishop of Rome, is genuine, having been written by the author whose name it bears; but it possesses no authority on which we can found any doctrines. "The history of Sir Charles Grandison is genuine, being indeed written by Richardson, the author whose name it bears; but it is not authentic, being a mere effort of that ingenious writer's invention in the production of fictions. Again, the Account of Lord Anson's Voyages is an authentic book, the information being supplied by Lord Anson himself to the author; but it is not genuine, for the real author was Benjamin Robbins, the mathematician, and not Walters, whose name is appended to it. Hayley's Memoirs of the Life of Cowper are both genuine and authentic; they were written by Mr. Hayley, and the information they contain was deduced from the best authority."[4] But the poems, which bear the name of Rowley, are neither genuine nor authentic, not having been written by him, nor by any one who lived in the fifteenth century, but being wholly the productions of the unhappy youth Chatterton, who lived three hundred years afterwards.

III. GENUINENESS OF THE CANONICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The word CANON (from the Greek ΚΑΝΩΝ) signifies not only a catalogue or list, but also a law or rule. This term has been appropriated ever since the fourth century to the catalogue of writings which are admitted by Jews and Christians as a divine rule of faith and manners.[5]

In what age and by what author any book is written is a

[1] Besides the authorities above cited, the author has been largely indebted for the materials of this Chapter to the Collection of Boyle Lectures, in 3 vols. folio, (London, 1739); particularly to the Lectures of Bishops Williams and Leng, and of Dr. Samuel Clarke; to Dr. Leland's "Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation shown from the State of Religion in the ancient Heathen World," 3d edition, in 2 vols. 8vo. (Glasgow and London, 1819); and to the same author's masterly "View of the Deistical Writers." The reader, who may not be able to consult these valuable works, will find a well written "Comparative View of Natural and Revealed Religion," in the second volume of "Christian Essays," by the Rev. S. C. Wilks. London, 1817, 8vo.

[2] Jerome, Comment. in Malachi, ii. 2. Op. tom. iii. p. 1816.

[3] Dr. Lardner has collected several passages from early Christian writers who thus metonymically use the word "Testament." Works, 8vo vol. vi. p. 9. 4to. vol. iii. p. 14[illegible]

[4] Dr. O. Gregory's Letters on the Evidences, &c. of the Christian Religion, vol. i. p. 84. 2d edit.

[5] Suiceri Thesaurus, tom. ii. p. 40. voce Κανων

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question of fact, which can only be answered by historical proofs. These historical proofs are,

1. Unexceptionable witnesses, who possessed both the means of knowing, and who were also willing to communicate the truth; and,

2. Certain marks which may be discerned in the subject-matter, diction, genius, and style of the books, and which show that they were written by the authors to whom they are ascribed, or about the age to which they are referred.

The former are termed *external* arguments, and the latter, *internal*; and as these two species of testimony are universally admitted to be sufficient for proving the genuineness of the writings of Thucydides, Plutarch, or Livy, or of any other ancient profane authors, no further testimony ought to be required in the present question.

1. EXTERNAL PROOFS OF THE GENUINENESS AND AUTHENTICITY OF THE CANONICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

(1.) As those who were coeval with each Hebrew writer, and transcribed the book which they received from his own hands, and also delivered their copies to others to be transcribed, certainly knew by whom and at what time such book was published; and as these, having a certain knowledge of the author and of the age in which he lived, delivered such book to their immediate descendants, and these again to their posterity, and so from one generation to another through all succeeding ages,—all these persons jointly testify that such book is the genuine production of the author whose name it bears, and of the age in which he lived.

(2.) The books, thus transmitted from one generation to another (especially in that very remote age when the first books of the Old Testament were written), could not but remain, both more easily, as well as more certainly, uncorrupted, and be propagated with fidelity, because at that time there were but few books, and also because the tradition relative to their origin was most easily recollected. And as this tradition (which was not communicated in the schools to their pupils by learned men, whose various conjectures sometimes obscure truth, but in private houses by fathers to their children),[1] was approved, many of the authors therefore did not subscribe to their works, either their names, or the age in which they lived; but, where any of them did annex their names to their writings, nothing further was requisite than faithfully to transcribe such notification,—a task which could be performed with the utmost facility.

(3.) In fact there was no motive to induce the Hebrews to corrupt this very simple tradition: on the contrary, as these books were held in the highest reverence and estimation by much the greater part of that people, they had the most powerful motives for transmitting the origin of these documents faithfully to their posterity. If, indeed, the Hebrew nation had been disposed to betray the trust confided to them, a motive would not have been wanting to them for propagating falsehoods respecting their books, because these contain such repeated—we may almost add, such incessant—reproofs and censures of them, as an unteachable, intractable, and headstrong people, as place their character in an unfavourable point of view. But, notwithstanding, if that people testify that these books are genuine, they become witnesses against themselves, and consequently their testimony is unexceptionable. This argument also tends to exclude the hypothesis, that the histories have been inserted in a later age.

In illustration of this remark, we may observe that the character of the Jews is a strong proof that they have not forged the Old Testament. Were a person brought before a court of justice on a suspicion of forgery, and yet no presumptive or positive evidence of his guilt could be produced, it would be allowed by all that he ought to be acquitted. But, if the forgery alleged were inconsistent with the character of the accused; if it tended to expose to disgrace his general principles and conduct; or, if we were assured that he considered forgery as an impious and abominable crime, it would require very strong testimony to establish his guilt. This case corresponds exactly with the situation of the Jews. If a Jew had forged any book of the Old Testament, he must have been impelled to so bold and dangerous an enterprise by some very powerful motive. It could not be national pride, for there is scarcely one of these books which does not severely censure the national manners. It could not be the love of fame, for that passion would have taught him to flatter and extol the national character; and the punishment, if detected, would have been infamy and death. The love of wealth could not produce such a forgery, for no wealth was to be gained by it.[2]

(4.) The true knowledge of the origin of these books could not be easily corrupted or lost, because a particular tribe among the Hebrews was set apart from the rest, and consecrated, among other things, for the express purpose of watching over the preservation of these historical documents; and further, there were never wanting men, belonging to the other tribes, both at that time and also during the Babylonian captivity—(for instance, those who in more ancient times were the governors of the Hebrew republic, and were called, first, judges, and afterwards prophets)—by whom these books were held in the highest reverence, because they were themselves descended from that very age, and from these very authors. Although the names of some of these authors, and also the age in which they lived, are lost in oblivion, yet as the Jews confess their ignorance, such confession is an evidence that they would not have testified it, if they had not received it as certain from their ancestors. In the mean time, the age at least of these anonymous books has not so entirely been neglected, but that we have the clearest evidence that not one of them was written later than the *fifth* century *before* the Christian æra.

(5.) The Old Testament, according to our Bibles, comprises thirty-nine books, viz. the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses, called Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, the Prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, with his Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. But, among the ancient Jews, they formed only twenty-two books,[3] according to the letters of their alphabet, which were twenty-two in number; reckoning Judges and Ruth, Ezra and Nehemiah, Jeremiah and his Lamentations, and the twelve minor prophets (so called from the comparative brevity of their compositions), respectively as one book. It is not necessary here to enter into a minute inquiry concerning the authors of these books:[4] but we may state generally, that the Pentateuch consists of the writings of Moses, collected by Samuel, with a very few additions; that the books of Joshua and Judges, together with that of Ruth and the first part of the book of Samuel, were collected by the same prophet; that the latter part of the first book of Samuel, and the whole of the second book, were written by the prophets who succeeded Samuel, probably Nathan and Gad; that the books of Kings and Chronicles are extracts from the records of succeeding prophets concerning their own times, and also from the public genealogical tables made by Ezra; that the books of Ezra and Nehemiah are collections of similar records, some written by Ezra and Nehemiah, and some by their predecessors; that the book of Esther was written by some eminent Jew, who lived in or near the times of the transactions therein recorded, most probably by Ezra, though some think Mordecai to have been its author; the book of Job, by a Jew, most probably Moses; the Psalms, by David, Asaph, and other pious persons; the books of Proverbs, the Canticles, and Ecclesiastes, by Solomon; and the prophetical books, by the prophets whose names they bear.

Let us now consider the evidence of testimony for the authenticity of the books of the Old Testament. As the Jews were a more ancient people than the Greeks or Romans, and were for many ages totally unconnected with them, it is not to be expected that we should derive much evidence from the historians of those nations: it is to the Jews principally that we must look for information.[5] The uniform belief, indeed, of all Christians, from the very commencement of Christianity to the present time, has considered the books above enumerated to have constituted the whole of the Old Testament: and the catalogues of them, which were formed by the author of the synopsis attributed to Athanasius,[6] by

Compare Deut. xxxii. 7, 8. and Psal. lxxviii. 3—7

[1] Ency. Brit. vol. xvii. p. 107. art. Scripture, 3d edit.

[2] Josephus contr. Apion. lib. i. § 8. Origen's Philocalia, cited in Eusebius's Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 25.

[4] This subject is discussed *infra*, vol. ii. in the critical prefaces to each book.

[5] The Emperor Julian, inveterate as was his enmity to Christianity, has borne explicit and important testimony to the authenticity and integrity of the Old Testament. See Herwerden, de Juliano Imperatore, pp. 100, 101. 103—108. Lug. Bat. 1827. 8vo.

[6] Athanasii Opera, tom. ii. pp. 126—204. Dr. Lardner has given the most material extracts from this synopsis, respecting the canon of Scripture. Works, 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 290, 291.; 4to. vol. ii. p. 464.

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Epiphanius,[1] and Jerome[2] (towards the close of the fourth century), by Origen[3] (in the middle of the third century), and Melito Bishop of Sardis[4] (towards the close of the second century), all agree with the above enumeration. To these we may add the testimonies of the Greek translators of the Old Testament, Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, who lived towards the close of the second century; and that of the Peschito or old Syriac version, executed very early in the second, if not at the close of the first century of the Christian æra. Here the Jewish testimonies join us. Not to enter into any minute details concerning the several Targums or Chaldee paraphrases[5] on various parts of the Old Testament, which were compiled between the third and ninth centuries of the Christian æra, nor the Jerusalem and Babylonish Talmuds or Commentaries upon the Misna or Traditions of the Jews:—PHILO, an Egyptian Jew[6] (who lived in the *first* century of the Christian æra), quoted as having canonical authority, no other books than those which are contained in the Hebrew Bible, and which alone were acknowledged by the Jews of Palestine.

Philo, it is true, in none of his writings, gives an *express* notice of the canon of the Old Testament; but in very numerous scattered passages he has indicated his own opinion, and probably also the opinion of his contemporaries concerning the merit and importance of each of the books which formed part of that canon. M. Hornemann,[7] who carefully read and examined all Philo's works, for the sole purpose of ascertaining his opinion on the canon of the Old Testament, divides the books of the Old Testament, according to Philo's expressions, into three classes, viz. *Books cited with the express remark that they are of divine origin:* in this class are found the Pentateuch, the book of Joshua, the first book of Samuel, Ezra, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Zechariah, the Psalms, and the Proverbs. 2. *Books of which Philo makes only casual mention, without any notice of their divine origin:* this class contains the book of Judges, Job, the first book of Kings, and several detached Psalms. 3. *Books not mentioned by Philo*, viz. Nehemiah, Ruth, Esther, the two books of Chronicles, Daniel, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon.

To the books, to which Philo expressly ascribes a divine origin, we must probably add the second book of Samuel and the two books of Kings, these three books forming only *one* with the first book of Samuel, which Philo calls divine. Of the twelve minor prophets, he cites only two as inspired: and it is certain that the twelve formed only one book. As he never quotes the apocryphal books, we may therefore place all the books of the Old Testament, which he expressly quotes, into *one* class, viz. that of the books which he accounted sacred; and this class, according to the preceding observations, is composed of the five books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, Ezra, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the twelve minor prophets, the Psalms, Proverbs, and Job. The other books may have formed part of the canon of the Egyptian Jews. Ruth was an appendix to the book of Judges; Nehemiah to the second part of Ezra; and the Lamentations of Jeremiah might be joined to his prophecies. But the silence of Philo concerning any book proves nothing against its canonical authority, if it be not contradicted or overturned by other positive proofs.[8]

We now proceed to a testimony, which, though concise, is more important than any of the preceding, the testimony of JOSEPHUS, who was himself a Jewish priest, and also contemporary with the apostles.[9] Following the enumeration above accounted for, he says, in his treatise against Apion,[10] "We have not thousands of books, discordant, and contradicting each other; but we have only *twenty-two*, which comprehend the history of all former ages, and are justly regarded as divine. *Five* of them proceed from Moses; they include as well the *Laws*, as an account of the creation of man, extending to the time of his (Moses's) death. This period comprehends nearly three thousand years. From the death of Moses to that of Artaxerxes, who was king of Persia after Xerxes, the *Prophets*, who succeeded Moses, committed to writing, in thirteen books, what was done in their days. The remaining four books contain *Hymns* to God (the Psalms) and instructions of life for man."[11]

The threefold division of the Old Testament into the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, mentioned by Josephus, was expressly recognised before his time by JESUS CHRIST, as well as by the subsequent writers of the New Testament.[12] We have therefore sufficient evidence that the Old Testament existed at that time; and if it be only allowed that Jesus Christ was a person of a virtuous and irreproachable character, it must be acknowledged that we draw a fair conclusion, when we assert that the Scriptures were not corrupted in his time: for, when he accused the Pharisees of making the law of no effect by their traditions, and when he enjoined his hearers to search the Scriptures, he could not have failed to mention the corruptions or forgeries of Scripture, if any had existed in that age. About fifty years before the time of Christ were written the Targums of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, and of Jonathan Ben-Uzziel on the Prophets (according to the Jewish classification of the books of the Old Testament); which are evidence of the genuineness of those books at that time.

We have, however, unquestionable testimony of the genuineness of the Old Testament, in the *fact*, that its canon was fixed some centuries before the birth of Jesus Christ. Jesus the son of Sirach, author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, makes evident references to the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and mentions these prophets by name; he speaks also of the twelve minor prophets. It likewise appears from the prologue to that book, that the law and the prophets, and other ancient books, were extant at the same period. The book of Ecclesiasticus, according to the best chronologers, was written in the Syro-Chaldaic dialect, about A. M. 3772, that is, *two hundred and thirty-two* years before the Christian æra, and was translated by the grandson of Jesus into Greek, for the use of the Alexandrian Jews. The prologue was added by the translator, but this circumstance does not diminish the evidence for the antiquity of the Old Testament: for he informs us, that the Law and the Prophets, and the other books of their fathers, were studied by his grandfather; a sufficient proof that they were extant in his time.

(6.) Fifty years, indeed, before the age of the author of Ecclesiasticus, or *two hundred and eighty-two* years before the Christian æra, the Greek version of the Old Testament, usually called the Septuagint, was executed at Alexandria, the books of which are the same as in our Bibles: whence it is evident that we still have those identical books, which the most ancient Jews attested to be genuine,—a benefit this which has not happened to any ancient profane books whatever. Indeed, as no authentic books of a more ancient date, except those of the Old Testament, are extant, it is impossible to ascend higher in search of testimony. The evidence, indeed, which we have adduced, is not merely that of the more modern Jews:—it is also that of the most ancient, as is manifest from this circumstance, that the latter of these books always recognise others as known to be more ancient, and almost every where cite them by name: whence it is evident that those ancient authors long since received testimony from their ancestors, that those more ancient books were the genuine works of the authors whose names they bear.

Strong—we may add indisputable—as this external evidence of the genuineness of the Old Testament unquestionably is,

[1] Hæres, xxix. Op. tom. i. pp. 122, *et seq.*

[2] In his *Prologus Galeatus* and *Epist. ad Paulinum.*

[3] Op. tom. ii. p. 529., and in Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 25.

[4] Apud Eusebium, Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 25.

[5] The Targums here alluded to are those called the Jerusalem Targum, and the Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan, on the Pentateuch: that on the Cetubim, or Holy writings (comprising the books of Psalms, Proverbs, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, the Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther), the Targum on the Megilloth (comprising the five last-mentioned books), three on the book of Esther, and one on the books of Chronicles. See an account of these Targums, *infra*, part i. chap. iii. sect. iii.

[6] De Vita Mosis, lib. ii. The passages of Philo here referred to, and also the other testimonies above cited, are given at full length (with some additional evidences from Christian writers) by Schmidius, in his elaborate Historia Antiqua et Vindicatio Canonis Sacri Veteris et Novi Testamenti, pp. 129—189. 8vo. Lipsiæ. 1775.

[7] C. F. Hornemann, Observationes ad Illustrationem Doctrinæ de Canone Veteris Testamenti ex Philone. Hauniæ, 1778, 8vo.

[8] Mélanges de Religion, &c. tom. ix. pp. 188—191. Nismes, 1824. 8vo.

[9] Of the writings and character of Josephus, a particular account will be found in part ii. of this volume. "Josephus was born about the year 37 of the Christian era: and therefore, though much younger than the apostles, must still have been contemporary with many of them, especially with St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. John."—Bp. Marsh's Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome, p. 107.

[10] Lib. i. § 8. tom. ii. p. 441. ed. Havercamp.

[11] On the canon of Jewish Scripture according to the testimonies of Philo and Josephus, see further, Bp. Marsh's Divinity Lect., part vii. Lectures xxxiii. and xxxiv. pp. 17—50.

[12] Among very many passages that might be adduced, see Matt. xi. 13 and xxii. 40. Luke xvi. 16. xx. 42. xxiv. 25. 44. Acts i. 20. iii. 22. vii. 35—37 xxvi. 22. and xxviii. 23. Rom. x. 5. 2 Cor. iii. 7—15. 2 Tim. iii. 14—17. Heb. vii. 14. and x. 28. An inspection of the chapter on the Quotations from the Old Testament in the New (see *infra*, part i. chap. iv.) will furnish abundant proofs that the Jewish canon, in the time of Jesus Christ and his apostles, contained the same books which now constitute our Old Testament.

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2. THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE ARISING FROM THE CONSIDERATION OF THE LANGUAGE, STYLE, MANNER OF WRITING, AND ALSO FROM THE CIRCUMSTANTIALITY OF THE NARRATIVES CONTAINED IN THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, is an equally decisive and incontestable argument for their genuineness, and also to show that they were not and could not be invented by one impostor, or by several contemporary impostors, or by several successive impostors.

(1.) *The Language, Style, and Manner of Writing, used in the books of the Old Testament, are internal arguments of their genuineness; and prove not only that they must have been written by different persons, but also enable us with precision to ascertain a time, at or before which they must have been composed.*[1]

The Hebrew language, in which the Old Testament was written, being the language of an ancient people, that had little intercourse with their neighbours, and whose neighbours also spoke a language which had great affinity with their own, would not change so rapidly as modern languages have done, since nations have been variously intermingled, and since arts, sciences, and commerce have been so greatly extended. Yet, since no language continues stationary, there must necessarily be some changes in the period of time that elapsed between Moses and Malachi.[2] If, therefore, on comparing the different parts of the Hebrew Bible, the character and style of the language are found to differ[3] (which critical Hebrew scholars have proved to be the case), we have strong internal criteria that the different books of the Old Testament were composed at different and distant periods; and consequently a considerable argument may thence be deduced in favour of their genuineness. Further, the books of the Old Testament have too considerable a diversity of style to be the work either of one Jew (for a *Jew* he must have been on account of the language), or of any set of contemporary Jews. If, therefore, they be all forgeries, there must have been a succession of impostors in different ages, who have concurred to impose upon posterity, which is inconceivable. To suppose part to be forged, and part to be genuine, is very harsh; neither would this supposition, if admitted, be satisfactory.

Again, the Hebrew language ceased to be spoken as a living language soon after the Babylonish captivity; but it would be difficult or impossible to forge any thing in it, *after* it was become a dead language. All the books of the Old Testament must, therefore, be nearly as ancient as the Babylonish captivity; and since they could not all be written in the same age, some must be considerably more ancient, which would bring us back again to a succession of conspiring impostors. Lastly, the simplicity of style and unaffected manner of writing, which pervade all the books of the Old Testament (with the exception of such parts as are poetical and prophetical), are a very strong evidence of their genuineness, even exclusively of the suitableness of this circumstance to the times of the supposed authors. Not one of these criteria is applicable to the books which in some editions are attached to the Old Testament under the title of the Apocrypha: for they never were extant in Hebrew, neither are they quoted in the New Testament, or by the Jewish writers, Philo and Josephus; on the contrary, they contain many things which are fabulous, false, and contradictory to the canonical Scriptures.[4]

(2.) *The very great number of particular Circumstances of Time, Place, Persons, &c. mentioned in the books of the Old Testament, is another argument both of their genuineness and authenticity.*

A statement of the principal heads, under which these particular circumstances may be classed, will enable the reader fully to apprehend the force of this internal evidence.

There are, then, mentioned in the book of *Genesis*, the rivers of Paradise, the generations of the antediluvian patriarchs, the deluge with its circumstances, the place where the ark rested, the building of the tower of Babel, the confusion of tongues, the dispersion of mankind, or the division of the earth amongst the posterity of Shem, Ham, and Japhet, the generations of the postdiluvian patriarchs, with the gradual shortening of human life after the flood, the sojournings of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with many particulars of the state of Canaan and the neighbouring countries in their times, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the state of the land of Edom, both before and after Esau's time, and the descent of Jacob into Egypt, with the state of Egypt before Moses's time.—In fine, we have in this book the infancy and youth of the human race, together with the gradual and successive progress of civilization and society, delineated with singular minuteness and accuracy.

In the book of *Exodus* are recorded the plagues of Egypt, the institution of the passover, the passage through the Red Sea, with the destruction of Pharaoh and his host there, the miracle of manna, the victory over the Amalekites, the solemn delivery of the law from Mount Sinai, many particular laws both moral and ceremonial, the worship of the golden calf, and a very minute description of the tabernacle, priests' garments, ark, &c.—In *Leviticus* we have a collection of ceremonial laws, with all their particularities, and an account of the deaths of Nadab and Abihu.—The book of *Numbers* contains the first and second numberings of the several tribes, with their genealogies, the peculiar offices of the three several families of the Levites, many ceremonial laws, the journeyings and encampments of the people in the wilderness during forty years, with the relation of some remarkable events which happened in this period; as the searching of the land, the rebellion of Korah, the victories over Arad, Sihon, and Og, with the division of the kingdoms of the two last among the Gadites, Reubenites, and Manassites, the history of Balak and Balaam, and the victory over the Midianites; all of which are described with the several particularities of time, place, and persons.—The book of *Deuteronomy* contains a recapitulation of many things comprised in the three last books, with the second delivery of the law, chiefly the moral one, by Moses, upon the borders of Canaan, just before his death.

In the book of *Joshua*, we have the passage over Jordan, the conquest of the land of Canaan in detail, and the division of it among the tribes, including a minute geographical description.—The book of *Judges* recites a great variety of public transactions, with the private origin of some. In all, the names of times, places, and persons, both among the Israelites, and the neighbouring nations, are noted with particularity and simplicity.—In the book of *Ruth* is a very particular account of the genealogy of David, with several incidental circumstances.—The books of *Samuel*, *Kings*, *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah*, contain the transactions of the kings before the captivity, and governors afterwards, all delivered in the same circumstantial manner. And here the particular account of the regulations, sacred and civil, established by David, and of the building of the temple by Solomon, the genealogies given in the beginning of the first book of Chronicles, and the lists of the persons who returned, sealed, &c. after the captivity, in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, deserve especial notice, in the light in which we are now considering things.—The book of *Esther* contains a like account of a very remarkable event, with the institution of a festival in memory of it.

The book of *Psalms* mentions many historical facts in an incidental way; and this, with the books of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, alludes to the manners and customs of ancient times in various ways. In the *Prophecies* there are some historical relations; and in the other parts the indirect mention of facts, times, places, and persons, is interwoven with the predictions in the most copious and circumstantial manner.

From the preceding statements, we may observe, FIRST, that, in fact, we do not ever find that forged or false accounts of things superabound thus in particularities. There is always some truth where there are considerable particularities related, and they always seem to bear some proportion to one another. Thus there is a great want of the particulars of time, place, and persons in Manetho's account of the Egyptian dynasties, Ctesias's of the Assyrian kings, and those which the technical chronologers have given of the ancient kingdoms of Greece; and agreeably thereto, these accounts have much fiction and falsehood with some truth: whereas Thucydides's history of the Peloponnesian war, and Cæsar's of the war in Gaul, in both which the particulars of time, place, and persons are mentioned, are universally esteemed true, to a great degree of exactness.—SECONDLY, a forger, or a relater of falsehoods, would be careful not to mention so great a number of particulars, since this would to be put

[1] For this view of the internal evidence of the genuineness of the Old Testament, the author is chiefly indebted to the observations of the profound and ingenious philosopher David Hartley (on Man, vol. ii. pp. 97—101.), and of the learned and accurate professor Jahn (Introductio in Libros Sacros Veteris Fœderis, pp. 18—28.)

[2] The departure of the Israelites from Egypt, under the direction of Moses, took place in the year of the world 2513, or before Christ 1491. Malachi delivered his predictions under Nehemiah's second government of Judea, between the years 436 and 420 before the Christian æra. The interval of time, therefore, that elapsed between them is between 1071 and 1055 years; or, if we reckon from the death of Moses (A. M. 2555) B. C. 1451, it is from 1015 to 1031 years.

[3] An account of the various changes in the Hebrew language is given, infra, Part I. Chap. I. Sect. I. § II.

[4] The arguments against the genuineness of the apocryphal books, which are here necessarily touched with brevity, will be found discussed at length infra, in the Appendix to this Volume, No. I. Sect. I.

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into his reader's hands criteria whereby to detect him. Thus we may see one reason of the fact just mentioned, and which, in confirming that fact, confirms the proposition here to be proved. —THIRDLY, a forger, or a relater of falsehoods, could scarcely furnish such lists of particulars. It is easy to conceive how faithful records kept from time to time by persons concerned in the transactions should contain such lists; nay, it is natural to expect them in this case, from that local memory which takes strong possession of the fancy in those who have been present at transactions; but it would be a work of the highest invention and greatest stretch of genius to raise from nothing such numberless particularities, as are almost every where to be met with in the Scriptures.—FOURTHLY, if we could suppose the persons who forged the books of the Old and New Testaments to have furnished their readers with the great variety of particulars above mentioned, notwithstanding the two reasons here alleged against it, we cannot however conceive but that the persons of those times, when the books were published, must by the help of these criteria have detected and exposed the forgeries or falsehoods. For these criteria are so attested by allowed facts, as at this time, and in this remote corner of the world, to establish the truth and genuineness of the Scriptures, as may appear even from this chapter, and much more from the writings of commentators, sacred critics, and such other learned men as have given the historical evidences for revealed religion in detail; and, by parity of reason, they would suffice even now to detect the fraud, were there any: whence we may conclude, à fortiori, that they must have enabled the persons who were upon the spot, when the books were published, to do this; and the importance of many of the particulars recorded, as well as many of the precepts, observances, and renunciations enjoined, would furnish them with abundant motives for this purpose.

Upon the whole, therefore, we conclude, that the very great number of particulars of time, place, persons, &c. mentioned in the Old Testament, is a proof of its genuineness and truth, even independently of the consideration of the agreement of these particulars with history, both natural and civil, and with one another; which agreement will be discussed in the following chapter[1] as a confirmation of the credibility of the writers of the Old Testament.

IV. Notwithstanding the conclusiveness of the preceding arguments for the genuineness of the Old Testament *collectively*, attempts have been made of late years to impugn it, by undermining the genuineness and antiquity of *particular* books, especially of the Pentateuch, or five books which are ascribed to Moses: for, as the four last of these books are the basis of the Jewish dispensation, which was introductory to Christianity, if the Pentateuch *could* be proved to be neither genuine nor authentic, the genuineness and authenticity of the other books of the Old Testament, in consequence of their mutual and immediate dependence upon each other, must necessarily fall.

That the Pentateuch was written by the great legislator of the Hebrews, by whom it was addressed to his contemporaries, and consequently was not, nor could be, the production of later times, we are authorized to affirm from a series of testimonies, which, whether we consider them together or separately, form such a body of evidence, as can be adduced for the productions of no ancient profane writers whatever: for, let it be considered what are the marks and characters, both internal and external, which prove the genuineness and authenticity of the works of any ancient author, and the same arguments may be urged with equal, if not with greater force, in favour of the writings of Moses.

1. *The* LANGUAGE *in which the Pentateuch is written is a proof of its genuineness and authenticity.*

"It is an undeniable fact, that Hebrew ceased to be the living language of the Jews soon after the Babylonish captivity, and that the Jewish productions after that period were in general either Chaldee or Greek. The Jews of Palestine, some ages before the appearance of our Saviour, were unable to comprehend the Hebrew original without the assistance of a Chaldee paraphrase; and it was necessary to undertake a Greek translation, because that language alone was known to the Jews of Alexandria. It necessarily follows, therefore, that every book which is written in *pure* Hebrew, was composed either before or about the time of the Babylonish captivity.[2] This being admitted, we may advance a step further, and contend, that the period which elapsed between the composition of the most ancient and the most modern book of the Old Testament was very considerable; or, in other words, that the most ancient books of the Old Testament were written a length of ages prior to the Babylonish captivity. No language continues during many centuries in the same state of cultivation, and the Hebrew, like other tongues, passed through the several stages of infancy, youth, manhood, and old age. If, therefore (as we have already remarked), on comparison, the several parts of the Hebrew Bible are found to differ, not only in regard to style, but also in regard to character and cultivation of language; if one discovers the golden, another the silver, a third a brazen, a fourth the iron age, we have strong internal marks of their having been composed at different and distant periods. No classical scholar, independently of the Grecian history, would believe that the poems ascribed to Homer were written in the age of Demosthenes, the orations of Demosthenes in the time of Origen, or the commentaries of Origen in the days of Lascaris and Chrysoloras. For the very same reason it is certain that the five books, which are ascribed to Moses, were not written in the time of David, the Psalms of David in the age of Isaiah, nor the prophecies of Isaiah in the time of Malachi. But it appears from what has been said above, in regard to the extinction of the Hebrew language, that the book of Malachi could not have been written much later than the Babylonish captivity; before that period, therefore, were written the prophecies of Isaiah, still earlier the Psalms of David and much earlier than these the books which are ascribed to Moses. There is no presumption, therefore, whatsoever, à priori, that Moses was not the author or compiler of the Pentateuch."[3] And the ignorance of the assertion, which in our time has been made,—that the Hebrew language is a compound of the Syriac, Arabic, and Chaldee languages, and a distortion of each of them with other provincial dialects and languages that were spoken by adjoining nations, by whom the Jews had at various times been subdued and led captive,—is only surpassed by its falsehood and its absurdity.

2. But further, *the four last books of Moses contain "a system of* CEREMONIAL *and* MORAL LAWS, *which, unless we reject the authority of* all *history, were observed by the Israelites from the time of their departure out of Egypt till their dispersion at the taking of Jerusalem.*

"These LAWS therefore are as ancient as the conquest of Palestine. It is also an undeniable historical fact, that the Jews in every age believed that their ancestors had received them from the hand of Moses, and that these laws were the basis of their political and religious institutions, as long as they continued to to be a people."[1] Things of *private* concern may easily be counterfeited, but not the laws and constitution of a whole country. It would, indeed, have been impossible to forge the civil and religious code of the Jews without detection; for their civil and religious polity are so blended and interwoven together, that the one cannot be separated from the other. They must, therefore, have been established at the same time, and derived from the same original; and both together evince the impossibility of any forgery more than either of them could singly. The religion and government of a people cannot be new modelled. Further, many of the institutions, contained in the ceremonial and moral laws given to the Jews by Moses, were so burthensome, and some of them (humanly speaking) were so hazardous, or rather so certainly ruinous to any nation not secured by an extraordinary providence correspondent to them—especially those relating to the sabbatical year, the resort of all the males to Jerusalem annually at the three great festivals, and the prohibition of cavalry—that forged books, containing such precepts, would have been rejected with the utmost abhorrence. As the whole Jewish people were made the depositories and keepers of their laws, it is impossible to conceive that any nation, with such motives to reject, and such opportunities of detecting, the forgery of the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, should yet receive them, and submit to the heavy yoke imposed by the laws contained in them. That they should often throw it off in part, and for a time, and rebel against the divine authority of their law, though sufficiently evidenced, is easily to be accounted for, from what we see and feel in ourselves and others every day; but that they should return and repent and submit to it, unless it were really delivered by Moses, and had the sanction of divine authority, is utterly incredible. "We are therefore reduced to this dilemma, to acknowledge either that these laws

[1] See Chapter III. Section II. and Chapter V. Section II. *infra*.

[2] See Doederlein Institutio Theologi Christiani, sect. 38. tom. i. p. 105. Norimbergæ. 1778.

[3] Bishop Marsh's Authenticity of the Five Books of Moses vindicated. pp. 6, 7.

[1] Ib. p. 7.

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were actually delivered by Moses, or that a whole nation during fifteen hundred years groaned under the weight of an imposture, without once detecting or even suspecting the fraud. The Athenians believed that the system of laws by which they were governed was composed by Solon; and the Spartans attributed their code to Lycurgus, without ever being suspected of a mistake in their belief. Why then should it be doubted, that the rules prescribed in the Pentateuch were given by Moses? To deny it, is to assert that an effect may exist without a cause, or that a great and important revolution may take place without an agent. We have therefore an argument little short of mathematical demonstration, that the *substance* of the Pentateuch proceeded from Moses; and that the very *words* were written by him, though not so mathematically demonstrable as the former, is at least a moral certainty. The Jews, whose evidence alone can decide in the present instance, have believed it from the earliest to the present age: no other person ever aspired to be thought the author, and we may venture to affirm that no other person could have been the author. For it is wholly incredible that the Jews, though weak and superstitious, would have received, in a later age, a set of writings as the genuine work of Moses, if no history and no tradition had preserved the remembrance of his having been the author."[1]

3. *The united* HISTORICAL TESTIMONY *of Jews and Gentiles attests the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch.*

Although the spirit of ancient simplicity which breathes throughout these books renders it improbable that they were fabricated in a later age, yet, when we add to this the universal consent of those persons who were most concerned and best able to ascertain the point in question, we have an additional testimony in favour of the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch.

[i.] *With regard to Jewish Testimony*:—

If we believe other nations when they attest the antiquity and specify the authors of their laws, no just reason can be assigned why we should not give equal credit to the Jews, whose testimony is surely as much deserving of credit as that of the Athenians, the Lacedemonians, the Romans, and the Persians, concerning Solon, Lycurgus, Numa, and Zoroaster:[2] or rather, from the facts we shall proceed to state, they are better entitled to belief than any other nation under heaven. "Every book of the Old Testament implies the previous existence of the Pentateuch: in many of them it is expressly mentioned, allusion is made to it in some, and it is quoted in others. These contain a series of external evidence in its favour which is hardly to be confuted; and when the several links of this argument are put together, they will form a chain which it would require more than ordinary abilities to break. In the first place, no one will deny that the Pentateuch existed in the time of Christ and his apostles, for they not only mention it, but quote it.[3] 'This we admit,' reply the advocates for the hypothesis which it is our object to confute, 'but you cannot therefore conclude that Moses was the author, for there is reason to believe that it was composed by Ezra.' Now, unfortunately for men of this persuasion, Ezra himself is evidence against them; for, instead of assuming to himself the honour which they so liberally confer on him, he expressly ascribes the book of the law to Moses; 'and they set the priests in their divisions, and the Levites in their courses, for the service of God, which is in Jerusalem, as it is written *in the book of Moses*.'[4] Further, the Pentateuch existed before the time of Ezra, for it is expressly mentioned during the captivity in Babylon by Daniel (ix. 11—13.) B. C. 537 or 538. Long before that event it was extant in the time of Josiah (2 Chron. xxxiv. 15.) B. C. 624, and was then of such acknowledged authority, that the perusal of it occasioned an immediate reformation of the religious usages, which had not been observed according to the "word of the Lord, to do after all that is written in this book." (2 Chron. xxxiv. 21.) It was extant in the time of Hoshea, king of Israel, B. C. 678, since a captive Israelitish priest was sent back from Babylon (2 Kings xvii. 27.) to instruct the new colonists of Samaria in the religion which it teaches. By these Samaritans the book of the law was received as genuine, and was preserved and handed down to their posterity, as it also was by the Jews, as the basis of the civil and religious institutions of both nations.[5] It was extant in the time of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, B. C. 912 (2 Chron. xvii. 9.), who employed public instructors for its promulgation. And, since the Pentateuch was received as the book of the law both by the ten tribes, and also by the two tribes, it follows as a necessary consequence that they each received it *before* they became divided into two kingdoms: for if it had been forged in a later age among the Jews, the perpetual enmity that subsisted between them and the Israelites would have utterly prevented it from being adopted by the Samaritans; and had it been a spurious production of the Samaritans, it would never have been received by the Jews. "There remains, therefore, only one resource to those who contend that Moses was not the author, namely, that it was written in the period which elapsed between the age of Joshua and that of Solomon. But the whole Jewish history, from the time of their settlement in Canaan, to the building of the temple at Jerusalem, presupposes that the book of the law was written by Moses. The whole of the temple service and worship was regulated by Solomon, B. C. 1004, according to the law contained in the Pentateuch, as the tabernacle service and worship had previously been by David, B. C. 1042. Could Solomon indeed have persuaded his subjects that, for more than five hundred years, the worship and polity prescribed by the Pentateuch had been religiously observed by their ancestors, if it had not been observed? Could he have imposed upon them concerning the antiquity of the Sabbath, of circumcision, and of their three great festivals? In fact, it is morally impossible that any forgery could have been executed by or in the time of Solomon. Moreover, that the Pentateuch was extant in the time of David is evident from the very numerous allusions made in his psalms to its contents;[7] but it could not have been drawn up by him, since the law contained in the Pentateuch forbids many practices of which David was guilty. Samuel (who judged Israel about the years B. C. 1100—1060 or 1061) could not have acquired the knowledge of Egypt which the Pentateuch implies;" and in the book of Joshua (which, though reduced to its present form in later times, was undoubtedly composed, in respect to its essential parts, at a very early period), frequent references may be found to the *Book of the Law*. "For instance, Joshua is commanded *to do according to all which the Law of Moses commanded*: and it is enjoined upon him, that *this Book of the Law should not depart out of his mouth*. (Josh. i. 7, 8.) Joshua, in taking leave of the people of Israel, exhorts them *to do all which is written in the Book of the Law of Moses* (xxiii. 6.); and he recites on this occasion many things contained in it. When the same distinguished leader had taken his final farewell of the tribes, he wrote the words of his address in the *Book of the Law of God*. (xxiv. 26.) In like manner it is said (viii. 30—34.) that Joshua built an altar on mount Ebal, as *it is written in the Book of the Law of Moses*, and that *he read all the words of the law, the blessings and the cursings, according to all that is written in the Book of the Law*.[8] The Pentateuch therefore was extant in the time of Joshua.

To Moses alone, indeed, can the Pentateuch be attributed; and this indirect evidence from tradition is stronger than a more direct and positive ascription, which would have been the obvious resource of fraud. Nor would any writer *posterior* to

[1] Bishop Marsh's Authenticity of the Five Books of Moses vindicated, pp. 7, 8. See also Bishop Gleig's edition of Stackhouse's History of the Bible, vol. i. pp. xiv—xix. The following articles of the Jewish Confession of Faith sufficiently attest how firmly the Jews believe the Pentateuch to be the work of Moses:—

7. I firmly believe that all the prophecies of Moses our master (God rest his soul in peace!) are true; and that he is the father of all the sages whether they went before or came after him.

8. *I firmly believe that the law which we have now in our hands was given by Moses*; God rest his soul in peace!—Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. pp. 245, 246.

[2] Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ, lib. ii. c. i. § vi. vii.

[3] Matt. v. 27. Mark x. 3. xii. 26. Luke x. 26. xxiv. 44. John vii. 19. viii. 5. Acts xxviii. 23. 1 Cor. ix. 9. 2 Cor. iii. 15.

[4] Ezra vi. 18. See also Ezra iii. 2. and Nehemiah xiii. 1. *The Law of Moses*, the servant of God, is expressly mentioned by Malachi, the contemporary of Ezra. See Mal. iv. 4. The learned Abbadie has shown at considerable length that Ezra could not and did not forge the Pentateuch, and that it was extant long before his time; but his arguments do not admit of abridgement. See his Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne, tom. i. pp. 312—330., and also the Mélanges de Religion, &c. tom. ix. pp. 244—248.

[5] For a critical account of the Samaritan Pentateuch, see Part I. Chap. II. Sect. I. § 2.

[6] It is true that the ten tribes, as well as those of Judah and Benjamin, were addicted to idolatry; but it appears from 2 Kings iii. 2. x. 21—28. xviii. 23. and 2 Chron. xxxv. 18. that they considered the religion of Jehovah as the only true religion.

[7] See particularly Psal. i. 2. xix. 7—11. xl. 7, 8. lxxiv. 13—15. lxxvii. 15—20. lxxviii. 1—55. lxxxi. 4—13. cv. throughout, cvi. 1—39. cxxxv. 8—12. cxxxvi. 10—20. and particularly the whole of Psal. cxix.

[8] Bp. Marsh's Authenticity of the Five Books of Moses vindicated, pp. 9, 10. North American Review, New Series, vol. xxii. pp. 283, 284. The arguments above stated are more fully considered and elucidated in Mr. Faber's Horæ Mosaicæ, vol. i. pp. 305—336. The very numerous texts in which the Pentateuch is cited by the writers of the Old Testament, *subsequent to Moses*, are given at length by Huet, Demonstr. Evangel. lib. i. prop. 4. cap. i. (tom. i. pp. 68—73. 8vo.); Du Voisin, L'Autorité des Livres de Moyse établi, pp. 26—37.; Dr. Graves' Lectures on Pentateuch, vol. i. pp. 19—[illegible] and P[illegible] Introd. ad Vet. F[illegible]

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Moses, who was contriving a sanction for actual laws, have noticed the progressive variations of those institutes (compare Lev. xvii. with Deut. xii. 5—27.) as the composer of the Pentateuch has done. These considerations most completely refute the assertion of a late writer,[1] who has affirmed in the face of the clearest evidence, that it is in vain to look for any indication whatever of the existence of the Pentateuch, either in the book of Joshua (one of the most ancient), or in the book so called, of Judges, or in the two books entitled Samuel, or, finally, in the history of the first Jewish kings. Such a bold and unfounded assertion as this could only have been made, either through wilful ignorance, or with a design to mislead the unthinking multitude.

Decisive as the preceding chain of evidence is, that the Pentateuch is the undoubted work of Moses, a question has of late years been agitated, whence did he derive the materials for the history contained in the book of Genesis, which commenced so many ages before he was born? To this inquiry, the following very satisfactory answers may be given:—

There are only three ways in which these important records could have been preserved and brought down to the time of Moses, viz. writing, tradition, and divine revelation. In the antediluvian world, when the life of man was so protracted, there was, comparatively, little need for writing. Tradition answered every purpose to which writing in any kind of characters could be subservient; and the necessity of erecting monuments to perpetuate public events could scarcely have suggested itself; as, during those times, there could be little danger apprehended of any important fact becoming obsolete, its history having to pass through very few hands, and all these friends and relatives in the most proper sense of the terms: for they lived in an insulated state, under a patriarchal government. Thus it was easy for Moses to be satisfied of the truth of all he relates in the book of Genesis, as the accounts came to him through the medium of very few persons. From Adam to Noah there was but *one* man necessary to the correct transmission of the history of this period of 1656 years. Adam died in the year of the world 930, and Lamech, the father of Noah, was born in the year 874; so that Adam and Lamech were contemporaries for fifty-six years. Methuselah, the grandfather of Noah, was born in the year of the world 687, and died in the year 1656, so that he lived to see both Adam and Lamech (from whom doubtless he acquired the knowledge of this history), and was likewise contemporary with Noah for six hundred years. In like manner, Shem connected Noah and Abraham, having lived to converse with both; as Isaac did with Abraham and Joseph, from whom these things might be easily conveyed to Moses by Amram, who was contemporary with Joseph. Supposing, then, all the curious facts recorded in the book of Genesis to have had no other authority than the tradition already referred to, they would stand upon a foundation of credibility superior to any that the most reputable of the ancient Greek and Latin historians can boast.

Another solution of the question, as to the source whence Moses obtained the materials for his history, has been offered of late years by many eminent critics; who are of opinion that Moses consulted monuments or records of former ages, which had descended from the families of the patriarchs, and were in existence at the time he wrote. This opinion was first announced by Vitringa,[2] and was adopted by Calmet;[3] who, from the genealogical details, the circumstantiality of the relations, the specific numbers of years assigned to the patriarchs, as well as the dates of the facts recorded, concludes that Moses could not have learned the particulars related by him with such minute exactness, but from written documents or memoirs. Of this description, he thinks, was the book of Jasher or of the Upright, which is cited in Josh. x. 13. and 2 Sam. i. 18.; and he attributes the difference in names and genealogies, observable in various parts of Scripture, to the number of copies whence these numerations were made. Calmet further considers the notice of a battle fought during the sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt, which occurs in 1 Chron. vii. 20—22., as derived from the same source. The hypothesis of Vitringa and Calmet has been adopted in this country by the learned editor of Stackhouse's History of the Bible;[4] who, regarding the current opinion of the late invention of writing as a vulgar error, thinks it probable that the posterity of Shem, and perhaps also of Japhet, kept regular records of all the remarkable events that occurred, as well as memoirs of all those members of their several families who were distinguished for virtue and knowledge and that there is no reason to suppose that similar records were not kept, in some families at least, before the flood. Dr. Gleig further conceives that the art of writing was communicated, among others, to Noah and his sons by their antediluvian ancestors, and that it has never since been wholly lost; and that, if this were the case, there probably were in the family of Abraham books of Jasher, or annals commencing from the beginning of the world; and if so, Moses *might* have found in them an account of the events which constitute the subject of the book of Genesis.

On the Continent this hypothesis was adopted by M. Astruc,[5] who fancied that he discovered traces of *twelve* different ancient documents, from which the earlier chapters of Exodus, as well as the entire book of Genesis, are compiled. These, however, were reduced by Ilgen to three,[6] and by Eichhorn[7] to two in number, which he affirms may be distinguished by the appellations of Elohim and Jehovah given to the Almighty. The hypothesis of Eichhorn is adopted by Gramberg,[8] and by Rosenmüller,[9] from whom it was borrowed by the late Dr. Geddes,[10] and is partially acceded to by Jahn. To this hypothesis there is but one objection, and we apprehend that it is a fatal one; namely, the *total silence* of Moses as to any documents consulted by him. He has, it is true, referred in Numbers xxi. 14. to the "Book of the Wars of the Lord;" but if he had copied from any previously existing memoirs into the book of Genesis, is it likely that such an historian, every page of whose writings is stamped with every possible mark of authenticity and integrity, would have omitted to specify the sources whence he derived his history? Should the reader, however, be disposed to adopt the hypothesis of Vitringa and Calmet without the refinements of Eichhorn and his followers, this will not in the smallest degree detract from the genuineness of the book of Genesis. It was undoubtedly composed by Moses, and it has been received as his by his countrymen in all ages. But it is not necessary to suppose that he received by inspiration an account of facts, which he might easily have obtained by natural means. All that is necessary to believe is, that the Spirit of God directed him in the choice of the facts recorded in his work; enabled him to represent them without partiality; and preserved him from being led into mistakes by any inaccuracy that might have found its way into the annals which he consulted. "If this be admitted, it is of no consequence whether Moses compiled the book of Genesis from annals preserved in the family of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, or wrote the whole of it by immediate inspiration: for, on either supposition, it is a narrative of divine authority, and contains an authentic account of facts, which constitute the foundation of the Jewish and Christian religions; or, to use more accurate language, the one great but progressive scheme of revealed religion."[11]

[ii.] *Gentile Testimony.*—In addition to the native testimony of the Jews, which has been already stated, respecting the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch, we have the *undisputed testimony of the most distinguished* WRITERS OF PAGAN ANTIQUITY; which will have the greater weight, as they were generally *prejudiced against* the whole nation of the Jews.

Thus, Manetho, Eupolemus, Artapanus, Tacitus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Justin the abbreviator of Trogus, and Juvenal, besides many other ancient writers, ALL testify that Moses was

[1] M. Volney.
[2] Observationes Sacræ, cap. iv.
[3] Commentaire Littérale, tom. i. part i. p. xiii.
[4] Dr. Gleig. See his Introduction, vol. i. p. xx.

[5] Conjectures sur les Mémoires Originaux dont il paroit que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Génèse. [Par Jean Astruc.] 8vo. Bruxelles, 1753. The hypothesis of Astruc is examined and refuted at great length in a Dissertation on the Book of Genesis inserted in the Bible de Vence, tom. ii. pp. 17—68. Paris, 1827.

[6] Ilgen, Urkunden des ersten Buchs Mose (i. e. Documents of the first book of Moses, Halle, 1798), cited in Gramberg's Libri Geneseos Adumbratio nova, pp. 3, 4.

[7] Eichhorn, Einleitung in das Alte Testament (Introduction to the Old Testament), part. ii. § 416. In the Gottingen edition of this work, printed in 1823, Theil. iii. § 405—418. pp. 1—146., Prof. Eichhorn defends his former opinion that the book of Genesis was derived from two primary documents by a third person, who interwove the whole into one series with some additions.

[8] Gramberg, Libri Geneseos Adumbratio nova, pp. 7—9. This writer adopts the terms "*Jehovista*" and "*Elohista*" (from Jehovah and Elohim), to designate the two documents from which he *supposes* the anonymous compiler of the book of Genesis to have compacted his materials. Dr. Schumann has given a comparative table of the several schemes of Astruc, Eichhorn, Ilgen, and Gramberg. Pentateuchus, Heb. et Græc, tom. i. pp. lvi.—lxvi.

[9] Rosenmüller, Scholia in Vet. Test. tom. i. pp. 7—12. Lipsiæ, 1795. *first* edition.

[10] In his translation of the Bible, vol. i. and his Critical Remarks.

[11] Dr. Gleig's edition of Stackhouse, vol. i. p. xxi.

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the leader of the Jews, and the founder of their laws.[1] The Egyptians, as Josephus asserts, esteemed him to be a wonderful and divine man: and were willing to have him thought a priest of their own, which certainly was a proof of their high opinion of him, though mixed with other fabulous relations.[2] The great critic, Longinus, extolling those who represent the Deity as he really is, pure, great, and unmixed,[3] testifies that thus did the legislator of the Jews; who (says he) was no ordinary man, and, as he conceived, so he spoke worthily of the power of God. Numenius, the Pythagorean philosopher, of Apamea in Syria, called Moses a man most powerful in prayer to God, and said, "What is Plato but Moses speaking in the Attic dialect?"[4] which sentiment, whether just or not, is yet a proof of this philosopher's high opinion of Moses.

Further, Porphyry, one of the most acute and learned enemies of Christianity, admitted the genuineness of the Pentateuch, and acknowledged that Moses was prior to the Phœnician historian Sanchoniothan, who lived before the Trojan war. He even contended for the truth of Sanchoniathon's account of the Jews, from its coincidence with the Mosaic history. Nor was the genuineness of the Pentateuch denied by any of the numerous writers against the Gospel during the first four centuries of the Christian era, although the fathers constantly appealed to the history and prophecies of the Old Testament in support of the divine origin of the doctrines which they taught. The power of historical truth compelled the emperor Julian, whose favour to the Jews appears to have proceeded solely from his hostility to the Christians, to acknowledge that persons instructed by the Spirit of God once lived among the Israelites; and to confess that the books which bore the name of Moses were genuine, and that the facts they contained were worthy of credit. Even Mohammed maintained the inspiration of Moses, and revered the sanctity of the Jewish laws. Manetho, Berosus, and many others, give accounts confirming and according with the Mosaic history. The Egyptian, Phœnician, Greek, and Roman authors, concur in relating the tradition respecting the creation, the fall of man, the deluge, and the dispersion of mankind;[5] and the lately acquired knowledge of the Sanscrit language, by opening the treasures of the eastern world, has confirmed all these traditions as concurring with the narrative in the sacred history.[6] Yet, notwithstanding all these testimonies to the genuineness of the Pentateuch, and consequently to the character of Moses, his very existence has been denied, and the account of him pronounced to be perfectly mythological.

"To the preceding demonstration perhaps the following objection will be made:—'We will admit the force of your arguments, and grant that Moses actually wrote a work called the Book of the Law: but how can we be certain that it was the very work which is now current under his name? And unless you can show this to be at least probable, your whole evidence is of no value.' To illustrate the force or weakness of this objection, let us apply it to some ancient Greek author, and see whether a classical scholar would allow it to be of weight. 'It is true that the Greek writers speak of Homer as an ancient and celebrated poet; it is true also that they have quoted from the works, which they ascribe to him, various passages that we find at present in the Iliad and Odyssey: yet still there is a possibility that the poems which were written by Homer, and those which we call the Iliad and Odyssey, were totally distinct productions.' Now an advocate for Greek literature would reply to this objection, not with a serious answer, but with a smile of contempt; and he would think it beneath his dignity to silence an opponent who appeared to be deaf to the clearest conviction. But still more may be said in defence of Moses than in defence of Homer; for the writings of the latter were not deposited in any temple, or sacred archive, in order to secure them from the devastations of time, whereas the copy of the book of the law, as written by Moses, was intrusted to the priests and the elders, preserved in the ark of the covenant, and read to the people every seventh year.[7] Sufficient care therefore was taken, not only for the preservation of the original record, but that no spurious production should be substituted in its stead. And that no spurious production ever has been substituted in the stead of the original composition of Moses, appears from the evidence both of the Greek Septuagint, and of the Samaritan Pentateuch. For as these agree with the Hebrew, except in some trifling variations,[8] to which every work is exposed by length of time, it is absolutely certain that the five books, which we *now* ascribe to Moses, are one and the same work with that which was translated into Greek in the time of the Ptolemies, and, what is of still greater importance, with that which existed in the time of Solomon.[9] And as the Jews could have had no motive whatsoever, during the period which elapsed between the age of Joshua and that of Solomon, for substituting a spurious production instead of the original as written by Moses; and even had they been inclined to attempt the imposture, would have been prevented by the care which had been taken by their lawgiver, we must conclude that our present Pentateuch is the identical work that was delivered by Moses."

4. *But, besides the external evidence which has been produced in favour of the books in question, equally convincing arguments may be drawn from their* CONTENTS.

The very mode of writing, in the four last books, discovers an author contemporary with the events which he relates; every description, both religious and political, is a proof that the writer was present at each respective scene; and the legislative and historical parts are so interwoven with each other, that neither of them could have been written by a man who lived in a later age. For instance, the frequent genealogies, which occur in the Pentateuch, form a strong proof that it was composed by a writer of a very early date, and from original materials. "The genealogies[10] of the Jewish tribes were not mere arbitrary lists of names, in which the writer might insert as many fictitious ones as he pleased, retaining only some few more conspicuous names of existing families, to preserve an appearance of their being founded in reality; but they were a complete enumeration of all the original stocks, from some one of which every family in the Jewish nation derived its origin, and in which no name was to inserted, whose descendants or heirs did not exist in possession of the property, which the original family had possessed at the first division of the promised land. The distribution of property by tribes and families proves, that some such catalogues of families as we find in the Pentateuch must have existed at the very first division of the country; these must have been carefully preserved, because the property of every family was unalienable since, if sold, it was to return to the original family at each year of jubilee. The genealogies of the Pentateuch, if they differed from this known and authentic register, would have been immediately rejected, and with them, the whole work. They therefore impart to the entire history all the authenticity of such a public register: for surely it is not in the slightest degree probable, that the Pentateuch should ever have been received as the original record of the settlement and division of Judea, if so important a part of it as the register of the genealogies had been known to exist long before its publication, and to have been merely copied into it from pre-existing documents.

"Again, we may make a similar observation on the geographical enumerations of places in the Pentateuch;[11] the accounts constantly given, of their deriving their names from particular events, and particular persons; and on the details of marches and encampments which occur, first in the progress of the direct narrative, when only some few stations distinguished by remarkable facts are noticed, and afterwards at its close, where a regular list is given of all the stations of the Jewish camp. All this looks like reality; whenever the Pentateuch was published,

[1] Bishop Newton has collected all the leading testimonies above noticed, concerning Moses, *at length*, in his Dissertation on Moses and his Writings. Works, vol. i. pp. 32—40. 8vo. edition. Du Voisin, l'Autorité des Livres de Moyse, pp. 53—56.

[2] Josephus contra Apion. lib. i. § 31.

[3] Longinus de Sublimitate, § 9. p. 50. ed. 2da. Pearce.

[4] Numenius apud Clem. Alexandr. Stromata, lib. i. § 22. p. 41. edit. Potter. Eusebius, Præp. Evang. lib. ix. § 6. et 8.

[5] The topics here briefly glanced at, are considered more fully, *infra*, Chapter III. Sect. I.

[6] The Discourses of Sir William Jones, delivered to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, and printed in the three first volumes of their Researches, the Indian Antiquities, and History of India, by Mr. Maurice, may be referred to, as containing incontestable evidence of the antiquity and genuineness of the Mosaic records. Mr. Carwithen has very ably condensed all the information to be derived from these voluminous works, in his Bampton Lectures for the year 1809, particularly in the five first discourses.

[7] And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests the sons of Levi, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and unto all the elders of Israel. And Moses commanded them saying, At the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the years of release, in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before the Lord thy God, in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing. And it came to pass when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, until they were finished, that Moses commanded the Levites which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, saying, Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God. Deut. xxxi. 9—11. 24—26. There is a passage to the same purpose in Josephus: Δηλουται δια των συγκειμενων εν τω ιερω γραμματων Josephi Antiquitat. lib. v. c. i. § 17. tom. i. p. 185. ed. Hudson.

[8] See the collation of the Hebrew and Samaritan Pentateuch, in the sixth volume of the London Polyglott, p. 19. of the Animadversiones Samaritiæ

[9] See Waltoni Prolegom. xi. § 11.

[10] Vide Num. ch. ii. and iii. and especially ch. xxvi. and xxxiv.

[11] Vide Exod. xiv. 2. xv. 27. xvii. 7. And compare Numbers, ch. xx. xxi and xxxiii. xxxiv. xxxv.; also Deut. i. ii. iii.

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it would have been immediately rejected, except the account it gives of the origin of these names, and of the series of these marches, had been known to be true by the Jews in general; for the book states, that many of these names were adopted in consequence of these events, from the very time they took place; and it also states that the entire nation was engaged in these marches. Now the memory of such circumstances as these cannot long exist without writing. If the Pentateuch was not what it pretends to be, the original detail of these circumstances, it could not have been received; for, if it was published long after the events, and there was no pre-existing document of these details, which it delivers as things well known, how could it be received as true? If it was copied from a known pre-existing document, how could it be received as being itself the original? Besides, it is natural for the spectator of events to connect every circumstance with the place where it happened. An inventor of fiction would not venture upon this, as it would facilitate the detection of his falsehood; a compiler long subsequent would not trouble himself with it, except in some remarkable cases. The very natural and artless manner in which all circumstances of this nature are introduced in the Pentateuch increases the probability of its being the work of an eye-witness, who could introduce them with ease, while to any body else it would be extremely difficult and therefore unnatural; since it would render his work much more laborious, without making it more instructive.

"All these things bespeak a writer present at the transactions, deeply interested in them, recording each object as it was suggested to his mind by facts, conscious he had such authority with the persons to whom he wrote, as to be secure of their attention, and utterly indifferent as to style or ornament, and those various arts which are employed to fix attention and engage regard; which an artful forger would probably have employed, and a compiler of even a true history would not have judged beneath his attention."[1]

The frequent repetitions, too, which occur in the Pentateuch, and the neglect of order in delivering the precepts, are strong proofs that it has come down to us precisely as it was written by Moses, at various times, and upon different occasions, during the long abode of the Israelites in the wilderness. Had the Pentateuch been re-written by any later hand, there would in all probability have been an appearance of greater exactness: its contents would have been digested into better order, and would not have abounded with so many repetitions.

"For example, the law respecting the passover is introduced into Ex. xii. 1—28.; resumed in Exod. xii. 43—51.; again in chapter xiii.; and once more, with supplements, in Num. ix. 1—14. Would a compiler, after the exile, have scattered these notices of the passover, in so many different places? Surely not; he would naturally have embodied all the traditions concerning it, in one chapter. But now every thing wears the exact appearance of having been recorded in the order in which it happened. New exigences occasioned new ordinances: and these are recorded, as they were made, *pro re nata*.

"In like manner the code of the priests not having been finished at once in the book of Leviticus, the subject is resumed, and completed at various times, and on various occasions, as is recorded in the subsequent books of the Pentateuch. So, the subject of sin and trespass-offerings is again and again resumed, until the whole arrangements are completed. Would not a later compiler have embodied these subjects respectively together?

"Besides repeated instances of the kind just alluded to, cases occur in which statutes made at one time are repealed or modified at another; as in Exod. xxi. 2—7. compared with Deut. xv. 12—27.; Num. iv. 24—33. compared with Num. vii. 1—9.; Num. iv. 3. compared with Num. viii. 24.; Lev. xvii. 3, 4. compared with Deut. xi. 15.; Ex. xxii. 25. compared with Deut. xxiii. 19.; Ex. xxii. 16, 17. compared with Deut. xxii. 29.; and other like instances. How could a compiler, at the time of the captivity, know any thing of the original laws in those cases, which had gone into desuetude from the time of Moses?"[2]

All these examples prove that the Pentateuch was (as it purports to be) written by Moses at different times, and in many different parcels at first, which were afterwards united. To these considerations, we may add, that no other person besides Moses himself could write the Pentateuch: because, on comparing together the different books of which it is composed, there is an exact agreement in the different parts of the narrative, as well with each other as with the different situations in which Moses, its supposed author, is placed. And this agreement discovers itself in *coincidences so minute, so latent, so indirect, and so evidently undesigned*, that nothing could have produced them but reality and truth influencing the mind and directing the pen of the legislator.[3]

[1] Dr. Graves's Lectures on Pentateuch, vol. i. pp. 50—53.

[2] North American Review, New Series, vol. xxii. p. 288.

[3] These coincidences are illustrated at a considerable length, and in a most masterly manner, by Dr. Graves in his third and fourth lectures (on the Pentateuch, vol. i. pp. 69—121.), to which we must refer the reader, as the argument would be impaired by abridgment; as also to "The Veracky of the Five Books of Moses argued from the undesigned Coincidences to be found in them, when compared in their several Parts. By the Rev. T. J. Blunt. London. 1830." 8vo.

"The account which is given in the book of Exodus of the conduct of Pharaoh towards the children of Israel is such as might be expected from a writer, who was not only acquainted with the country at large, but had frequent access to the court of its sovereign; and the minute geographical description of the passage through Arabia is such, as could have been given only by a man like Moses, who had spent forty years in the land of Midian. The language itself is a proof of its high antiquity, which appears partly from the great simplicity of the style, and partly from the use of archaisms, or antiquated expressions, which in the days even of David and Solomon were obsolete.[4] But the strongest argument that can be produced to show that the Pentateuch was written by a man born and educated in Egypt, is the use of Egyptian words,[5] which never were nor ever could have been used by a native of Palestine; and it is a remarkable circumstance, that the very same thing which Moses had expressed by a word that is pure Egyptian, Isaiah, as might be expected from his birth and education, has expressed by a word that is purely Hebrew."[6]

V. We here close the *positive* evidence for the authenticity of the Pentateuch; it only remains therefore that we notice the Objections to it, which have been deduced from marks of a supposed *posterior date*, and also from marks of supposed *posterior interpolation*, and which have so often been urged with the insidious design of weakening the authority of the Mosaic writings.

[i.] With respect to the alleged marks of *posterior date*, it is a singular fact, that the objections which have been founded on them are derived—not from the original Hebrew, but from *modern translations;* they are in themselves so trifling, that, were it not for the imposing manner in which they are announced by those who impugn the Scriptures, they would be utterly unworthy of notice. The following are the principal passages alluded to:—

Objection 1.—From the occurrence of the word *Gentiles* in the English version of Gen. x. 5., of *Israel*, in Gen. xxxiv. 7., and of *Palestine*, in Exod. xv. 14., it has been affirmed, that those two books were not written till after the Israelites were established in Jerusalem, nor indeed till after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity.

Answer.—If however, the objector had referred to the original passages, he would have seen, that there was no ground for these assertions. For, in the first place, the Hebrew word גוים (Goyim,) in Gen. x. 5., most frequently means *nations* in general, and so it is rendered several times in this chapter, besides many other passages in various books of the Old Testament, the style of which proves that they were written before the captivity; and this word was *not* understood of the *heathen*, that is, of those who had not the knowledge and worship of the true God, *until after the captivity*.[7] Secondly, the proper rendering of Gen. xxxiv. 7., is *wrought fully* against Israel, that is, against Jacob, who was also called Israel. See Gen. xxxii. 28. xxxv. 10. and xlvii. 31. The preposition ב (*Beth*) means *against* as well as *in*, and so it is rendered in Num. xxi. 7. The name of Israel did not become a patronymic of his descendants until more than two hundred years afterwards. Compare Exod. iv. 22. Thirdly, the name of Palestine is of comparatively modern date, being first used by the heathen geographers; and is given by almost all translators of the book of Genesis, to indicate more clearly the country intended, namely, that of the Philistines. The Hebrew word in Exod. xv. 14. is פלשת (PaLeSHeTH), which the Greek writers softened into Παλαιστινη, and the Latin writers into *Palæstina*, whence our Palestine.

Obj. 2.—Deut. i. 1. contains a clear evidence that Moses could not be the author of that book.

[4] For instance, הוא, ille, and נער, puer, which are used in both genders by no other writer than Moses. See Gen. xxiv. 14. 16. 28. 55. 57. xxxviii. 21. 25.

[5] For instance אחו, (perhaps written originally אחי, and the י lengthened into ו by mistake) written by the LXX. ἄχι or ἄχει, Gen. xli. 2. and תבה, written by the LXX. θίβη or θίβις. See La Croze Lexicon Egyptiacum, art. AXI and ΘΗΒΙ.

[6] The same thing which Moses expresses by אחו, (Gen. xli. 2.) Isaiah (xix. 7.) expresses by ערות, for the LXX. have translated both of these words by ἄχι.—The Authenticity of the Five Books of Moses vindicated. pp. 11—14. See also Jahn, Introd. ad. Lect. Vet. Fœd. pp. 204—209.

Will it be credited, that after the body of evidence above adduced (*the greater part of which has been published in the English, German, or Latin languages for nearly one hundred and fifty years*), the late M. Volney should assert that the book of Genesis is not a national monument of the Jews, but a Chaldean monument, retouched and arranged by the high-priest Hilkiah (who lived *only* 827 years after Moses), so as to produce a premeditated effect, both political and religious!!!

[7] Vorstius, de Hebraismis Novi Testamenti, p. 44. 8vo. Lipsiæ. 1778.

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ANSWER.—The objection was first made by Spinoza, and from him it has been copied without acknowledgment by the modern opposers of the Scriptures: but it is founded on a mistranslation, and *does not apply to our authorized English version.* According to these objectors, the verse runs thus:—*These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel* BEYOND *Jordan in the wilderness, in the plain over against the Red Sea, between Paran and Tophel and Laban and Hazeroth and Dizahab.* And as Moses never went over Jordan, they say it is evident that the writer of the book of Deuteronomy lived on the west side of that river, and consequently could not be Moses. The Hebrew word בעבר *(BeEBeR)*, however, is completely ambiguous, signifying sometimes *beyond*, and sometimes *on this side*, or, more properly, *at* or *on the passage* of Jordan. Thus in Joshua xii. 1. the words translated, *on the other side Jordan, towards the rising of the sun*, and ver. 7. *on this side Jordan on the west*, are both expressed by the same Hebrew word. In our authorized English version, the first verse of Deuteronomy runs thus:—*These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel* ON THIS SIDE JORDAN, *in the wilderness, &c.* This version is agreeable to the construction *which the original requires, and which is sanctioned by the Syriac translation, executed at the close of the first, or in the beginning of the second century of the Christian æra:* the objection above stated, therefore, does not apply to our authorized English translation. The Septuagint and Vulgate Latin versions, as well as that of Dr. Geddes, and several of the versions in the continental languages, are all erroneous.

[ii.] With regard to the alleged marks of *posterior interpolation*, it must be acknowledged, that there are some such passages, but a *few* insertions can never prove the *whole* to be spurious. We have indeed abundant reason still to receive the rest as genuine: for no one ever denied the Iliad or Odyssey to be the works of Homer, because *some* ancient critics and grammarians have asserted that a *few* verses are interpolations. The interpolations in the Pentateuch, however, are much fewer and less considerable than they are generally imagined to be; and all the objections which have been founded upon them (it is observed by the learned prelate to whom this section is so deeply indebted) may be comprised under one general head—namely, "*expressions and passages found in the Pentateuch which could not have been written by Moses.*" A brief notice of some of these passages objected to, will show how little reason there is for such objections.

OBJECTION 1.—In Deut. xxxiv. the *death* of Moses is described; and therefore that chapter could not have been written by him.

ANSWER.—Deut. xxxiii. has evident marks of being the close of the book, as finished by Moses; and the thirty-fourth chapter was added, either by Joshua or some other sacred writer, as a supplement to the whole. Or, it may formerly have been the commencement of the book of Joshua, and in process of time removed thence, and joined to Deuteronomy by way of supplement.

OBJ. 2.—There are names of cities mentioned in the Pentateuch, which names were not given to those cities till after the death of Moses. For instance, a city which was originally called Laish, but changed its name to that of Dan, after the Israelites had conquered Palestine (Judg. xviii. 22.), is yet denominated Dan in the book of Genesis. (xiv. 14.) The book itself, therefore, it is said, must have been written after the Israelites had taken possession of the Holy Land.

ANSWER.—But is it not possible that Moses originally wrote Laish, and that, after the name of the city had been changed, transcribers, for the sake of perspicuity, substituted the new for the old name? This might so easily have happened that the solution is hardly to be disputed, in a case where the positive arguments in favour of the word in question are so very decisive.[1]

OBJ. 3.—The tower of Edar, mentioned in Gen. xxxv. 21., was the name of a tower over one of the gates of Jerusalem; and therefore the author of the book of Genesis must at least have been contemporary with Saul and David.

ANSWER.—This objection involves a manifest absurdity, for if the writer of this passage had meant the tower of Edar in Jerusalem, he would have made Israel spread his tent beyond a tower that probably did not exist till many hundred years after his death. The tower of Edar signifies, literally, the tower of the flocks; and as this name was undoubtedly given to many towers, or places of retreat for shepherds, in the open country of Palestine, which in the days of the patriarchs was covered with flocks, it is unnecessary to suppose that it meant in particular a tower of Jerusalem.

OBJ. 4.—In Exod. xvi. 35, 36. we read thus:—*And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, until they came into a land inhabited: they did eat manna, until they came into the borders of the land of Canaan. Now an omer is the tenth part of an ephah.* This could not have been written by Moses, as the Jews did not reach the borders of Canaan, or cease to eat manna, until after his death: nor would Moses speak thus of an omer, the measure by which all the people gathered the manna, *an omer for every man.* It is the language of one speaking when this measure was out of use, and an ephah more generally known.

ANSWER.—This passage, as Dr. Graves has forcibly observed, is evidently inserted by a later hand. It forms a complete parenthesis, entirely unconnected with the narrative, which, having given a full account of the miraculous provision of manna, closes it with the order to Aaron to *lay up an omer full of manna in the ark, as a memorial to be kept for their generations.* This was evidently the last circumstance relating to this matter which it was necessary for Moses to mention; and he accordingly then resumes the regular account of the journeyings of the people. Some later writer was very naturally led to insert the additional circumstance of the time during which this miraculous provision was continued, and probably added an explanatory note, to ascertain the capacity of an omer, which was the quantity of food provided for each individual by God. To ascertain it, therefore must have been a matter of curiosity.

In like manner, Num. xxi. 3. was evidently added after the days of Joshua: it is parenthetical, and is not necessary to complete the narrative of Moses.

OBJ. 5.—The third verse of the twelfth chapter of the book of Numbers—*(Now the man Moses was very meek above all the men which were upon the face of the earth)*—bears sufficient proof that Moses could not be the author of it, and that no man, however great his egotism, could have written such an assertion of himself.

ANSWER.—If the assertor of this objection had been acquainted with the original of this passage, instead of adopting it at second-hand from some of those who copied it from Spinoza (for it was first broached by him), he would have known that the passage was mistranslated, not only in our own English version, but also in *all modern* translations. The word ענו (ANAV), which is translated *meek*, is derived from ענה (ANAH) to *act upon*, to *humble, depress, afflict*, and so it is rendered in many places in the Old Testament, and in this sense it ought to be understood in the passage now under consideration, which ought to be thus translated. Now the man Moses was *depressed* or *afflicted more than any man* האדמה (HADAMAH) *of that land.* And why was he so? Because of the great burden he had to sustain in the care and government of the Israelites, and also on account of their ingratitude and rebellion, both against God and himself. Of this affliction and depression, there is the fullest evidence in the eleventh chapter of the book of Numbers. The very power which the Israelites envied was oppressive to its possessor, and was more than either of *their* shoulders could sustain.[2] But let the passage be interpreted in the sense in which it is rendered in our authorized English version, and what does it prove? Nothing at all. The character given of Moses as the meekest of men might be afterwards inserted by some one who revered his memory: or, if he wrote it himself, he was justified by the occasion, which required him to repel a foul and envious aspersion of his character.

OBJ. 6.—The most formidable objection, however, that has been urged against the Pentateuch, is that which is drawn from the two following passages, the one in the book of Genesis (xxxvi. 31.), the other in the book of Deuteronomy (iii. 14.): *These are the kings, that reigned over the land of Edom,* BEFORE THERE REIGNED ANY KING OVER THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL. And again, *Jair, the son of Manasseh, took all the country of Argob unto the coasts of Geshuri, and Maachathi, and called them after his own name, Bashon-havoth-jair* UNTO THIS DAY. Now it is certain that the last clause in each of

[1] An example of the same kind is "Hebron" (Gen. xiii. 18.), which before the conquest of Palestine was called Kirjath-Arba, as appears from Josh. xiv. 15. This example may be explained in the same manner as the preceding.

[2] Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary, in loc.

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these examples could not have been written by Moses: for the one implies a writer who lived after the establishment of monarchy in Israel, the other a writer who lived at least some ages after the settlement of the Jews in Palestine.[1]

ANSWER.—If these clauses were not written by the author of the Pentateuch, but inserted by some transcriber, in a later age, they affect not the authenticity of the work itself. And whoever impartially examines the contents of these two passages, will find that the clauses in question are not only unnecessary, but even a burden to the sense. The clause of the second example in particular could not possibly have proceeded from the author of the rest of the verse, who, whether Moses or any other person, would hardly have written, "He called them after his own name *unto this day*." The author of the Pentateuch wrote, "He called them after his own name:" some centuries after the death of the author, the clause "unto this day" was probably added in the margin, to denote that the district still retained the name which was given it by Jair, and this marginal reading was in subsequent transcripts obtruded on the text. Whoever doubts the truth of this assertion, needs only to have recourse to the manuscripts of the Greek Testament, and he will find that the spurious additions in the texts of some manuscripts are actually written in the margin of others."[2]

So far, however, is the insertion of such notes from impeaching the antiquity and genuineness of the original narrative, that, on the contrary, it rather confirms them. For, if this were a compilation long subsequent to the events it records, such additions would not have been plainly distinguishable, as they now are, from the main substance of the original: since the entire history would have been composed with the same ideas and views as these additions were; and such explanatory insertions would not have been made, if length of time had not rendered them necessary.[3]

We have therefore every possible evidence, that "the genuine text of the Pentateuch proceeded from the hands of Moses; and the various charges that have been brought against it amount to nothing more than this, that it has not descended to the present age without some few alterations; a circumstance at which we ought not to be surprised, when we reflect on the many thousands of transcripts that have been made from it in the course of three thousand years."[4] The authority of the Pentateuch being thus established, that of the other books of the Old Testament follows of course: for so great is their mutual and immediate dependence upon each other, that if one be taken away, the authority of the other must necessarily fall.

SECTION II.

ON THE GENUINENESS AND AUTHENTICITY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. *General title of the* NEW TESTAMENT.—II. *Account of its* CANON.—III. GENUINENESS *of the books of the New Testament.*—IV. *Their* AUTHENTICITY *proved,* 1. *From the* IMPOSSIBILITY OF FORGERY; 2. *From* EXTERNAL, *or* HISTORICAL EVIDENCE, *afforded by ancient Jewish, Heathen, and Christian testimonies in their favour, and also by ancient versions of them in different languages:—and* 3. *From* INTERNAL EVIDENCE, *furnished by,* (1.) *The character of the writers.* (2.) *The language and style of the New Testament, and,* (3.) *The minute circumstantiality of the narrative, together with the coincidence of the accounts there delivered, with the history of those times.*

I. THAT an extraordinary person, called Jesus Christ, flourished in Judæa in the Augustan age, is a fact better supported and authenticated, than that there lived such men as Cyrus, Alexander, and Julius Cæsar; for although their histories are recorded by various ancient writers, yet the memorials of their conquests and empires have for the most part perished. Babylon, Persepolis, and Ecbatana are no more; and travellers have long disputed, but have not been able to ascertain, the *precise* site of ancient Nineveh, that "*exceeding great city of three days' journey.*" (Jonah iii. 3.) How few vestiges of Alexander's victorious arms are at present to be seen in Asia Minor and India! And equally few are the standing memorials in France and Britain, to evince that there was such a person as Julius Cæsar, who subdued the one, and invaded the other. Not so defective are the evidences concerning the existence of Jesus Christ. That he lived in the reign of Tiberius emperor of Rome, and that he suffered death under Pontius Pilate, the Roman procurator of Judæa, are facts that are not only acknowledged by the Jews of every subsequent age, and by the testimonies of several heathen writers, but also by Christians of every age and country, who have commemorated, and still commemorate, the birth, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ, and his spiritual kingdom, by their constant and universal profession of certain principles of religion, and by their equally constant and universal celebration of divine worship on the Lord's day, or first day of the week, and likewise of the two ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper. These religious doctrines and ordinances they profess to derive from a collection of writings, composed after the ascension of Jesus Christ, which they acknowledge to be divine, and to have been written by the first preachers of Christianity.[5]

As all who have claimed to be the founders of any particular sect or religion have left some written records of their institutes, it is a natural supposition that the first preachers of the Christian faith should have left some writings containing the principles which it requires to be believed, and the moral precepts which it enjoins to be performed. For although they were at first content with the oral publication of the actions and doctrines of their master; yet they must have been apprehensive lest the purity of that first tradition should be altered after their decease by false teachers, or by those changes which are ordinarily effected in the course of time in whatever is transmitted orally. Besides, they would have to answer those who consulted them; they would have to furnish Christians, who lived at a distance, with lessons and instructions. Thus it became necessary that they should leave something in writing; and, if the apostles did leave any writings, they must be the same which have been preserved to our time: for it is incredible that all their writings should have been lost, and succeeded by supposititious pieces, and that the whole of the Christian faith should have for its foundation only forged or spurious writings. Further, that the first Christians did receive some *written*, as well as some oral instruction, is a fact supported by the unanimous testimony of all the Christian churches, which, in every age since their establishment, have professed to read and to venerate certain books as the productions of the apostles, and as being the foundation of their faith. Now every thing which we know concerning the belief, worship, manners, and discipline of the first Christians, corresponds exactly with the contents of the books of the New Testament, which are now extant, and which are therefore most certainly the primitive instructions which they received.

The collection of these books or writings is generally known by the appellation of Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, the NEW COVENANT, or NEW TESTAMENT; a title, which, though neither given by divine command, nor applied to these writings by the apostles, was adopted in a very early age.[6] Although the precise time of its introduction is not known, yet

[1] Witsius, in his Miscellaneous Sacra, p. 125., says the clause "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel," might have been written by Moses; but he cuts the knot, instead of untying it.

[2] To mention only two examples. The common reading of 1 Cor. xvi. 2. is μιαν σαββατου, but the Codex Petavianus 3. has την κυριακην in the margin; and in one of the manuscripts used by Beza, this marginal addition has been obtruded on the text. See his note to this passage. Another instance is 1 John ii. 27. where the genuine reading is χρισμα, but Wetstein quotes two manuscripts in which πνευμα is written in the margin, and this marginal reading has found its way not only into the Codex Covelli 2. but into the Coptic and Ethiopic versions.

[3] Dr. Graves's Lectures, vol. i. p. 246.

[4] Bishop Marsh's Authenticity of the Five Books of Moses vindicated, pp. 15. 18. The texts above considered, which were excepted against by Spinoza, Le Clerc (who subsequently wrote a Dissertation to refute his former objections), the late Dr. Geddes, and some opposers of revelation since his decease, are considered, discussed, and satisfactorily explained at great length by Huet, Dem. Evang. prop. iv. cap. 14. (tom. i. pp. 254—264.), and by Dr. Graves in the appendix to his Lectures on the four last Books of the Pentateuch, vol. i. pp. 332—361. See also Carpzov. Introd. ad Libros Biblicos. Vet. Test. pp. 38—41. Moldenhawer, Introd. ad Libros Canonicos Vet. et Nov. Test. pp. 16, 17. Religionis Naturalis et Revelatæ Principia, tom. ii. pp. 2—51.

[5] Dr. Howard's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. pp 1—6.

[6] Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. p. 1. Bishop Marsh, in a note, thinks it probable that this title was used so early as the second century, because the word *testamentum* was used in that sense by the Latin Christians before the expiration of that period, as appears from Tertullian. Adversus Marcionem, lib. iv. c. 1. But the first instance in which the term καινη διαθηκη actually occurs in the sense of "writings of the new covenant," is in Origen's treatise Περι Αρχων, lib. iv. c. 1. (Op. tom. i. p. 155.)—Michaelis, vol. i. p. 343 See also Rosenmüller's Scholia in N. T. tom. i. p. i.; Rumpæi Commentatio Critica in Libros Novi Testamenti, pp. 1—3.; Leusden's Philologus Hebræo-Græcus, p. i.; and Pritii Introd in Nov. Test. pp. 9—11.

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it is justified by several passages in the Scriptures,[1] and is, in particular, warranted by Saint Paul, who calls the doctrines, precepts, and promises of the Gospel dispensation Καινὴ Διαθήκη, the New Covenant, in opposition to those of the Mosaic Dispensation, which he terms Παλαιὰ Διαθήκη, the Old Covenant.[2] This appellation, in process of time, was by a metonymy transferred to the collection of apostolical and evangelical writings. The title, "New Covenant," then, signifies the book which contains the terms of the New Covenant, upon which God is pleased to offer salvation to mankind, through the mediation of Jesus Christ. But according to the meaning of the primitive church, which bestowed this title, it is not altogether improperly rendered *New Testament;* as being that in which the Christian's inheritance is sealed to him as a son and heir of God, and in which the death of Christ as a testator is related at large, and applied to our benefit. As this title implies that in the Gospel unspeakable gifts are given or bequeathed to us, antecedent to all conditions required of us, the title of TESTAMENT may be retained, although that of COVENANT would be more correct and proper.[3]

II. The writings, thus collectively termed the NEW TESTAMENT, consist of twenty-seven books, composed on various occasions, and at different times and places, by eight different authors, all of whom were contemporary with Jesus Christ, viz. the four Gospels, which bear the names of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, the Acts of the Apostles, the fourteen Epistles which bear the name of Paul, and which are addressed to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, to Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and to the Hebrews, the seven Catholic Epistles (as they are called) of James, Peter, 1, 2, and 3 John, and Jude, and the Book of the Revelation, which likewise bears the name of John. These writings contain the history of Jesus Christ, the first propagation of his religion, together with the principles of Christianity, and various precepts or rules of life. The Gospels were written at various periods, and published for very different classes of believers; while the Epistles were addressed, as occasion required, to those various Christian communities, which, by the successful labours of the apostles, had been spread over the greatest part of the then known world, and also to a few private individuals.

Different churches received different books according to their situation and circumstances. Their canons were gradually enlarged; and at no very great distance of time from the age of the apostles, with a view to secure to future ages a divine and perpetual standard of faith and practice, these writings were collected together into one volume under the title of the "New Testament," or the "Canon of the New Testament." Neither the names of the persons that were concerned in making this collection, nor the exact time when it was undertaken, can at present be ascertained with any degree of certainty: nor is it at all necessary that we should be precisely informed concerning either of these particulars. It is sufficient for us to know that the principal parts of the New Testament were collected before the death of the Apostle John, or at least not long after that event.[4]

Modern advocates of infidelity, with their accustomed disregard of truth, have asserted that the Scriptures of the New Testament were never accounted canonical until the meeting of the council of Laodicea, A. D. 364. The simple fact is, that the canons of this council are the earliest extant, which give a formal catalogue of the books of the New Testament. There is, indeed, every reason to believe that the bishops who were present at Laodicea did not mean to settle the canon, but simply to mention those books which were to be publicly read.[5] Another reason why the canonical books were not mentioned before the council of Laodicea, is presented in the persecutions to which the professors of Christianity were constantly exposed, and in the want of a national establishment of Christianity for several centuries, which prevented any general councils of Christians for the purpose of settling their canon of Scripture.[6] But, though the number of the books thus received as sacred and canonical was not in the first instance determined by the authority of councils, we are not left in uncertainty concerning their genuineness and authenticity, for which we have infinitely more decisive and satisfactory evidence than we have for the productions of any ancient classic authors, concerning whose genuineness and authenticity no doubt was ever entertained.

III. We receive the books of the New Testament, as the genuine works of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Paul, James, Peter, and Jude, for the same reason that we receive the writings of Xenophon, of Polybius, of Cæsar, Tacitus, and Quintus Curtius; namely, because we have the uninterrupted testimony of ages to their genuineness, and we have no reason to suspect imposition. This argument, Michaelis remarks, is much stronger when applied to the books of the New Testament than when applied to any other writings; for they were addressed to large societies in widely distant parts of the world, in whose presence they were often read, and were acknowledged by them to be the writings of the apostles. Whereas the most eminent profane writings, that are still extant, were addressed only to individuals, or to no persons at all: and we have no authority to affirm that they were read in public; on the contrary, we know that a liberal education was uncommon, books were scarce, and the knowledge of them was confined to a few individuals in every nation.

The New Testament was read over three quarters of the world, while profane writers were limited to one nation or to one country. An uninterrupted succession of writers, from the apostolic ages to the present time (many of whom were men of distinguished learning and acuteness), either quote the Sacred Writings, or make allusion to them: and these quotations and allusions, as will be shown in a subsequent page, are made not only by friends, but also by enemies. This cannot be asserted of the best classic authors: and as translations of the New Testament were made in the second century, which in the course of one or two centuries more were greatly multiplied, it became absolutely impossible to forge new writings, or to corrupt the sacred text, unless we suppose that men of different nations, sentiments, and languages, and often exceedingly hostile to each other, should *all* agree in one forgery. This argument is so strong, that if we deny the authenticity of the New Testament, we may with a thousand times greater propriety reject all the other writings in the world; we may even throw aside human testimony.[7] But this subject is of the greatest importance (for the arguments that prove the authenticity of the New Testament also prove the truth of the Christian religion), we shall consider it more at length; and having first shown that the books which compose the canon of the New Testament are not spurious, we shall briefly consider the positive evidence for their authenticity.

A genuine book, as already remarked, is one written by the person whose name it bears as its author: the opposite to genuine is *spurious*, supposititious, or, as some critics term it, *pseudepigraphial*, that which is clandestinely put in the place of another. The reasons which may induce a critic to suspect a work to be spurious are stated by Michaelis to be the following:

1. When doubts have been entertained from its appearance in the world, whether it proceeded from the author to whom it is ascribed;—2. When the immediate friends of the pretended author, who were able to decide upon the subject, have denied it to be his production;—3. When a long series of years has elapsed after his death, in which the book was unknown, and in which it must unavoidably have been mentioned and quoted, had it really existed;—4. When the style is different from that of his other writings, or, in case no other remain, different from that which might reasonably be expected;—5. When events are recorded which happened later

[1] Matt. xxvi. 28. Gal. iii. 17. Heb. viii. 8. ix. 15—20. [2] 2 Cor. iii. 6. 14.

[3] The learned professor Jablonski has an elegant dissertation on the word ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, which, he contends, ought to be translated *Testament*, 1. From the usage of the Greek language; 2. From the nature of the design and will of God, which is called ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ; 3. From various passages of the New Testament, which evidently admit of no other signification; 4. From the notion of inheritance or heirship, under which the Scripture frequently designates the same thing; and, 5. From the consent of antiquity. Jablonskii Opuscula, tom. ii. pp. 393—423. Lug. Bat. 1804.

[4] Of all the various opinions that have been maintained concerning the person who first collected the canon of the New Testament, the most general seems to be, that the several books were originally collected by St. John;—an opinion for which the testimony of Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 24.) is very confidently quoted as an indisputable authority. But it is to be observed, says Mosheim, that, allowing even the highest degree of weight to Eusebius's authority, nothing further can be collected from his words, than that St. John approved of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and added his own to them by way of supplement. Concerning any of the other books of the New Testament, Eusebius is totally silent. Mosheim's Commentaries, translated by Mr. Vidal, vol. i. p. 151. Stosch, in his learned Commentatio Critica de Librorum Nov. Test. Canone. (pp. 103. *et seq.* 8vo. Frankfort, 1755), has given the opinions of Ens, Lampe, Frickius, Dodwell, Vitringa, and Dupin. He adopts the last, which in substance corresponds with that above given, and defends it at considerable length. Ibid. pp 113. *et seq.*

[5] Lardner's Works, vol. iii. p. 448. 4to. edit.

[6] Bp. Tomline's Elements of Christian Theology, vol. i. p. 270. Jones on the Canon, vol. i. p. 41. Oxford, 1798.

[7] Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. xvii. p. 135. 3d edit.

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than the time of the pretended author;—6. When opinions are advanced which contradict those he is known to maintain in his other writings. Though this latter argument alone leads to no positive conclusion, since every man is liable to change his opinion, or, through forgetfulness, to vary in the circumstances of the same relation, of which Josephus, in his Antiquities and War of the Jews, affords a striking example.

Now, of all these various grounds for denying a work to be genuine, not one can be applied with justice to the New Testament. For, in the *first* place, it cannot be shown that any one doubted of its authenticity in the period in which it first appeared;—*Secondly*, no ancient accounts are on record, whence we may conclude it to be spurious;—*Thirdly*, no considerable period of time elapsed after the death of the apostles, in which the New Testament was unknown; but, on the contrary, it is mentioned by their very contemporaries, and the accounts of it in the second century are still more numerous;—*Fourthly*, no argument can be brought in its disfavour from the nature of the style, it being exactly such as might be expected from the apostles, not Attic, but Jewish Greek;—*Fifthly*, no facts are recorded, which happened after their death;—*Lastly*, no doctrines are maintained, which contradict the known tenets of the authors, since, besides the New Testament, no writings of the apostles are in existence. But, to the honour of the New Testament be it spoken, it contains numerous contradictions to the tenets and doctrines of the fathers of the second and third centuries; whose morality is different from that of the Gospel, which recommends fortitude and submission to unavoidable evils, but not that enthusiastic ardour for martyrdom, for which those centuries are distinguished: the New Testament also alludes to ceremonies which in the following ages were disused or unknown: all which circumstances infallibly demonstrate that it is not a production of either of those centuries.[1]

IV. From the preceding considerations it is evident, that there is not the smallest reason to doubt that these books are as certainly genuine as the most indisputable works of the Greeks and Romans. But that the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament do not rest on merely negative proof, we have evidence the most direct and positive which can be desired, and this evidence may be arranged under the following heads, namely: 1. The *Impossibility of a Forgery*, arising from the nature of the thing itself;—2. *External* or *Historical Evidence*, arising from the ancient Christian, Jewish, and Heathen testimonies in its favour, and also from the ancient versions of the New Testament, which were made into various languages in the very first ages of the church, and which versions are still extant;—and, 3. *Internal Evidence*, arising from the character of the writers of the New Testament, from its language and style, from the circumstantiality of the narrative, and from the undesigned coincidences of the accounts delivered in the New Testament with the history of those times.

I. *The* IMPOSSIBILITY OF A FORGERY, *arising from the nature of the thing itself, is evident.*

It is impossible to establish forged writings as *authentic* in any place where there are persons strongly inclined and well qualified to detect the fraud.[2]

Now the Jews were the most violent enemies of Christianity. they put its founder to death; they persecuted his disciples with implacable fury; and they were anxious to stifle the new religion in its birth. If the writings of the New Testament had been forged, would not the Jews have detected the imposture? Is there a single instance on record where a few individuals have imposed a history upon the world against the testimony of a whole nation? Would the inhabitants of Palestine have received the gospels, if they had not had sufficient evidence that Jesus Christ really appeared among them, and performed the miracles ascribed to him? Or would the churches at Rome or at Corinth have acknowledged the epistles addressed to them as the genuine works of St. Paul, if he had never preached among them? Or, supposing any impostor to have attempted the invention and distribution of writings under his name, or the names of the other apostles, is it possible that they could have been received without contradiction in all the Christian communities of the three several quarters of the globe? We might as well attempt to prove that the history of the reformation is the invention of historians, and that no revolution happened in Great Britain during the seventeenth century, or in France during the eighteenth century, and the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century.[3] Indeed, from the marks of integrity, simplicity, and fidelity, which every where pervade the writings of the apostles, we may be certain that they would not have attempted a forgery; and if they had made the attempt in the apostolic age, when the things are said to have happened, every person must have been sensible of the forgery. As the volume called the New Testament consists of several pieces, which are ascribed to eight persons, we cannot suppose it to have been an imposture; for if they had written in concert, they would not differ (as in a subsequent page we shall see that they do) in slight matters, and if one man wrote the whole, there would not be such a diversity as we see in the style of the different pieces. If the apostles were all honest, they were incapable of a forgery; and if they were all knaves, they were unlikely to labour to render men virtuous. If some of them were honest, and the rest cheats, the latter could not have deceived the former in respect to matters of fact; nor is it probable that impostors would have attempted a forgery which would have exposed them to many inconveniences. Had parts of the Scripture been fabricated in the second or third century by obscure persons, their forgeries would have been rejected by the intelligent and respectable; and if pious and learned men had forged certain passages, their frauds, however well intended, would have been discovered by the captious and insignificant, who are ever prone to criticise their superiors in virtue or abilities. If the teachers of Christianity in one kingdom forged certain passages of Scripture, the copies in the hands of laymen would discover such forgery; nor would it have been possible to obtain credit for such a forgery in other nations. Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, having understood Greek and Hebrew, their gospels, which were written in the former language, contain many Hebrew idioms and words. Hence we may be certain that the gospels were not forged by those early Christian writers, of fathers (as they are called), who were strangers to Hebrew, since in such case they would not abound with Hebrew words; nor by Justin Martyr, Origen, or Epiphanius, since the style of the Greek writings of these fathers differs from that of the gospels. Lastly, as the New Testament is not calculated to advance the private interest of priests or rulers, it could not be forged by the clergy or by princes; and as its teachers suffered in propagating it, and as it was not the established religion of any nation for three hundred years, it is perfectly absurd to suppose it the offspring of priestcraft, or mere political contrivance. For three hundred years after Christ, no man had any thing to dread from exposing a forgery in the books of the New Testament; because, during that time, the Christians had not the power of punishing informers.[4] It was therefore morally impossible, from the very nature of the thing, that those books could be forged.

Satisfactory as the preceding argument for the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament, arising from the impossibility of a forgery, unquestionably is,

2. *The direct and positive testimony arising from the* EXTERNAL *or* HISTORICAL EVIDENCE *is by no means inferior in decisiveness or importance.* This evidence is furnished by the testimony of ancient writers, who have quoted or alluded to the books of the New Testament, and also by ancient versions of the New Testament, in various languages, which are still extant. *The books of the New Testament are quoted or alluded to by a series of Christian writers, as well as by adversaries of the Christian faith, who may be traced back in regular succession from the present time to the apostolic age.*[5]

This sort of evidence, Dr. Paley has remarked, "is of all others the most unquestionable, the least liable to any practices of fraud, and *is not diminished by the lapse of ages.* Bishop Burnet, in the History of his own Times, inserts various extracts from Lord Clarendon's History. *One* such insertion is a proof that Lord Clarendon's History was ex-

[1] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. i. pp. 25—30.

[2] Witness (to mention no other instances) the attempt unsuccessfully made a few years since by Mr. Ireland, junior, in his celebrated Shakspearian Manuscripts, the fabrication of which was detected by Mr. Malone, in his masterly "Inquiry into the Authenticity of the miscellaneous Papers and legal Instruments published December 24, 1795, and attributed to Shakspeare, Queen Elizabeth, and Henry Earl of Southampton." 8vo. London, 1796.

[3] Michaelis, vol. i. p. 31. Ency. Brit. vol. xvii. p. 135.

[4] Dr. Ryan's Evidences of the Mosaic and Christian Codes, pp 150, 151. 8vo. Dublin, 1795. The argument above briefly stated is urged at length with much force and accuracy by Abbadie, in his Traite de la Verite de la Religion Chrétienne, tom. ii. pp. 39—45. Amsterdam, 1719.

[5] In the first edition of this work, the historical evidence for the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament was exhibited *chronologically* from the apostolic age down to the fourth century; but as the chronological series of that evidence has been cavilled at by the opponents of Christianity, it is now traced *backwards* from the fourth century to the apostolic age, for the weighty and satisfactory reasons (which do not admit of abridgment) assigned by Bishop Marsh, in his "Course of Lectures on D part v. pp. 11—19.

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tant at the time when Bishop Burnet wrote, that it had been read by Bishop Burnet, that it was received by Bishop Burnet as the work of Lord Clarendon, and also regarded by him as an authentic account of the transactions which it relates; and it will be a proof of these points a thousand years hence, or as long as the books exist."[1] This simple instance may serve to point out to a reader, who is little accustomed to such researches, the nature and value of the argument.

In examining the quotations from the New Testament, which are to be found in the writings of the first ecclesiastical writers, the learned Professor Hug[2] has laid down the following principles, the consideration of which will be sufficient to solve nearly all the objections which have been made against their citations:—

1. The ancient Christian writers cite the Old Testament with greater exactness than the New Testament; because the former, being less generally known, required *positive* quotations, rather than vague allusions, and perhaps also evinced more erudition in the person who appealed to its testimony.

2. In passages taken from the *Historical Writers* of the Old or New Testament we seldom meet with the identical words of the author cited: but this does not prevent allusions to circumstances, or to the sense, in very many instances, from rendering evident both the origin of the passage and the design of the author.

3. Quotations from the *didactic* writings of the Old Testament are generally very exact, and accompanied with the name of the author quoted. In this case his name is, indeed, generally necessary.

4. In like manner, when quotations are made from the *epistles* of the New Testament, the name of the author cited is generally given, especially when the passage is not literally stated.

5. The fathers often amplify sentences of Scripture to which they allude: in which case they disregard the *words*, in order to develope the *ideas* of the sacred writers.

6. When Irenæus, and the fathers who followed him, relate the actions or discourses of Jesus Christ, they almost always appeal to *Him*, and not to the evangelists whom they copy. *The Lord says—The Lord hath done it*—are their expressions, even in those instances, where the conformity of their writings with our copies of the original authors is not sufficiently striking to exclude all uncertainty respecting the source whence they drew the facts or sayings related by them. (This remark is particularly worthy of attention, because, of all the ancient fathers, Irenæus[3] is he who has rendered the strongest and most express testimony to the authenticity of our four gospels, and who has consequently drawn from them the facts and discourses which he has related in his writings.)

7. Lastly, it must on no account be forgotten, that the quotations of the fathers are not to be compared with *our* printed editions, or our *textus receptus*, but with the text of *their* church, and of the age in which they lived; which text was sometimes purer, though most frequently less correct than ours, and always exhibits diversities, in themselves indeed of little importance, but which nevertheless would be sufficient sometimes to conceal the phrase cited from readers who should not remember that circumstance.

For the reason above stated, we commence the series of testimonies to the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament, which are furnished by the quotations of ancient Christian writers, with the fathers of the *fourth century*; because from that century downwards, the works of CHRISTIAN WRITERS are so full of references to the New Testament, that it becomes unnecessary to adduce their testimonies, especially as they would only prove that the books of Scripture *never* lost their character or authority with the Christian church. The witnesses to the genuineness of the books of the New Testament, in this century, are very numerous; but, as it would extend this chapter to too great a length, were we to detail them all, it may suffice to remark, that we have not fewer than TEN distinct catalogues of these books. *Six* agree exactly with our present canon; namely, the lists of Athanasius (A. D. 315),[4] Epiphanius (A. D. 370),[5] Jerome (A. D. 392),[6] Rufinus (A. D. 390.),[7] Augustine,[8] Bishop of Hippo in Africa (A. D. 394), and of the forty-four bishops assembled in the third council of Carthage (at which Augustine was present, A. D. 397).[9] Of the other four catalogues, those of Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem (A. D. 340),[10] of the bishops at the council of Laodicea (A. D. 364),[11] and of Gregory of Nazianzum, Bishop of Constantinople (A. D. 375),[12] are the same with our canon, excepting that the Revelation is omitted; and Philaster or Philastrius,[13] Bishop of Brixia or Brescia (A. D. 380), in his list, omits the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Revelation, though he acknowledges both these books in other parts of his works.

Of these various catalogues, that of JEROME is the most remarkable. He was born about the middle of the fourth century, and was ordained presbyter by Paulinus, at Antioch, in the year 378, about which time he is placed by Bp. Marsh, Dr. Cave, and others, though Dr. Lardner (whose date we have followed) places him about the year 392, when he wrote his celebrated book of illustrious men. "It is well known that Jerome was the most learned of the Latin fathers; and he was peculiarly qualified, not only by his profound erudition, but by his extensive researches, his various travels, and his long residence in Palestine, to investigate the authenticity of the several books which compose the New Testament. Of these books he has given a catalogue in his epistle to Paulinus, on the study of the Holy Scriptures.[14] He begins his catalogue (which is nearly at the close of the epistle) with the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. The Acts of the Apostles he mentions as another work of St. Luke, whose praise is in the Gospel. He says that St. Paul wrote epistles to seven churches: the seven churches are such as we find in the titles of the Epistles of St. Paul contained in our present copies of the New Testament. Of the Epistle to the Hebrews he observes, that most persons (namely, in the Latin church) did not consider it as an epistle of St. Paul: but we shall presently see that his own opinion was different. He further states, that St. Paul wrote to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon. The seven catholic epistles he ascribes to James, Peter, John, and Jude, and expressly says that they were apostles. And he concludes his catalogue with the remark, that the Revelation of John has as many mysteries as words. This catalogue accords with the books which we receive at present, with the exception of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The rejection of this epistle is a fact which Jerome has not attempted to conceal; and therefore, as he confidently speaks of all the other books of the New Testament, his testimony is so much the more in their favour. As we are now concerned with a statement of facts, it would be foreign to our present purpose to inquire into the causes which induced the Latin church to reject the Epistle to the Hebrews. But whatever those causes may have been, they did not warrant the rejection of it, in the estimation of Jerome himself. For in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, or, as it is frequently called, his Treatise of Illustrious Men, and in the article relating to St. Paul, Jerome expressly asserts that St. Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews. And in his Epistle to Dardanus,[15] alluding to the then prevailing custom in the Latin church to reject the Epistle to the Hebrews, he adds, 'but we receive it;' and he assigns this powerful reason, which it is necessary to give in his own words, 'nequaquam *hujus* temporis *consuetudinem*, sed *veterum* scriptorum *auctoritatem* sequentes.'—To his catalogue of the books of the New Testament may be added his revision of the Latin version, which revision contained the same books as we have at present."[16] In this revision Jerome was employed by Damasus, then Bishop of Rome, to collate many ancient *Greek* copies of the New Testament, and by them to correct the Latin version then in use, wherever they appeared to

[1] Paley's Evidences, vol. i. p. 173.

[2] Cellérier, Essai d'une Introduction Critique au Nouveau Testament, pp. 17–19. Hug's Introduction to the Writings of the New Testament, by Dr. Wait, vol. i. pp. 40—44.

[3] The testimony of Irenæus is given in p. 43. *infra*.

[4] The testimony of Athanasius will be found at full length in Dr. Lardner's "Credibility of the Gospel History, part ii. Works, vol. iv. pp. 280—294. of the 8vo. edition of 1799, or vol. ii. pp. 388—405. of the 4to. edition. The testimonies adduced in Lardner, may likewise be seen on a smaller scale in Professor Leslie's valuable work on "The Authenticity, uncorrupted Preservation, and Credibility of the New Testament," translated by Mr. Kingdon, 8vo. London, 1804; and especially in C. F. Schmidius's "Historia Antiqua et Vindicatio Canonis Sacri Veteris Novique Testamenti." 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1775.

[5] Lardner, 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 311—319.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 416—420.

[6] Ibid. 8vo. vol. v. pp. 1—74.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 531—572.

[7] Ibid. 8vo. vol. v. pp. 75—78.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 572—574.

[8] Ibid. 8vo. vol. v. pp. 81—123.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 576—599.

[9] Ibid. 8vo. vol. v. pp. 79, 80.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 574, 575.

[10] Ibid. 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 299—303.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 409—411.

[11] Canon 59. The canons of this council were, not long afterwards, received into the body of the canons of the universal church. Lardner, 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 308—311.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 414—416.

[12] Lardner, 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 406—411.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 469—472.

[13] Ibid. 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 499—501.; 4to. vol. ii pp. 522, 523.

[14] Tom. iv. part 2. col. 568. ed. Martianay

[15] Tom. ii. col. 608.

[16] Bp. Marsh's Course of Lectures on the several Branches of Divinity, part v. pp. 20—22.

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disagree *materially* with the true original. This task, he tells us, he performed with great care in the four Gospels, about the year 384; and he made the same use of the Greek copies in his commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Titus, and Philemon, and most probably also in his commentaries on the other parts of the New Testament.

The next distinguished writer anterior to Jerome was EUSEBIUS, Bishop of Cæsarea, who flourished in the year 315,—a man of extraordinary learning, diligence and judgment, and singularly studious in the Scriptures. He received the books of the New Testament nearly as we have them, and in his various writings has produced quotations from all, or nearly all of them. His chief work is his Ecclesiastical History, in which he records the history of Christianity from its commencement to his own time; and having diligently read the works of Christian antiquity, for the express purpose of ascertaining what writings had been received as the genuine productions of the apostles and evangelists, in the third, fourth, and twenty-fourth chapters of his third book, he has particularly treated on the various books of the New Testament; and in the twenty-fifth chapter he has delivered, not his own private opinion, but the *opinion of the church*, εκκλησιαστικη παραδοσις, the sum of what he had found in the writings of the primitive Christians. As the result of his inquiries, he reduces the books of the New Testament into the three following classes; viz.

I. Ομολογουμενα Γραφα (αναμολογημενα or αληθις και απλαστοι;) that is, writings which were *universally* received as the genuine works of the persons whose names they bear. In this class Eusebius reckons, 1. The four Gospels; 2. The Acts of the Apostles; 3. The Epistles of Paul; 4. The first Epistle of John; 5. The first Epistle of Peter. The Revelation of John might also *perhaps* be placed in this class, because *some* think its authenticity incontrovertible, yet the *majority* leave the matter undetermined.

II. Αντιλεγομενα Γραφα; that is, writings on whose authenticity the ancients were *not unanimous*. According to Eusebius, even these have the *majority of voices* among the ancients in their favour. He expressly calls them γνωριμα ὁμως τοις πολλοις (writings acknowledged *by most* to be genuine,) and παρα πλειστοις των εκκλησιαστικων γνωριζομενας (received by the majority.) A few doubted of their authenticity; and therefore Eusebius ranks them under the class of contested books. In this class he enumerates, of the writings of the New Testament, 1. The Epistle of James; 2. The Epistle of Jude; 3. The second Epistle of Peter; 4. The second and third Epistles of John. The Revelation of John, he adds, is also by some placed in this class.[1]

III. Νοθα Γραφα; that is, writings confessedly *spurious*. Among these he enumerates the acts of Paul; the Shepherd of Hermas; the Revelation of Peter; the Epistle of Barnabas; the Doctrines of the Apostles: and the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

Besides these, Eusebius mentions certain books which may constitute a fourth class (for the twenty-fifth chapter of the third book of his Ecclesiastical History is not remarkably perspicuous); viz.

IV. Ατοπα και δυσσεβη (absurd and impious;) that is, writings which had been *universally rejected* as *evidently spurious*. In this class he includes the Gospel of Peter, of Thomas, and of Matthias; the Acts of Andrew, of John, and of other apostles. These writings, says he, contain evident errors, are written in a style entirely different from that of the apostles, and have not been thought worthy of being mentioned by any one of the ancients.[2]

A few years before the time of Eusebius, or about the year 300, ARNOBIUS, a teacher of rhetoric at Sicca in Africa,[3] and LACTANTIUS his pupil,[4] composed, among other works, elaborate vindications of the Christian religion, which prove their acquaintance with the writings of the New Testament, although they did not cite them by name, because they addressed their works to the Gentiles. Lactantius, indeed, assigns this very reason for his reserve; notwithstanding which Dr. Lardner remarks, "He seems to show that the Christians of that time were so habituated to the language of Scripture, that it was not easy for them to avoid the use of it, whenever they discoursed upon things of a religious nature."

During the next preceding forty years, the imperfect remains of numerous writers[5] are still extant, in which they either cite the Historical Scriptures of the New Testament, or speak of them in terms of profound respect; but the testimony of VICTORINUS Bishop of Pettaw in Germany is particularly worthy of notice, on account of the remoteness of his situation from that of Origen and Cyprian, who were Africans. Victorinus wrote commentaries on different books of the Old Testament, an exposition of some passages of Matthew's Gospel, a commentary on the Apocalypse, and various controversial treatises against the heretics of his day; in which we have valuable and most explicit testimonies to almost every book of the New Testament.[6]

Of all the fathers who flourished in the *third century*, the most learned and laborious unquestionably was ORIGEN, who was born in Egypt, A. D. 184 or 185, and died about the year 253 It is said of him, that he did not so much recommend Christianity by what he preached or wrote, as by the general tenor of his life. So great, indeed, was the estimation in which he was held, even among the heathen philosophers, that they dedicated their writings to him, and submitted them to his revisal.[7] Of the critical labours of Origen upon the Scriptures, we have spoken at considerable length in a subsequent part of this work;[8] but, besides these (which in themselves form a decisive testimony to the authenticity of the Scriptures,) he wrote a three-fold exposition of all the books of the Scripture, viz. scholia or short notes, tomes or extensive commentaries, in which he employed all his learning, critical, sacred, and profane, and a variety of homilies and tracts for the people. Although a small portion only of his works has come down to us, yet in them he uniformly bears testimony to the authenticity of the New Testament, as we now have it; and he is the first writer who has given us a perfect catalogue of those books which Christians unanimously (or at least the greater part of them) have considered as the genuine and divinely inspired writings of the apostles.[9]

GREGORY Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea,[10] and DIONYSIUS Bishop of Alexandria,[11] were pupils of Origen; so that their testimonies to the New Testament, which are very numerous, are in fact but repetitions of his. In the writings of CYPRIAN Bishop of Carthage, who flourished a few years after Origen, and suffered martyrdom, A. D. 258, we have most copious quotations from almost all the books of the New Testament.[12]

Further, during the first thirty years of the third century, there are extant fragments of several writers, in all of which there is some reference to the books of the New Testament. Thus CAIUS, surnamed Romanus, who was a presbyter of the church of Rome,[13] quotes all the epistles of Saint Paul as his genuine productions, except the Epistle to the Hebrews, which he has omitted to enumerate among the rest. HIPPOLYTUS PORTUENSIS also has several references to most of the books of the New Testament.[14] AMMONIUS composed a Harmony the Four Gospels,[15] and JULIUS AFRICANUS endeavoured to remove the apparent contradictions in the genealogy of Jesus Christ as delivered by the evangelists Matthew and Luke.[16]

From the third century we now ascend to the *second*, in which flourished TERTULLIAN, a presbyter of the church of Carthage, who was born in the year 160, and died about the year 220. He became a Montanist about the year 200; and Christian writers have commonly distinguished between what he wrote before that period, and what he published afterwards. His testimony, however, to the authority of the canonical Scriptures, both before and after he embraced the tenets of Montanus, is exactly the same. He uniformly recognizes the four Gospels, as written by the evangelists

[1] For, in early times, some believed that this work was not composed by John the Apostle, but by a presbyter of the same name, or by some other person.

[2] Lardner, 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 200—275.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 355—395.

[3] Lardner, 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 1—24.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 244—257.

[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 24—37.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 257—292.

[5] As Novatus, Rome, A. D. 251; Dionysius, Rome, A. D. 259; Commodian, A. D. 270; Anatolius, Laodicea, A. D. 270; Theognostus, A. D. 282; Methodius, Lycia, A. D. 290; and Phileas Bishop of Thmuis in Egypt, A. D. 296. Accounts of these writers, and extracts from their testimonies to the New Testament, are collected and given at length by Dr. Lardner. (Works, vol. iii 8vo. or vol. ii. 4to.)

[6] Lardner, 8vo. vol. iii. pp. 286—303.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 88—98

[7] Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 19.

[8] See *On Scrip. Crit.* Part I. Chap. III. Sect. iii. § 2. I. 4. *infra*.

[9] Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 442—544.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 519—575.

[10] Ibid. 8vo. vol. iii. pp. 25—57.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 591—602

[11] Lardner, 8vo. vol. iii. pp. 57—132; 4to. vol. i. pp. 609—650.

[12] Ibid. 8vo. vol. iii. pp. 133—183.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 3—30.

[13] Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 20. Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 372—379.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 481—484. A critical edition of the Fragment of Caius will be found in Dr. Routh's Reliquiæ Sacræ, vol. ii. pp. 1—32. See also Dr. Routh's fourth volume, pp. 1—37. A translation of the same fragment will be found in vol. i. pp. 159—161. of Sermons on the Evidences of Christianity, by the Rev. Daniel Wilson, M. A. (now D. D. and Bishop of Calcutta.)

[14] Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 397—413.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 495—503.

[15] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 413—430.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 503—513.

[16] Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 7. Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 431—441.; 4to vol i pp. 513—518.

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to whom we ascribe them; distinguishing Matthew and John as apostles, and Mark and Luke as apostolical men; and asserting the authority of their writings as inspired books, acknowledged by the Christian church from their original date. His works are filled with quotations by *name*, and with long extracts from all the writings of the New Testament, except the Epistle of James, the second Epistle of Peter, and the second and third Epistles of John. But if an author does not profess to give a complete catalogue of the books of the New Testament, his mere silence in regard to any book is no argument against it. Dr. Lardner has observed, that the quotations from the small volume of the New Testament, by Tertullian, are both longer and more numerous than the quotations are from all the works of Cicero, in writers of all characters, for several ages. Further, Tertullian has expressly affirmed that, when he wrote, the Christian Scriptures were open to the inspection of all the world, both Christian and heathen, without exception. And it also appears, that in his time there was already a Latin version of some part of the New Testament, if not of the whole of it: for, at least in one instance, he appeals from the language of such version to the authority of the authentic copies in Greek.[1]

Contemporary with Tertullian was CLEMENT of Alexandria, who gives an account of the order in which the four Gospels were written, and quotes almost all the books of the New Testament so often by name, and so amply, that to extract his citations would fill a large portion of this volume. As he was the preceptor of Origen, and travelled in quest of authentic information, and did not give his assent to the Scriptures until he had accurately examined them, his testimony to their authenticity possesses the greater weight.[2]

THEOPHILUS Bishop of Antioch, A. D. 181, in his three books to Autolycus, could only mention the Scriptures occasionally, from the particular object he had in view: but he has evident allusions to the Gospels of Matthew and John, the Epistle to the Romans, and the first Epistle to Timothy.[3]

ATHENAGORAS, a philosopher and a native of Athens, who flourished about the year 180, is the most polished and elegant author of Christian antiquity. In his Apology for the Christians, presented to the emperor Marcus Antoninus, and in his Treatise on the Resurrection of the Dead, he has indisputably quoted the Gospels of Matthew and John, the Epistles to the Romans, and the two Epistles to the Corinthians.[4]

Prior to these writers was IRENÆUS, who succeeded the martyr Pothinus, in the bishopric of Lyons about the year 170, or perhaps a few years later. His testimony to the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament is the more important and valuable, because he was a disciple of Polycarp, who was a disciple of St. John, and had also conversed with many others who had been instructed by the apostles and immediate disciples of Jesus Christ. Though he wrote many works, his five books against heresies are all that remain: in these he has shown himself to be well acquainted with heathen authors, and the absurd and intricate notions of the heretics, as well as with the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. Though he has nowhere given us a professed catalogue of the books of the New Testament, we learn from his treatise that he received as authentic and canonical Scriptures, and ascribed to the persons whose names they bear, the four Gospels, (the authors of which he describes, and the occasions on which they were written,) the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Romans, the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, the first and second Epistles to the Thessalonians, the two Epistles to Timothy, the Epistle to Titus (all which Epistles he has repeatedly ascribed to Paul), the two Epistles of Peter, and the first and second Epistles of John. Irenæus has alluded to the Epistle to the Hebrews, but he is silent concerning the question, whether that Epistle was written by Paul. We are not, however, as Bishop Marsh has well observed, to attach to his silence more importance than it deserves. "Irenæus, though born a Greek, was transplanted to the *Latin* church, which then *rejected* the Epistle to the Hebrews. If therefore he had quoted it as authority in *controversial* writings, he would have afforded his adversaries this ready answer, that he produced as authority what was not allowed by his own church. And, since he has nowhere asserted, that Saint Paul was *not* the author of that Epistle, his mere silence argues rather the *custom* of the Latin church (as it is termed by Jerome), than the opinion of Irenæus himself."[5] He has quoted the Epistle of James once, and to the book of Revelation his testimony is clear and positive: he has not only cited it very often, but has expressly ascribed it to the apostle John, and has distinctly spoken of the exact and ancient copies of this book, as being confirmed by the agreeing testimony of those who had personally conversed with John himself.

In short, we have the testimony of Irenæus, in one form or other, to every one of the books of the New Testament, except the Epistle to Philemon, the third Epistle of John, and the Epistle of Jude; which, as they contain no point of doctrine, could not afford any matter for quotations in the particular controversies in which Irenæus was engaged, whose writings (it must be recollected) were wholly controversial.

Considering the age in which he lived, and his access to the original sources of information, the testimony of Irenæus to the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament, gives to such of his writings as are extant, a perpetual interest and value in the Christian church: for his "quotations are so numerous, and many of them are so long, as to afford undoubted evidence that the books of the New Testament, which were known to the disciples of Polycarp, are the *same* books which have descended to the present age." In addition to the preceding remarks it may be stated, that Irenæus mentions "*the Code of the New Testament as well as the Old*," and calls the one as well as the other, "*the Oracles of God*, and *Writings dictated by his Word and Spirit*."[6]

About the year 170, during the reign of Marcus Antonius, the Christians in Gaul suffered a terrible persecution, particularly at Vienne and Lyons, whence they sent an affecting narrative to their brethren in Asia. In this epistle, of which Eusebius has preserved the greater part, there are exact references to the Gospels of Luke and John, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles to the Romans, Ephesians, Philippians, 1 Timothy, 1 Peter, 1 John, and the Revelation of St. John.[7] In this persecution, Pothinus Bishop of Lyons, the predecessor of Irenæus, was put to death.

At this time also flourished MELITO Bishop of Sardis, in Lydia, whom some writers have conjectured (but without any authority from Christian antiquity) to be the angel of the church of Sardis, to whom the epistle is directed in Rev. ii. 1—6. He appears to have been a voluminous writer, as the titles of thirteen treatises of his have been transmitted to us, though none of them have reached our times, except a few fragments preserved by Eusebius and Jerome. He travelled into the East, to ascertain the Jewish canon, and left a catalogue of the books of the Old Testament. From the language cited from him with regard to the *Old* Testament, as distinguished from the New, there is reason to conclude that there was *then* extant a volume or collection of books, called the *New Testament*, containing the writings of apostles and apostolical men. One of Melito's treatises was a commentary on the Revelation of Saint John.[8]

HEGESIPPUS, who was a converted Jew, was born in the beginning of the second century, and, according to the Alexandrian Chronicle, died in the reign of the emperor Commodus. He relates that, in his journey from Palestine to Rome, he conversed with many bishops, all of whom held one and the same doctrine; and that "in every city the same doctrine was taught, which the law and the prophets, and the Lord teacheth;" in which passage, by "*the Lord*," he must mean the Scriptures of the New Testament, which he considered as containing the very doctrine taught and preached by Jesus Christ.[9]

TATIAN flourished about the year 172; he was converted from heathenism to Christianity by reading the books of the Old Testament, and by reflecting on the corruptions and absurdities of gentilism. After the death of Justin Martyr, whose follower or pupil he is said to have been, Tatian adopted various absurd and heretical tenets, which are detailed by ecclesiastical historians. He composed a Harmony of the Gospels, called ΔΙΑ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΩΝ, *of the four*; in which

[1] Scimus plane non sic esse in *Græco authentico*. Tertullian de Mongo. c. ii. Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 250—287.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 416—436. Sir H. M. Wellwood's Discourses on the Evidences of the Jewish and Christian Revelation, pp. 230—232.

[2] Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 206—243.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 392—412.

[3] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 190—202.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 383—389.

[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 180—187.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 377—381.

[5] Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part v. p. 41.

[6] Ibid. part v. p. 43. Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 153—180.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 363—377. Wellwood's Discourses, p. 227.

[7] Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. 1—4. Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 148—153.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 360—362.

[8] Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 146—148.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 358, 359.

[9] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 141—145.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 355—358.

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ne is charged with making alterations and omissions in such passages of the Gospels as opposed his heretical tenets. The fragments of this harmony, which have been preserved by Clement of Alexandria who wrote against Tatian, prove that it was compiled from the same Gospels which we now have, and recognize as canonical.[1] The identity of the Gospels harmonized by the latter, with our Gospels, is further proved by the *fact*, that a Greek manuscript of the Gospels in the British Museum (Codex Harleianus 5647) contains a scholium, the object of which is to support a various reading by the authority of Tatian.[2] Eusebius's account of TATIAN'S Harmony further proves, that in the earliest times there were four Gospels, and only four, which were in esteem with the Christians. His oration or discourse against the Gentiles, which is said to have been the most useful of all his writings, contains several quotations from, and allusions to, the Gospels.[3]

JUSTIN, surnamed the MARTYR, from his having sealed with his blood his confession of the truth of the Christian religion, was one of the most learned fathers of the second century. He was born at Sichem, or Flavia Neapolis, a city of Samaria in Palestine, about the year 89. He was converted to Christianity, A. D. 133, flourished chiefly from the year 140 and afterwards, and suffered martyrdom in 164 or 167. He wrote several pieces, of which only his two apologies for the Christians, one addressed to the emperor Titus Antoninus Pius, and the other to the emperor Marcus Antoninus and the senate and people of Rome (this last is not entire), and his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, have been preserved. From this dialogue we learn, that before his conversion, Justin had carefully studied the Stoic, Pythagorean, and Platonic systems of philosophy; and that he embraced Christianity at last, as the only safe and useful philosophy. The sincerity, learning, and antiquity of Justin, therefore, constitute him a witness of the highest importance. He has numerous quotations from, as well as allusions to, the four Gospels, which he uniformly represents as containing the genuine and authentic accounts of Jesus Christ and of his doctrine. He terms them, "*Memoirs*," or commentaries, "*Memoirs of the Apostles*," "*Christ's Memoirs*;" "*Memoirs of the Apostles and their Companions*, who have written the history of all things concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ;" by which he evidently means the Gospels of Matthew and John, of Mark and Luke. Further, in his first apology he tells us, that the memoirs of the apostles and the writings of the prophets were read and expounded in the Christian assemblies for public worship: whence it is evident that the Gospels were at that time well known in the world, and not designedly concealed from any one. The writings of Justin also contain express references to, or quotations from, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Romans, the first Epistle to the Corinthians, the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, the Epistle of Peter, and the book of Revelation, which he expressly says was written by "John, one of the apostles of Christ."[4]

Anterior to Justin, was PAPIAS, Bishop of Hierapolis in Asia, whose public life is placed between the years 110 and 116. He was well acquainted with Polycarp and John the presbyter or elder, both of them apostolical men, if not with the apostle John himself; consequently he had access to the best sources of information. He bears express testimony to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, which he ascribes to those evangelists; he has also quoted the first Epistle of Peter and the first Epistle of John, and alludes to the Acts of the Apostles, as well as to the book of Revelation.

We have now traced the external evidence for the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament, from the present time backward to the second century, without the aid of the apostolic fathers, (that is, of those who were the immediate contemporaries or disciples, acquaintances, or successors of the apostles,) or of any other writers whose testimony can in any way be questioned. "But though we have sufficient proof, independently of the apostolic fathers, there is no reason for our rejecting them altogether as useless. When the passages in their writings, which are supposed only from their *resemblance* to have been borrowed from corresponding passages in the Gospels, or other books, are brought forward, as usual, in the first instance, we are then indeed lost in uncertainty, whether *such* passages were borrowed from the New Testament or not. But when we have *already* proved, that such books of the New Testament, as they are supposed to have quoted, were then in *existence*, and therefore *might* have been quoted by them, it becomes much more credible, that those books really *were* quoted by them. It is true, that, if the validity of a witness must be previously established by means which prove of *themselves* what the *w i-ness* is intended to prove, the importance of his evidence is thereby diminished. But in the present case we are not so much concerned with the obtaining of *more* evidence, which is quite unnecessary, as with showing, that the testimony of the apostolic fathers, as far as it goes, is *consistent* with the evidence already produced."[5] There are, however, some books of the New Testament, mentioned by name, and others which are so expressly alluded to by the apostolic fathers, as to prove most clearly that such writings must have been extant in their time: and although (as above remarked) their testimony is not absolutely necessary to complete the series of evidence for the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament, yet it may be satisfactory to the reader to see their attestations; because, independently of their quotations from the books of the New Testament, and of their allusions to them, *the apostolic fathers were the chief persons from whom the writers, that immediately succeeded them, received the information which they have transmitted to us, con cerning the authors, and the general reception of those books* The testimony, therefore, of these apostolical men forms an important link in that unbroken chain of evidence which was intended for the conviction of the latest ages: and though their works might at first have been published anonymously, from a dread of persecution, yet the authors of them were well known at that time, nor do we find any difference among the ancients concerning them. The antiquity of their writings being admitted, it is immaterial whether they were written by those persons whose names they bear, or not; especially as it is clear from their contents, that the authors of them were pious and good men. For the writings in question were pious and moral, worthy of the apostolical age, and of apostolical men; and are not calculated to serve any party, nor to countenance any opinion of the then existing sects of philosophy. They are also written in a style of evangelical simplicity, in a spirit of peace, charity, and resignation, and without that display of learning which occurs in the writings of the fathers of the second and third centuries.[6]

The apostolic fathers are five in number, viz. Barnabas, Clement, Hermas, Ignatius, and Polycarp.

1. BARNABAS, the fellow-labourer of Paul, (Acts xiii. 2, 3. 46, 47. 1 Cor. ix. 6.) who is also expressly styled an apostle (Acts xiv. 14.), is the author of an epistle that was held in the greatest esteem by the ancients, and which is still extant. In this epistle, though no book of the New Testament is expressly named in it, yet there are to be found expressions, which are identically the same that occur in the Gospel of Matthew; and one in particular, which is introduced with the formula, "*it is written*," which was used by the Jews when they cited their sacred books. The epistle of Barnabas further contains the exact words of several other texts of the New Testament, and there are allusions to some others: it also contains many phrases and reasonings used by the apostle Paul, whom the author resembles, as his fellow-labourer, without copying him. It is to be observed, that Barnabas cites, or alludes to, many more passages out of the Old Testament than from the New; which is to be

[1] Clement. Alexandrin. Stromata, lib. iii. c. 12, 13. Ephrem the Syrian wrote a Commentary on Tatian's work, which was known to the writers of the Syrian church; one of whom, Dionysius Barsalibæus tells us from this commentary, that the diatessaron of Tatian was a harmony composed of our four Gospels. Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus in Syria in the fourth century, mentions the alterations and excisions made by Tatian; and adds that he saw the work, which in other respects was correct, generally used by the orthodox themselves, from whom he collected and took away two hundred copies, in order to substitute for them others which had not been altered. Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. l. 1 c 20. cited in Cellerier's Introduction au Nouv. Test. p. 23.

[2] Cellérier, Introd. au Nouv. Test. p. 23.

[3] Eusebius. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 29. Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 135—140.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 353—355.

[4] Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 115—129.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 341—349. M. Vernet has written a very interesting account of Justin's conversion to Christianity, and of his services in its behalf. See his Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne. tom. x. pp. 154—180.

[5] Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part v. p. 65.

[6] The best edition of the writings of the apostolic fathers is to be found in the work intitled *SS. Patrum, qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt, Barnabæ, Clementis, Hermæ, Ignatii, Polycarpi, Opera vera et suppositicia, una cum Clementis, Ignatii, Polycarpi, Actis et Martyriis J. B. Cotelerius Soc. Sorbon. Theol. ex MSS. Codd. eruit, versionibusque et notis illustravit. Recensuit, notasque adjecit, Joannes Clericus.* 2 vols. folio. Amst. 1724. An excellent English translation of the genuine writings of the apostolic fathers was made by Archbishop Wake, of which a new edition was published in 1817

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attributed to the time and character of the writer, who was a Jew, and who argued chiefly with Jews.[1]

2. CLEMENT, Bishop of Rome, and a fellow-labourer of the apostle Paul (Phil. iv. 3.), wrote an epistle (which has not come down to us entire) in the name of the church at Rome, to the church at Corinth, in order to compose certain dissensions that prevailed there. In this epistle there are several passages, which exhibit the words of Christ as they stand in the Gospels, without mentioning them as quotations, agreeably to the usage which then generally prevailed. He also cites most of the epistles. It is generally supposed that Clement was ordained Bishop of Rome A. D. 91, and that he died in the third year of the reign of Trajan, A. D. 100.[2]

3. HERMAS was also contemporary with Paul, by whom he is mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans. (xvi. 14.) He wrote a work in three books, towards the close of the first century, entitled the "*Pastor*" or "*Shepherd*," which was highly esteemed by the early fathers. It was originally written in Greek, though now extant only in a Latin version, and it contains numerous allusions to the New Testament.[3]

4. IGNATIUS was Bishop of Antioch, A. D. 70, and suffered martyrdom A. D. 107, or, according to some accounts, A. D. 116. If (as some have supposed) he was not one of the little children whom Jesus took up in his arms and blessed, it is certain that he conversed familiarly with the apostles, and was perfectly acquainted with their doctrine. He has left several epistles that are still extant, in which he has distinctly quoted the Gospels of Matthew and John, and has cited or alluded to the Acts and most of the Epistles.[4]

5. POLYCARP was an immediate disciple of the apostle John, by whom he was also appointed Bishop of Smyrna. He had conversed with many who had seen Jesus Christ, and is supposed to have been the angel of the church of Smyrna, to whom the epistle in the Revelation is addressed. He suffered martyrdom about the year 166. Of the various writings which he is recorded to have left, only one epistle remains; and in this he has nearly *forty* allusions to the different books of the New Testament.[5]

On the preceding testimonies of the apostolic fathers, we may remark, that, without any professed intention to ascertain the canon of the New Testament, they "have most effectually ascertained it, by their quotations from the several books which it contains, or by their explicit references to them, as the authentic Scriptures received and relied on as inspired oracles, by the whole Christian church. They most frequently use the same words which are still read in the New Testament; and, even when they appear to have quoted from memory, without intending to confine themselves to the same language, or to have merely referred to the Scriptures, without professing to quote them, it is clear that they had precisely the same texts in their view which are still found in the books of the New Testament. But, what is of chief importance on this subject, every competent judge of their writings must perceive, on the one hand, that, in all the questions which occurred to them, either in doctrine or morals, they uniformly appealed to the same Scriptures which are in our possession; and, on the other hand, that they were universally accustomed to refer to all the books of the New Testament containing what related to the subjects which they were led to discuss, without appearing to have intentionally omitted any of them. All the inspired books, or the same texts, are not quoted by every writer; as the subject of the Epistle to Philemon could not be so frequently appealed to, as the doctrine of larger and more argumentative epistles. They had no intention to record the particulars of the canon, either of the Old or of the New Testament, not having been sufficiently aware of the importance of their testimony to succeeding ages; though the facts which they have furnished to establish it, incidentally or occasionally introduced in their writings, are not on this account less intelligible or important, but on the contrary, derive a great part of their weight and value from this circumstance. There is scarcely a book of the New Testament which one or other of the apostolical fathers has not either quoted or referred to; and their united and unintentional testimony, given in this form, is certainly more decisive of the original authority assigned to the Scriptures referred to, than a precise list of them, or a professed dissertation from any individual to prove their authenticity, would have been. They uniformly quote and allude to them, with the respect and reverence due to inspired writings: and they describe them as 'Scriptures,' as 'Sacred Scriptures,' and as 'the Oracles of the Lord.' There is indeed good reason to conclude, not only from the multiplicity of references, but from the language employed by the apostolical fathers in making their quotations, that the books of the New Testament were not only generally received, and in common use in the Christian churches, but that at least the greater part of them had been collected and circulated in one volume before the end of the first, or in the very beginning of the second century."[6] This fact may be fairly deduced from the language of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, who says in substance, 'that in order to understand the will of God, he fled to the gospels, which he believed no less than if Christ in the flesh had been speaking to him; and to the writings of the apostles, whom he esteemed as the presbytery of the whole Christian church.'[7] *The gospels* and *the apostles*, in the plural, suppose that the writings referred to had been collected and were read together.[8]

Lastly, we have evidence that some part of the New Testament was cited *by contemporary apostles themselves*.

Thus, Paul has the following sentence in 1 Tim. v. 18. *The labourer is worthy of his reward*, which occurs only in Saint Luke's Gospel (x. 7.), whence we conclude that this was extant at the time Saint Paul wrote his epistle to Timothy. And James (ii. 8.) evidently refers to Matt. xxii. 39., when he says, *If ye fulfil the royal law according to the Scripture*,—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,"—*ye* do well. Other instances might be adduced, if necessary. In further illustration of this testimony it may be observed, that as the apostles enjoyed miraculous gifts, particularly the gift of discerning spirits, they very early acknowledged the inspiration of one another's writings, and considered them on the same footing with the Scriptures of the Old Testament. Thus Peter, speaking of Paul's epistles, says (2 Pet. iii. 16.), that the "*unlearnable and unstable wrest them, as they also do the* OTHER SCRIPTURES, *unto their own destruction*."

In reviewing the body of evidence which has now been stated, it is a consideration of great importance, that the witnesses lived at different times, and in countries widely remote from one another; Clement flourished at Rome, Ignatius at Antioch, Polycarp at Smyrna, Justin Martyr in Syria, Irenæus in France, Athenagoras at Athens, Theophilus at Antioch, Clement and Origen at Alexandria, Tertullian at Carthage, and Augustine at Hippo, both in Africa; and, to mention no more, Eusebius at Cæsarea. Philosophers, rhetoricians, and divines, men of acuteness and learning, all concur to prove that the books of the New Testament were equally well known in distant countries, and received as authentic, by men who had no intercourse with one another.

But the evidence of the authenticity of the New Testament, to be derived from the HERETICAL WRITERS of the first three centuries, is still more important than even that of the orthodox fathers. It was the practice of the former, not only to falsify or misrepresent particular passages, but to erase such as were not reconcilable with their peculiar tenets. Now this very circumstance, as Michaelis[9] most forcibly observes, is a positive proof that they considered the New Testament to be a genuine work of the apostles. They might deny an apostle to be an infallible teacher, and therefore banish his writings from the sacred canon; but they nowhere contend that the apostle is not the author of the book or books which bear his name.

[1] Cotelerii Patres Apostolici, vol. i. pp. 15—66. Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 2—92.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 283—299. Dr. Lardner, however, is of opinion that cannot be said with certainty, that Barnabas referred to any books of the New Testament; "nor," he adds, "ought it to be reckoned strange that a man, who was contemporary with the apostles, and had the same spirit and like gifts with them, if he was not an apostle himself, should often reason and argue like them, without quoting their writings or referring to them." Works, 8vo. vol. v. p. 353.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 99. The propriety of considering Barnabas as a testimony for the authenticity of the New Testament is also questioned by Prof. Less, in his work on the "Authenticity of the New Testament," translated by Mr. Kingdon, pp. 33—40. Should the reader coincide in opinion with these eminent critics, the absence of Barnabas's testimony will not affect the general argument, which is so strongly supported by the evidence of others of his contemporaries.

[2] Lardner, 8vo. vol. i. pp. 22—47.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 289—303. Cotelerius, vol. i. pp. 125—189.

[3] Cotelerius, vol. i. pp. 75—125. Lardner, 8vo vol. ii. pp. 50—65.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 309—312.

[4] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 11—42. Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 65—85.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 312—335.

[5] The Greek epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians is not entire. It is given in Cotelerius, vol. i. pp. 126—189. and in the entire Latin epistle in pp. 190 191 Lardner. 8vo vol. ii pp. 85—109. 4to. vol. i. pp. 335—352.

[6] Sir H. M. Wellwood's Discourses on the evidence of the Jewish and Christian Revelation, pp. 215—217.

[7] This is the paraphrase of Le Clerc, and gives, I am persuaded, the true meaning of Ignatius. The words of Ignatius are these:—"Fleeing to the gospels, as the flesh of Jesus, and to the apostles as the presbytery of the church." Epist. ad. Philadelph. Sect. v.

[8] Ibid. p. 218.

[9] Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. p. 36.

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Thus CERINTHUS (who was contemporary with the apostle John) maintained the necessity of circumcision, and the observance of the Mosaic law: and because Paul delivered a contrary doctrine in his epistles, which are cited, Cerinthus and his followers denied that he was a divine apostle. Paul's epistles therefore—the very same that we now have—were extant in the first century, and were acknowledged to be his by the Cerinthians. And as this sect received and approved the gospel of Matthew, because it did not contradict their tenets, it is consequently evident that his gospel was likewise extant in the first century.[1]

Again, in the same age, the EBIONITES rejected all the epistles of Paul, and called him an apostate, because he departed from the Levitical law; and they adopted the gospel of Matthew, which however they corrupted by various alterations and additions. This proves that Matthew's gospel was then published, and that Paul's epistles were then known.[2]

In the following century, the Basilidians, Valentinians, and other heretics, who altered or rejected various parts of the New Testament, in order to accommodate them to their respective tenets, are satisfactory testimony to the genuineness of such books as they have quoted or alluded to. But, among the heretics who erased and altered passages of Scripture, to make it agree with their doctrines, we may especially instance MARCION, who flourished in the beginning of the second century. He lived therefore in an age when he could easily have discovered if the writings of the New Testament had been forged; and as he was greatly incensed against the orthodox Christians, who had excommunicated him, if such a forgery had been committed, most unquestionably he would not have failed to make a discovery that would have afforded him the most ample means of triumph. He had likewise the experience derived from an acquaintance with foreign countries, having travelled from Sinope, his native place, to Rome (where he afterwards resided), in order to procure a repeal of the sentence of excommunication that had been denounced against him. But, throughout the vast intermediate country between those two places, he was unable to discover the smallest trace of the New Testament being a forgery. Thus frustrated, he affirmed that the gospel of Matthew, the epistle to the Hebrews, with those of Peter and James, as well as the Old Testament in general, were writings, not for Christians, but for Jews. He published a new edition of the gospel of Luke, and the first ten epistles of Paul, in which Epiphanius has charged him with altering every passage that contradicted his own opinions: but, as many of these are what modern critics call various readings, this assertion of Epiphanius must be received with caution. The conduct of Marcion, however, proves, that the above-mentioned books of the New Testament did then exist, and were acknowledged to be the works of the authors whose names they bear. The testimony to be drawn from this view of the subject, in favour of the books of the New Testament, is very strong. In consequence of Marcion's rejecting some books *entirely*, and mutilating others, the ancient Christians were led to examine into the evidence for these sacred writings, and to collate copies of them, and on this account to speak very frequently in their works, as well of whole books as of particular passages; and thus we, who live in a later age, are enabled to authenticate these books, and to arrive at the genuine reading of many texts, in a better manner that we otherwise could have done.[3]

It were easy to adduce other instances from the ancient heretics, if the preceding were insufficient; we therefore conclude this head of evidence with the following summary of the learned and accurate Dr. Lardner:[4]—"Noëtus," says he, "Paul of Samosata, Sabellius, Marcellus, Photinus, the Novatians, Donatists, Manicheans, Priscillianists, besides Artemon, the Audians, the Arians,[5] and divers others, all received most, or all of the same books of the New Testament which the Catholics received; and agreed in the same respect for them, as being written by apostles, or their disciples and companions."

We now come to the evidence of JEWISH and HEATHEN ADVERSARIES in favour of the authenticity of the New Testament, which is equally important with the testimonies of the ancient heretics. As, however, the testimonies of the Jewish writers apply as much to the credibility of the New Testament, as to its authenticity, and are therefore noticed in the following chapter, we shall at present adduce only the testimonies afforded by heathen adversaries of the first four centuries: and it is worthy of remark, that, from a very early period of Christianity, writers can be produced who considered the New Testament as the work of the apostles and evangelists: and Chrysostom remarks, with equal force and justice,[6] that Celsus and Porphyry, two enemies of the Christian religion, are powerful witnesses for the antiquity of the New Testament, since they could not have argued against the tenets of the Gospel, if it had not existed in that early period.

1. CELSUS, an Epicurean philosopher, who flourished towards the close of the second century, wrote a work against Christianity, entitled Αληθης Λογος, the greater part of which has been preserved to the present time by Origen, in his reply to it. In this treatise, which is written under the assumed character of a Jew, Celsus not only mentions by name, but also quotes passages from the books of the New Testament, so that it is certain we have the identical books to which he referred. Thus, "the miraculous conception is mentioned with a view of accusing the Virgin Mary of adultery:[7]—we also recognise Joseph's intention of putting her away,[8] and the consequent appearance of the angel warning him in a dream to take her as his wife:[9]—we meet with a reference to the star that was seen at his birth, and the adoration paid to the new-born Saviour by the Magi at Bethlehem:[10]—the murder of the infants by Herod,[11] in consequence of his being deceived by the wise men, is noticed, as also the re-appearance of the angel to Joseph,[12] and his consequent flight into Egypt.[13] Here then are references to all the facts of our Saviour's *birth*. Again, we are informed of the descent of the Spirit in the form of a dove,[14] and the voice from heaven at the baptism of our Saviour in Jordan;[15] we hear also of the temptation in the wilderness;[16]—we are told that Christ was constantly attended by a certain number of disciples, though the number is not correct:[17]—there is an allusion to our Saviour's conversation with the woman of Samaria at the well;[18]—and a reference less distinct to the attempt of the people of Nazareth to throw him down the rock, on which their city was built:[19]—here, therefore, is ample testimony to his *baptism*, and the facts immediately following it. Celsus also pretends, as Origen informs us, to believe the *miracles* of Christ; and those of healing the sick, feeding five thousand men, and raising the dead, are expressly mentioned, though they are attributed to magical influence.[20] Several passages also in our Saviour's sermon on the Mount, are quoted *verbatim*;[21] and his *predictions* relating to his sufferings, death, and resurrection are recorded.[22] Nor are the *closing* scenes of our blessed Lord's ministry noticed with less exactness. We meet with the treachery of Judas, and Peter's denial of his Master;[23] we are informed that Christ was bound, insulted,[24] beaten with rods and crucified;[25]—we read of the gall, which was given him to eat, and vinegar to drink;[26] and we are insulted with an unfeeling jest upon the blood and water, that flowed from our dying Redeemer's side.[27] This writer mentions also some words which were uttered by Christ upon the cross, and alludes to the earthquake and darkness that immediately followed the crucifixion.[28] There is also mention made of the appearance of the angels at the sepulchre,[29] and of the manifestation of Christ to Mary Magdalen,[30] and the disciples,[31] after his resurrection. Such are many of the facts, and more might have been recited, relating to the ministry and life of our Saviour, and preserved in the remaining part of the work of the author before us. And who is this author? He was an infidel writer, and one of the greatest

[1] For an account of the Cerinthians, see Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 28. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ix. pp. 319—330.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 564—571.

[2] Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. c. 27. Michaelis, vol. i p. 37.

[3] For an ample account of Marcion and his tenets, see Dr. Lardner's History of Heretics, chap. 10. Works, 8vo. vol. ix. pp. 358—415.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 588—624. Michaelis, vol. i. pp. 37—39.

[4] In the General Review of his Credibility of the Gospel History. Works, 8vo. vol. v. p 349.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 96.

[5] For accounts of these various sects, see their respective titles in the fifth index to Dr. Lardner's works.

[6] In his sixth homily on 1 Cor. (Op. tom. x. p. 47.) Michaelis, vol. i. p. 39. Lardner, 8vo. vol. viii. p. 7.; 4to. vol. iv. p. 114

[7] Origen contra Celsum, 4to. Cantabrigiæ, 1677, lib. i. p. 22.

[8] Lib. i. p. 22. [9] Lib. v. p. 266. [10] Lib. i. p. 31

[11] Origen contra Celsum, 4to. Cantabrigiæ, 1677, lib. i. p. 45.

[12] Lib. i. p. 51. [13] Lib. i. pp. 22. 30. [14] Lib. i. p. 31.

[15] Lib. ii. p. 105. [16] Lib. vi. p. 303. [17] Lib. i. p. 47.

[18] Lib. i. p. 55 [19] Lib. vi. p. 298. [20] Lib. i. p. 53.

[21] Particularly the comparison of the lilies of the field, lib. vii. p. 343.; the precept, if thy enemy smite thee on one cheek, to turn to him the other, lib. vii. p. 370.; and the impossibility of serving two masters, lib. viii. p. 386 The simile of a camel passing through the eye of a needle is also noticed, lib. vi. p. 286.

[22] Lib. ii. pp. 67. [23] Lib. ii. p. 7. [24] Lib. vi. p. 282

[25] Lib. ii. pp. 79. 81. [26] Lib. iv. p. 174. lib. ii. p. 82.

[27] Lib. ii. p. 82. [28] Lib. ii. p. 94. [29] Lib. ii. p. 266

[30] Lib. ii. p 94 [31] Lib. ii. p. 104.

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enemies with whom Christianity ever had to contend. Now testimony such as the above, to the facts recorded in the New Testament, would be strong proof of the truth of the Gospel, even if recorded by a friend to the cause, or, at least, if recorded by an indifferent writer. But when it comes from the pen of a professed enemy to our religion, who, as such, would have denied the facts, had there been any room for so doing, the force of it is almost irresistible. For Celsus never once hints, that the history itself is false, but endeavours from the facts themselves to disprove the credibility of the Gospel. And the value of this testimony is infinitely increased by taking into the account the time at which the writer lived, which was but little more than a century after the very period at which the events themselves happened. He had, therefore, ample means of satisfying himself of the truth of the facts on which he comments; and it is not easily credible, that he would have neglected those means, since the very circumstance alone of a falsity in the narrative would at once invalidate the testimony of the evangelists, and thus overthrow the religion which that testimony has established."[1] It is also worthy of remark, that in *no one instance* throughout his memorable attack upon Christianity, did Celsus question the Gospels as books of *history*; on the contrary, he admitted most of the facts related in them; and he has borne testimony to the persecutions suffered by the Christians for their faith. He accuses the Christians of altering the Gospels, which refers to the alterations made by the Marcionites, Valentinians, and other heretics; and it is very material to remark, that this acute adversary of Christianity professed to draw his arguments from the writings received by its professors, especially the four Gospels, and that in *no one instance* did he derive any of his objections from spurious writings.[2]

2. The testimony of PORPHYRY is still more important than that of Celsus. He was born A. D. 233, of Tyrian origin; but, unhappily for the present age, the mistaken zeal of Constantine and other Christian emperors, in causing his writings against Christianity to be destroyed, has deprived us of the opportunity of knowing the full extent of his objections against the Christian faith. It is, says Michaelis, universally allowed that Porphyry is the most sensible as well as severe adversary of the Christian religion that antiquity can produce. He was versed not only in political but also in philosophical history, as appears from his lives of the philosophers. His acquaintance with the Christians was not confined to a single country, but he had conversed with them in Tyre, in Sicily, and in Rome: his residence in Basan afforded him the best opportunity of a strict intercourse with the Nazarenes, who adopted only the Hebrew Gospel of Saint Matthew; and his thirst for philosophical inquiry must have induced him to examine the cause of their rejecting the other writings of the New Testament, whether it was that they considered them as spurious, or that, like the Ebionites, they regarded them as a genuine work of the apostles, though not divinely inspired. Enabled by his birth to study the Syriac as well as the Greek authors, he was of all the adversaries of the Christian religion, the best qualified for inquiring into the authenticity of the sacred writings. He possessed, therefore, every advantage which natural abilities or political situation could afford, to discover whether the New Testament was a genuine work of the apostles and evangelists, or whether it was imposed upon the world after the decease of its pretended authors. But no trace of this suspicion is any where to be found, nor did it ever occur to Porphyry, to suppose that it was spurious. The prophecy of Daniel he made no scruple to pronounce a forgery, and written after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes: his critical penetration enabled him to discover the perfect coincidence between the predictions and the events; and denying divine inspiration, he found no other means of solving the problem. In support of this hypothesis, he uses an argument which is an equal proof of his learning and sagacity, though his objection does not affect the authority of the prophet; viz. from a Greek paranomasia, or play on words which he discovered in the history of Daniel and Susanna, he concludes the book to have been written originally in Greek, and afterwards translated into Hebrew.[3] Is it credible, then, that so sagacious an inquirer could have failed in discovering a forgery with respect to the New Testament, had a forgery existed—a discovery which would have given him the completest triumph, by striking at once a mortal blow at the religion which he attempted to destroy? So far, however, is this from being the case, that Porphyry not only did not deny the truth of the Gospel history, but actually considered the miracles of Jesus Christ as real facts.[4] The writings of the ancient Christians, who answered his objections, likewise afford general evidence, that Porphyry made numerous observations on the Scriptures.

3. One hundred years after Porphyry, flourished the emperor JULIAN (A. D. 331—363), surnamed the Apostate, from his renunciation of Christianity after he mounted the imperial throne. Though he resorted to the most artful political means for undermining Christianity, yet, as a writer against it, he was every way inferior to Porphyry. From various extracts of his work against the Christians, transcribed by Jerome and Cyril, it is evident that he did not deny the truth of the Gospel history, as a history, though he denied the deity of Jesus Christ asserted in the writings of the evangelists; he acknowledged the principal facts in the Gospels, as well as the miracles of our Saviour and his apostles. Referring to the difference between the genealogies recorded by Matthew and Luke, he noticed them by name, and recited the sayings of Christ in the very words of the evangelists: he also bore testimony to the Gospel of John being composed later than the other evangelists, and at a time when great numbers were converted to the Christian faith, both in Italy and Greece; and alluded oftener than once to facts recorded in the Acts of the Apostles.[5] By thus quoting the four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, and by quoting no other books, Julian shows that these were the *only* historical books received by the Christians as of authority, and as containing authentic memoirs of Jesus Christ and his apostles, together with the doctrines taught by them. But Julian's testimony does something more than represent the judgment of the Christian church in his time; it discovers also his own. He himself expressly states the early date of these records: he calls them by the names which they now bear. He all along supposes, he nowhere attempts to question their genuineness or authenticity; nor does he give even the slightest intimation that he suspected the whole or any part of them to be forgeries.

It is true that towards the end of the second or in the third century of the Christian æra, certain pieces were published, which were written by heretics, or false teachers, in order to support their errors: but so far is this fact from concluding against the genuineness and authenticity of the books of the New Testament, that it shows the difference between them and these apocryphal writings, in the clearest possible manner. For, what reception was given to these forged productions? They succeeded only among sects whose interest it was to defend them as genuine and authentic: or if they sometimes surprised the simplicity of Christian believers, these soon recovered from the imposition. Besides, these pretended sacred books had nothing apostolic in their character. Their origin was obscure, and their publication modern; and the doctrine they professed to support was different from that of the apostles. Indeed, a design to support some doctrine or practice, or to obviate some heresy, *which arose subsequently to the apostolic age*, is apparent throughout. Trifling and impertinent circumstances are also detailed with minuteness; useless and improbable miracles are introduced, the fabulous structure of which caused the fraud to be soon detected. Further, in these forged writings there is a studied imitation of various passages in the genuine Scriptures, both

[1] Trollope's Hulsean Prize Essay on the expedients to which the Gentile philosophers resorted in opposing the progress of the Gospel, 8vo. pp. 29—32. London, 1822.

[2] As the works of Celsus have long since perished, the nature of his objections can only be known from Origen's reply to him; of which the best edition was published by Dr. Spencer, at Cambridge, in 1677. From this edition Dr. Lardner has drawn up his account of the objections of Celsus. (Works, 8vo. vol. viii. pp. 5—69.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 113—149.)

[3] Michaelis, vol. i. p. 44. Porphyry's objections against the prophet Daniel are considered, *infra*. Vol. II. Part I. Ch. VI. Sect. III. § IV. The objection above noticed, drawn from the story of Susanna, Bishop Marsh very justly remarks, does not affect that prophet's authority, because it relates to a part that is acknowledged to be spurious, or at least never existed in Hebrew; and is for that reason separated from the prophecy of Daniel in the modern editions of the Septuagint, though, in the Greek manuscripts and the Romish editions of the Latin Bible, it forms part of the book of Daniel. Ibid. p. 368. Dr. Lardner has given an ample account of Porphyry. (Works, 8vo. vol. viii. pp. 176—248.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 209—250.)

[4] See this proved in Dr. Macknight's Truth of the Gospel History, pp 318. 328. 335. 337.

[5] See an ample account of Julian and his writings in Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. viii. pp. 356—425.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 311—350., and in Dr. Herwerder de Juliano Imperatore Religionis Christianæ hoste, eodemque vindice, Ludg. Bat. 1827, 8vo. Dr. Macknight has also given an abstract, less copious than Dr. Lardner's, of Julian's objections, in his "Truth of the Gospel History," pp. 320, 321. 329. 336, 337.

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to conceal the style, and to allure readers; at the same time that the former betray a poverty of style and barrenness of invention, glossing over the want of incident by sophistical declamation. *Known* historical facts are *contradicted:* the pretended authors' names are officiously intruded; and actions utterly unworthy of the character of a person divinely commissioned to instruct and reform mankind, are ascribed to Jesus.[1]

The preceding argument in favour of the books of the New Testament, drawn from the notice taken of their contents by the early writers against the Christian religion, is very considerable. For, in the first place, it proves that the accounts which the Christians *then* had, were the accounts which we have *now;* and that our present Scriptures were theirs. It proves, moreover, that neither Celsus in the second, Porphyry in the third, nor Julian in the fourth century, suspected the authenticity of these books, or ever insinuated that Christians were mistaken in the authors to whom they ascribe them. Not one of them expressed an opinion upon this subject, which was different from that held by the Christians. "And when we consider how much it would have availed them to have cast a doubt upon this point, if they could; and how ready they showed themselves to be to take every advantage in their power; and that they were all men of learning and inquiry;—their concession, or rather their suffrage upon the subject, is extremely valuable."[2]

Another important external or historical evidence for the genuineness and antiquity of the New Testament, is offered in the ANCIENT VERSIONS of it, which are still entirely or partially extant in other languages. Some of these, as the Syriac, and several Latin versions, were made so early as the close of the first, or at the commencement of the second century. Now the New Testament must necessarily have existed previously to the making of those versions: and a book, which was so early and so universally read throughout the East in the Syriac, and throughout Europe and Africa in the Latin translation, must be able to lay claim to a high antiquity; while the correspondence of those versions with our copies of the original, attests their genuineness and authenticity.

3. We now come to the INTERNAL EVIDENCE, or that which arises out of an examination of the books of the New Testament; and this branch of testimony will be found equally strong and convincing with the preceding. It may be comprised under three particulars, viz. the character of the writers, the language and style of the New Testament, and the circumstantiality of the narrative, together with the coincidence of the accounts there delivered with the history of those times.

[i.] FIRST, *The Writers of the New Testament are said to have been Jews by birth, and of the Jewish religion, and also to have been immediate witnesses of what they relate.*

This is every where manifest from the mode of narrating their story—from their numerous allusions to the religious ceremonies of the Jews—from the universal prevalence of words, phrases, and thoughts derived from the Old Testament—from the variety of Hebraic words, constructions, and phrases occurring in the Greek of the New Testament, all of which betray an author to whom the Jewish mode of thinking was perfectly natural—from the characters of time, place, persons, and things evident in the New Testament, and particularly in the Gospels and Acts:—all which are related with the confidence of men, who are convinced that their readers already know that they themselves saw and experienced every thing they record, and that their assertions may therefore be considered as proofs. In short, they relate, like men who wrote for readers that were their contemporaries, and lived at the very time in which their history happened, and who knew, or might easily have known, the persons themselves. This is as evident as it is that the noble English historian, who wrote an account of the troubles in the time of Charles I., was himself concerned in those transactions.

[1] The argument above briefly touched upon, is fully illustrated, with great ability and research, by the Right Rev. Dr. Makby, in his Illustrations of the Truth of the Christian Religion, pp. 39—67. See a farther account of these apocryphal books, *infra*, in the Appendix to this volume, No. I. Sect. II.

[2] Paley's Evidences, vol. i. p. 87. Notwithstanding the mass of positive evidence exhibited in the preceding pages, it has been lately affirmed by an opposer of the Scriptures, that the epistles contained in the New Testament were not written till the second century; and that the canon of the New Testament was not settled till the council of Nice!! Though the whole of it was referred to or cited by at least sixteen of the writers above quoted, besides the testimonies of Celsus and Porphyry, *all of whom flourished before that council was held.*

[ii.] SECONDLY, *The Language and Style of the New Testament afford an indisputable proof of its authenticity.*

(1.) The LANGUAGE is Greek, which was at that period (in the first century of the Roman monarchy), and had been ever since the time of Alexander the Great, a kind of universal language, just as the French is at present. It was understood and spoken by Greeks, by Romans, and by Jews. The greater part of the Christians also, especially those to whom the Epistles of the New Testament were addressed would not have comprehended them so universally in any other language. At Corinth, Thessalonica, Colosse, and in Galatia, scarcely was another language understood. Besides the Latin and Aramæan tongues, the Greek also was understood at Rome, and in Palestine by the Jews.

The Greek in which the New Testament is written is not pure and elegant Greek, such as was written by Plato, Aristotle, or other eminent Grecian authors: but it is *Hebraic-Greek*, that is, Greek intermixed with many peculiarities exclusively belonging to the East Aramæan, *i. e.* the Hebrew or Chaldee, and the West Aramæan or Syriac tongues, which were at that time spoken in common life by the *Jews of Palestine.* In short, it "is such a dialect as would be used by persons who were educated in a country where Chaldee or Syriac was spoken as the vernacular tongue, but who also acquired a knowledge of Greek by frequent intercourse with strangers:"[3] and it resembles pure classical Greek as much probably as the French or German written or spoken by a native Englishman, which must be constantly mixed with some anglicisms, resembles the languages of Dresden or of Paris. Now this is a very striking mark of the authenticity of these writings: for, if the New Testament had been written in pure, elegant, and classical Greek, it would be evident that the writers were either native Greeks, or scholars who had *studied* the Greek language, as the writings of Philo and Josephus manifestly indicate the scholar. But since we find the Greek of the New Testament perpetually intermixed with oriental idioms, it is evident from this circumstance that the writers were Jews by birth, and unlearned men, "in *humble* stations, who never sought to obtain an exemption from the dialect they had once acquired. They were concerned with facts and with doctrines; and if these were correctly stated, the purity of their diction appeared to them a matter of no importance. It is true, that one of them was a man of erudition, and moreover born at Tarsus. But if St. Paul was *born* at Tarsus, he was *educated* at Jerusalem; and his erudition was the erudition of a Jewish, not of a Grecian school.

"The language therefore of the Greek Testament is precisely such as we might *expect* from the persons to whom the several parts of it are ascribed. But we may go still further, and assert, not only that the language of the Greek Testament *accords* with the situation of the persons to whom it is ascribed, but that it *could not* have been used by any person or persons who were in a different situation from that of the apostles and evangelists. It was necessary to have lived in the first century, and to have been educated in Judæa, or in Galilee, or in some adjacent country, to be *enabled* to write such a compound language as that of the Greek Testament. Unless some oriental dialect had been *familiar* to the persons who wrote the several books of the New Testament, they would not have been *able* to write that particular kind of Greek, by which those books are distinguished from every classic author. Nor would this kind of language have appeared in the several books of the New Testament, even though the writers had lived in Judæa, unless they had lived also in the same *age* with the apostles and evangelists. Judæa itself could not have produced in the *second* century the compositions which we find in the New Testament. The destruction of Jerusalem and the total subversion of the Jewish state, introduced new forms and new relations, as well in language as in policy. The language therefore of a fabrication attempted in the second century would have borne a different character from that of writings composed in the same country *before* the destruction of Jerusalem. And even if the dialect of a former age could have been successfully *imitated*, no inhabitant of Judæa in the second century would have made the attempt. The *Jews*, who remained in that country, will hardly be suspected of such a fabrication. And the only *Christians* who remained there in the second century were the Nazarenes and the Ebionites. But the Nazarenes and the Ebionites used only *one* Gospel, and that Gospel was in Hebrew. They will hardly be suspected therefore of having forged Greek Gospels. Nor can they be suspected of having forged Greek

[3] Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part v. p. 87.

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Epistles, especially as the Epistles of St. Paul were *rejected* by the Ebionites, not indeed as spurious, but as containing doctrines at variance with their peculiar tenets. But if *Judæa* could not have produced in the second century such writings as we find in the New Testament, no *other* country could have produced them. For the Christians of the second century, who lived where Greek was the vernacular language, though their dialect might differ from the dialect of Athens, never used a dialect in which oriental phraseology was so mingled with Greek words, as we find in the New Testament. The language therefore clearly shows, that it could not have been written in any other age than in the first century, nor by any other persons, than by persons in the situation of the Apostles and Evangelists."[1]

Nor is the argument for the authenticity of the New Testament, drawn from the nature of the language in which it is written, at all affected by the circumstance of the Gospel of Saint Matthew and the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Hebrews having been originally written in Hebrew;—that is, according to the opinions of some learned men. "For," as it is most forcibly urged by the learned prelate to whose researches this section is deeply indebted, "if the arguments, which have been used in regard to language, do not apply to them *immediately*, those arguments apply to them *indirectly*, and with no inconsiderable force. If those arguments show that the Greek Gospel of Saint Matthew was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and that Gospel is a translation, it follows *a fortiori*, that the *original* was written before that period. And if those arguments further show, that the Greek Gospel of Saint Matthew was written by a person similarly situated with Saint Matthew, we must conclude, either that the translation was made by Saint Matthew himself (and there are instances of the same author writing the same work in two different languages), or that the translator was so *connected* with the author, as to give to the translation the value of an original. The Hebrew Gospel of Saint Matthew was retained by the Hebrew Christians of Palestine, and still existed, though with various interpolations, in the fourth century. But the Greek Gospel was necessarily adopted by the Greek Christians: it was so adopted from the earliest ages; and it is no less the Gospel of Saint Matthew, than the Gospel which Saint Matthew wrote in Hebrew. Similar remarks apply to the epistle which was written by Saint Paul to the Hebrews."[2]

(2.) Let us now advert to the STYLE of the New Testament, considered as an evidence of its authenticity.

This style or manner of writing manifestly shows that its authors were born and educated in the Jewish religion: for the use of words and phrases is such,—the allusions to the temple-worship, as well as to the peculiar usages and sentiments of the Jews, are so perpetual,—and the prevalence of the Old Testament phraseology (which is interwoven into the body of the New Testament, rather than quoted by its writers) is so great, as to prove, beyond the possibility of contradiction, that the books of the New Testament could be written by none but persons originally Jews, and who were not superior in rank and education to those whose names they bear. Thus, the style of the historical books, particularly of the Gospels, is totally devoid of ornament: it presents no beautiful transitions from one subject to another; the ear is not charmed with the melody of harmonious periods; the imagination is not fired with grand epithets or pompous expressions. The bad taste of some readers is not gratified by laboured antitheses, high sounding language, or false ornament of any kind; neither is the good taste of others pleased with terse diction, brilliant expressions, or just metaphors. In short, the elegancies of composition and style are not to be sought in the historical books of the New Testament, in which "we find the simplicity of writers, who were more intent upon things than upon words: we find men of plain education honestly relating what they knew, without attempting to adorn their narratives by any elegance or grace of diction. And this is precisely the kind of writing which we should expect from the persons to whom those books are ascribed. In the Epistles of St. Paul we find a totally different manner; but again it is precisely such as we should *expect* from St. Paul. His arguments, though irresistible, are frequently devoid of method; in the *strength* of the reasoning the regularity of the *form* is overlooked. The erudition there displayed is the erudition of a learned Jew; the argumentation there displayed is the argumentation of a Jewish convert to Christianity confuting his brethren on their own ground. Who is there that does not recognize in this description the apostle who was born at Tarsus, but educated at the feet of Gamaliel?

"If we further compare the language of the New Testament with the temper and disposition of the writers to whom the several books of it are ascribed, we shall again find a correspondence which implies that those books are *justly* ascribed to them. The character of the disciple whom Jesus loved is every where impressed on the writings of St. John. Widely different is the character impressed on the writings of St. Paul; but it is equally accordant with the character of the writer. Gentleness and kindness were characteristic of St. John; and these qualities characterise his writings. Zeal and animation marked every where the *conduct* of St. Paul; and these are the qualities which are every where discernible in the *writings* ascribed to him."[3]

[iii.] THIRDLY, *The circumstantiality of the narrative, as well as the coincidence of the accounts delivered in the New Testament with the history of those times, are also an indisputable internal evidence of its authenticity.*

"Whoever," says Michaelis, "undertakes to forge a set of writings, and ascribe them to persons who lived in a former period, exposes himself to the utmost danger of a discordancy with the history and manners of the age to which his accounts are referred; and this danger increases in proportion as they relate to points not mentioned in general history, but to such as belong only to a single city, sect, religion, or school. Of all books that ever were written, there is none, if the New Testament is a forgery, so liable to detection; the scene of action is not confined to a single country, but displayed in the greatest cities of the Roman empire; allusions are made to the various manners and principles of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jews, which are carried so far with respect to this last nation as to extend even to the trifles and follies of their schools. A Greek or Roman Christian, who lived in the second or third century, though as well versed in the writings of the ancients as Eustathius or Asconius, would still have been wanting in Jewish literature; and a Jewish convert in those ages, even the most learned rabbi, would have been equally deficient in the knowledge of Greece and Rome. If, then, the New Testament, thus exposed to detection (had it been an imposture), is found, after the severest researches, to harmonize with the history, the manners, and the opinions of the first century; and since the more minutely we inquire, the more perfect we find the coincidence, we must conclude that it was beyond the reach of human abilities to effectuate so wonderful a deception."[4] A few facts will illustrate this remark.

The Gospels state that Jesus Christ was born during the reign of the Roman emperor Augustus; that he began his ministry in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius; that, about three years and a half afterwards, Pilate, the Roman governor, condemned him to death; and that he was accordingly put to death; and the book, called the Acts of the Apostles, relates that Paul defended himself before the Roman governors Felix and Festus, and before the Jewish king Agrippa, &c. An impostor would not write so *circumstantially*.

Further, there are certain historical circumstances, respecting the political constitutions of the world mentioned in the New Testament, which *coincide with the accounts of contemporary profane historians*, and incontestably point out the time when they were written.

(1.) Thus Palestine is stated to be divided into three principal provinces, Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee.

At that time this country was subject to the Romans, but had formerly been governed by its own kings; the Jews were deprived of the absolute power of life and death; a Roman governor resided at Jerusalem. The nation was discontented with the Roman sovereignty, refused to pay tribute, and was disposed to revolt. Two religious sects are represented as having the chief sway among the Jews, viz. the Pharisees and Sadducees; the former, who taught a mechanical religion, deceived and tyrannised over the people, by whom, however, they were almost idolised; while the latter, who adopted an epicurean philosophy, were strongly supported by the principal characters of the nation. The temple of Jerusalem was then standing, and was annually visited by a great number of the Jews, who were scattered abroad in different parts of the world. These, and similar circumstances, are rather presupposed as universally known than related by the authors of these writings; and they agree most exactly with the condition of the Jews, and of the Roman empire, in the first century of the Roman monarchy, as described by contemporary profane writers.

[1] Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part v. pp. 88—90. For an account of the peculiarities of the Greek language of the New Testament, see SCRIP. infra, Part I. Chap. I. Sect. II. § III.

[2] Marsh's Lectures, part v. p. 91.

[3] Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part v. pp. 92, 93. The reader will find some very instructive observations on the style of the evangelists in the Rev. Dr. Nare's work, intitled "The Veracity of the Evangelists demonstrated, by a comparative View of their Histories," chap. iii. pp. 28—38. 2d. ed.

[4] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. i. p. 49

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(2.) We read in the Gospels that there were publicans, or tax-gatherers, established at Capernaum, and at Jericho.

Now it was in this last-mentioned city that the precious balm was collected; which, constituting the principal article of exportation from that country, required their service to collect the duty imposed on it. And at Capernaum commenced the transit, which both Justin and Strabo tell us was extensively carried on by the Arabæans.[1]

(3.) In Luke iii. 14. we read that certain soldiers came to John the Baptist, while he was preaching in all the country about Jordan, and *demanded of him, saying, And what shall we do?* an important question in Christian morality.

It has been asked, who these soldiers were? for it does not appear that the Roman soldiers, who were then stationed in Judæa, were engaged in any war. Now it happens that the expression used by the evangelical historian is not στρατιωται or *soldiers*, but στρατευομενοι, that is, *men who were actually under arms* or *marching to battle*. It is not to be supposed that he would use this word without a sufficient reason, and what that reason is, we may readily discover on consulting Josephus's account of the reign of Herod the tetrarch of Galilee. He tells us[2] that Herod was *at that very time* engaged in a war with his father-in-law, Aretas, a petty king of Arabia Petræa, whose daughter he had married, but who had returned to her father in consequence of Herod's ill-treatment. The army of Herod, *then* on its march from Galilee, passed of necessity through the country where John was baptizing; and the military men, who questioned him, were a part of that army. So minute, so perfect, and so latent a coincidence was never discovered in a forgery of later ages.[3]

(4.) The same evangelist (iii. 19, 20.) relates that *Herod the tetrarch being reproved by him* (John the Baptist) *for Herodias his brother Philip's wife, and for all the evils which Herod had done, added yet this above all, that he shut up John in prison.*

It does not appear what connexion there was between the soldiers above-mentioned and the place of John's imprisonment, though the context leads us to infer that it was somewhere in the vicinity of the place where the Baptist was preaching. The evangelist Mark (vi. 17—28.), who relates the circumstances of his apprehension and death, informs us that, at a royal entertainment given on occasion of Herod's birth-day, *the daughter of the said Herodias came in*; and that the king, being highly delighted with her dancing, promised to give her whatsoever she wished. After consulting with her mother Herodias, she demanded the head of John the Baptist; and Herod, reluctantly assenting, immediately dispatched an *executioner*, who went and beheaded John in prison. Now it does not appear, from the narrative of Mark, why a person in actual military service (σπεκουλατωρ) was employed; or why Herodias should have cherished such a hatred of John, as to instruct her daughter to demand the head of that holy man. But the above-cited passage from Josephus explains both circumstances. Herod, we have seen, was actually at war with Aretas: while his army was on its march against his father-in-law, Herod gave an entertainment in the fortress of Machærus, which was at no great distance from the place where John was preaching. Herodias was the cause of that war. It was on her account that the daughter of Aretas, the wife of Herod, was compelled by ill-treatment to take refuge with her father: and as the war in which Aretas was engaged was undertaken in order to obtain redress for his daughter, Herodias had a peculiar interest in accompanying Herod, even when he was marching to battle; and her hatred of John (who had reproved Herod on her account), at that particular time, is thus clearly accounted for. No spurious productions could bear so rigid a test as that which is here applied to the Gospels of Mark and Luke.

(5.) Let us now take an example from the Acts of the Apostles, (xxiii. 2—5.) where we have the following account of Paul's appearance before the council in Jerusalem, and his answer to Ananias:—*And Paul, earnestly beholding the council, said, "Men and brethren, I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day." And the high-priest Ananias commanded them that stood by him to smite him on the mouth. Then said Paul, "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall: for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?" And they that stood by said, "Revilest thou* God's high-priest?" *Then said Paul, "I wist not, brethren, that he was the high-priest."*—Now, on this passage, it has been asked, 1. Who was this Ananias? 2. How can it be reconciled with chronology that Ananias was at that time called the high-priest, when it is certain from Josephus that the time of his holding that office was much earlier? And, 3. How it happened that Paul said, *I wist not, brethren, that he was the high-priest*, since the external marks of office must have determined whether he were or not.

"On all these subjects," says Michaelis, "is thrown the fullest light, as soon as we examine the special history of that period; a light which is not confined to the present, but extends itself to the following chapters, insomuch that it cannot be doubted that this book was written, not after the destruction of Jerusalem, but by a person who was contemporary to the events which are there related. Ananias, the son of Nebedeni, was high-priest at the time that Helena, queen of Adiabene, supplied the Jews with corn from Egypt,[4] during the famine which took place in the fourth year of Claudius, mentioned in the eleventh chapter of the Acts. St. Paul, therefore, who took a journey to Jerusalem at that period,[5] could not have been ignorant of the elevation of Ananias to that dignity. Soon after the holding of the first council, as it is called, at Jerusalem, Ananias was dispossessed of his office, in consequence of certain acts of violence between the Samaritans and the Jews, and sent prisoner to Rome,[6] whence he was afterwards released, and returned to Jerusalem. Now from that period he could not be called high-priest in the proper sense of the word, though Josephus[7] has sometimes given him the title of αρχιερευς taken in the more extensive meaning of a priest, who had a seat and voice in the Sanhedrin;[8] and Jonathan, though we are not acquainted with the circumstances of his elevation, had been raised in the mean time to the supreme dignity in the Jewish church. Between the death of Jonathan, who was murdered[9] by order of Felix, and the high priesthood of Ismael, who was invested with that office by Agrippa,[10] elapsed an interval, in which this dignity continued vacant. Now it happened precisely in this interval that Saint Paul was apprehended in Jerusalem: and the Sanhedrin being destitute of a president, he undertook of his own authority the discharge of that office, which he executed with the greatest tyranny.[11] It is possible, therefore, that St. Paul, who had been only a few days in Jerusalem, might be ignorant that Ananias, who had been dispossessed of the priesthood, had taken upon himself a trust to which he was not entitled; he might therefore very naturally exclaim, '*I wist not, brethren, that he was the high-priest!*' Admitting him, on the other hand, to have been acquainted with the fact, the expression must be considered as an indirect reproof, and a tacit refusal to recognise usurped authority. A passage, then, which has hitherto been involved in obscurity, is brought by this relation into the clearest light; and the whole history of St. Paul's imprisonment, the conspiracy of the fifty Jews[12] with the consent of the Sanhedrin, their petition to Festus to send him from Cæsarea, with intent to murder him on the road,[13] are facts which correspond to the character of the times as described by Josephus, who mentions the principal persons recorded in the Acts, and paints their profligacy in colours even stronger than those of St. Luke."[14]

(6.) In Acts xxvii. 1. Luke relates that "when St. Paul was sent from Cæsarea to Rome, he was, with the other prisoners, committed to the care of Julius, an officer of the Augustan cohort, that is, a Roman cohort, which had the honour of bearing the name of the emperor.

"Now it appears from the account, which Josephus has given in his second book on the Jewish war,[15] that when Felix was procurator of Judæa, the Roman garrison at Cæsarea was *chiefly* composed of soldiers who were natives of *Syria*. But it also appears, as well from the same book[16] as from the twentieth book of his Antiquities,[17] that a small body of *Roman* soldiers was stationed there at the same time, and that this body of *Roman* soldiers was dignified with the title of ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ or Augustan, the same Greek word being employed by Josephus, as by the author of the Acts of the Apostles. This select body of Roman soldiers had been employed by Cumanus, who immediately preceded Felix in the procuratorship of Judæa, for the purpose of quelling an insurrection.[18] And when Festus, who succeeded Felix, had occasion to send prisoners from Cæsarea to Rome, he would of course intrust them to the care of an officer belonging to the select corps. Even *here* then we have a coincidence, which is worthy of notice; a coincidence which we should never have discovered, without consulting the writings of Josephus. But that which is *most* worthy of notice, is the circumstance, that this select body of soldiers bore the title of Augustan. This title was known of course to St. Luke, who accompanied St. Paul from Cæsarea to Rome. But, that, in the time of the emperor Nero, the garrison of Cæsarea, which consisted chiefly of Syrian soldiers contained also a small body of Roman soldiers, and that they were dignified by the epithet Augustan, are circumstances so minute, that no impostor of a later age would have known them. And they prove incontestably that the Acts of the Apostles could have been written only by a person in the situation of St. Luke."[19]

(7.) Once more, between the epistles of Paul and the history related in the Acts of the Apostles, there exist many notes of *undesigned coincidence* or correspondency, the perusal of which is sufficient to prove, that neither the history was taken from the letters, nor the letters from the history. "And the *undesignedness* of these agreements (which undesignedness is gathered from their latency, their minuteness, their obliquity, the suitableness of the circumstances in which they consist, to the places in which those circumstances occur, and the circuitous references by which they are traced out), demonstrates that they have not been produced by meditation, or by any fraudulent contrivance. But coincidences from which these causes are excluded, and which are too close and numerous to be accounted for by accidental concurrences of fiction, must necessarily have truth for their foundation."[20]

These coincidences are illustrated at considerable length, and in a most masterly manner, by Dr. Paley, in his "Horæ Paulinæ," from which admirable treatise the following particulars are abridged. As the basis of his argument he assumes nothing but the existence of the books. He observes, that in the epistles of Paul, there is an air of truth and reality that immediately strikes the reader. His letters are connected with his history in the Acts by their particularity, and by the numerous circumstances found in them. By examining and comparing these circum

[1] Justini Epitome Trogi, lib. xxxv. c. 3. Strabonis Geographia, lib xvi. p. 519. (ed. Casauboni.)

[2] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 5. s. 1, 2.

[3] For the above illustrative coincidence we are indebted to Michaelis vol. i. p. 51.), and for the next following to Bp. Marsh, Lectures part v. pp. 78—82.

[4] Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. 5. § 2.

[5] Acts xv.

[6] Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. 6. § 2.

[7] Joseph. lib. xx. c. 9. § 2. and Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 17. § 9.

[8] Αρχιερεις in the plural number is frequently used in the New Testament when allusion is made to the Sanhedrin.

[9] Jos. Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. 8. § 5.

[10] Ibid. lib. xx. c. 8. § 3.

[11] Ibid. lib. xx. c. 9. § 2.

[12] Acts xxiii. 12—15.

[13] Acts xxv. 3.

[14] Michaelis, vol. i. pp. 51—54.

[15] Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 13. § 7.

[16] Cap. 12. § 5. p. 174.

[17] Antiq. Jud. lib. xx. c. 6.

[18] Antiq. Jud. lib. xx. c. 6.

[19] Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part v. pp. 82—84. See also numerous additional instances in the Rev. J. J. Blunt's "Veracity of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles argued from the undesigned coincidences to be found in them when compared, 1. With each other: and, 2. With Josephus." Lond. 1828. 8vo.

[20] Paley's Evidences, vol. ii. p. 186.

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stances, we observe that the history and the epistles are neither of them taken from the other, but are independent documents unknown to, or at least unconsulted by, each other; but we find the substance, and often very minute articles of the history, recognised in the epistles, by allusions and references which can neither be imputed to *design*, nor, without a foundation in truth, be accounted for by accident, by hints and expressions, and single words dropping, as it were fortuitously, from the pen of the writer, or drawn forth, each by some occasion proper to the place in which it occurs, but widely removed from any view to consistency or agreement. These, we know, are effects which reality produces, but which, without reality at the bottom, can hardly be conceived to exist. When such undesigned coincidences are too close and too numerous to be accounted for by accidental concurrences of fiction, they must necessarily have truth for their foundation. This argument depends upon a large deduction of particulars, which cannot be abstracted, but which carry great weight of evidence.

If it can be thus proved, that we are in possession of the very letters which the apostle Paul wrote, they substantiate the Christian history. The great object of modern research is to come at the epistolary correspondence of the times. Amidst the obscurity, the silence, or the contradictions of history, if a letter can be found, we regard it as the discovery of a land-mark; as that by which we can correct, adjust, or supply the imperfections and uncertainties of other accounts. The facts which they disclose generally come out incidentally, and therefore without design to mislead by false or exaggerated accounts. This is applicable to Paul's epistles with as much justice as to any letters whatever. Nothing could be further from the intention of the writer than to record any part of his history, though in fact it is made public by them, and the reality of it is made probable.

These letters also show, 1. That Christianity had prevailed before the confusions that preceded and attended the destruction of Jerusalem. 2. That the Gospels were not made up of reports and stories current at the time; for a man cannot be led by reports to refer to transactions in which he states himself to be present and active. 3. That the converts to Christianity were not the barbarous, mean, ignorant set of men, incapable of thought or reflection, which the false representations of infidelity would make them; and that these letters are not adapted to the habits and comprehension of a barbarous people. 4. That the history of Paul is so implicated with that of the other apostles, and with the substance of the Christian history itself, that if Paul's story (not the miraculous part) be admitted to be true, we cannot reject the rest as fabulous. For example; if we believe Paul to have been a preacher of Christianity, we must also believe that there were such men as Peter, and James, and other apostles, who had been companions of Christ during his life, and who published the same things concerning him which Paul taught. 5. That Paul had a sound and sober judgment. 6. That Paul underwent great sufferings, and that the church was in a distressed state, and the preaching of Christianity attended with dangers; this appears even from incidental passages, as well as direct ones. 7. Paul, in these epistles, asserts, in positive, unequivocal terms, his performance of miracles, properly so called, in the face of those amongst whom he declares they were wrought, and even to adversaries, who would have exposed the falsity, if there had been any. (Gal. iii. 5. Rom. xv. 18, 19. 2 Cor. xii. 12.)

This testimony shows that the series of actions represented by Paul was real, and proves not only that the original witnesses of the Christian history devoted themselves to lives of toil and suffering, in consequence of the truth of that history, but also that the author of the Acts was well acquainted with Paul's history, and a companion of his travels; which establishes the credibility of Luke's Gospel, considering them as two parts of the same history; for though there are instances of *second* parts being forgeries, we know of none where the second part is genuine and the first spurious. Now, is there an example to be met with of any man voluntarily undergoing such incessant hardships as Paul did, and the constant expectation of a violent death, for the sake of attesting a story of what was false; and of what, if false, he must have known to be so? And it should not be omitted, that the prejudices of Paul's education were against his becoming a disciple of Christ, as his first violent opposition to it evidently showed.[1]

Further; there are four Epistles of Paul to single persons, who were his friends; two to Timothy, one to Titus, and one to Philemon. In private letters to intimate companions some expression would surely let fall a hint at least of fraud, if there were any. Yet the same uniform design of promoting sincerity, benevolence, and piety, is perceived; and the same histories of Christ and of Paul are alluded to as true accounts, in his private as in his public epistles.

Besides numerous undesigned coincidences in historical circumstances and facts, which Dr. Paley has specified, there is also an undesigned agreement throughout, between the sentiments and manner of writing of Paul in his Epistles, and the account of his character and conduct given in the book of Acts. Every instance of this kind bespeaks reality, and therefore deserves notice as a branch of internal evidence. The Epistles of Paul show the author to be a man of parts and learning, of sound judgment, quick conception, crowded thought, fluent expression, and zealous and indefatigable in his endeavours to accomplish the point at which he aimed. These properties correspond with the history of him contained in the Acts. Brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, he was instructed in Jewish learning. His speech to the philosophers and people of Athens, his behaviour and addresses to Agrippa, Festus, and Felix, &c. prove his sagacity, his judicious selection of topics, and his skill in reasoning. The violent manner in which he is recorded in the Acts to have persecuted the first Christians agrees with the ardour of spirit that breathes in all his letters, and the glowing warmth of his style.

There are, indeed, great seeming discordances, which, however, are easily reconcileable by attending to his ardent temper, and to the ruling principle of his conduct in different periods of his life. His rage against the Christians (owing to strong Jewish prejudices) was furious and unrestrained,[2] and unjustifiable against any peaceable persons, such as they were. On the other hand, his Epistles manifest a warmth and eagerness governed by a calmer principle. After his conversion, Paul was at the same time prudent, steady, and ardent. He was as indefatigable as he had been before; but, instead of cruel and unjust means to obtain his purposes, he employed argument, persuasion, and the merciful and mighty power of God. The religion he embraced accounts for these changes easily and naturally. His conversion to Christianity, the circumstances of which are related in the book of Acts, and which are mentioned or alluded to in his Epistles, harmonize every seeming contradiction in his character, and thus become a strong evidence of the truth both of his history and of his Epistles.

A similar observation may be made concerning Peter. Is there not a striking uniformity in the character of this Apostle, as it is delineated by the sacred writers, and as it is discoverable in the style, manner, and sentiments of his Epistles? Do they not bear the marks of the same energy, the same unpolished and nervous simplicity, the same impetuosity and vehemence of thought, the same strength and vigour of untutored genius; strong in the endowments of nature, but without the refinements of art or science? Now there would scarcely have been found such a nice agreement between the character of Peter given in the writings of others, and exemplified in his own, if the one had been a fiction, or the other spurious. It is the same Peter that speaks in the Gospel history, in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the Epistles which bear his name. The seal of his character, as graven by the Evangelists, exactly corresponds with the impression of his letters. This is an argument of the genuineness of his Epistles, and of the truth of the Christian religion.[3]

The other books of the New Testament furnish ample materials for pursuing this species of evidence from undesigned coincidences of different kinds. Dr. Paley,[4] and Mr. Wakefield,[5] have both produced some instances of it between the Gospels, to which we shall only add, in the last place, that the similitude or coincidence between the style of John's Gospel, and the first epistle that bears his name, is so striking, that no reader, who is capable of discerning what is peculiar in an author's turn of thinking, can entertain the slightest doubt of their being the productions of one and the same writer.[6] Writings so circumstanced prove themselves and one another to be genuine.

[1] Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, in the conclusion. Paley's Evidences of Christianity, vol. ii. c. 7.

[2] Acts viii. 3. ix. 1.

[3] T. G. Taylor's Essay on the Cond. and Char. of Peter.

[4] Evid. of Christ. part ii. c. 4.

[5] Internal Evidences, pp. 207—210.

[6] The following comparative table of passages, from the Gospel and first Epistle of Saint John, will (we think) prove the point above stated beyond the possibility of contradiction.

Epistle.	*Gospel.*
Ch. I. 1. That which was from the beginning—ὃ ἐθεασάμεθα, which we have contemplated—concerning the living word.	Ch. I. 1. In the beginning was the word. 14. And, ἐθεασάμεθα, we beheld his glory.
	4. In him was life.
	14. The word was made flesh.

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The forgeries of these things, if forgeries they were, must (as Dr. Jortin has forcibly remarked) have equalled Father Hardouin's atheistical monks of the thirteenth century; who, according to his fantastical account, in an age of ignorance and barbarism, surpassed in abilities all the ancients and moderns; forged the Greek and Latin authors whom we call classical; and were not only great poets, but also great mathematicians, chronologers, geographers, astronomers, and critics, and capable of inserting in their proper places names and accounts of men, rivers, cities, and regions, eclipses of the sun and moon, Athenian archons, Attic months, Olympiads, and Roman consuls: all which happy inventions have been since confirmed by astronomical calculations and tables, voyages, inscriptions, Fasti Capitolini, fragments, manuscripts, and a diligent collation of authors with each other.[1]

Such are the evidences, both external and internal, direct and collateral, for the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament: and when their number, variety, and the extraordinary nature of many of them are impartially considered, it is impossible not to come to this convincing conclusion, viz. that the books now extant in the New Testament are genuine and authentic, and are the same writings which were originally composed by the authors whose names they bear.

SECTION III.

ON THE UNCORRUPTED PRESERVATION OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT.

1. *The uncorrupted Preservation of the Old Testament, proved from the absolute impossibility of its being falsified or corrupted;* 1. *By Jews;*—2. *By Christians;*—*and,* 3. *From the Agreement of all the Versions, and Manuscripts that are known to be extant.*—II. *The uncorrupted Preservation of the books of the New Testament proved,* 1. *From their contents;*—2. *From the utter Impossibility of an universal Corruption of them being accomplished;*—3. *From the Agreement of all the Manuscripts;*—*and,* 4. *From the Agreement of ancient versions, and of the quotations, from the New Testament in the writings of the early Christians.*—III. *General Proofs that none of the canonical Books of Scripture are or ever were lost.*—IV. *Particular Proofs, as to the integrity of the Old Testament.*—V. *And also of the New Testament.*

ALTHOUGH the genuineness and authenticity of the Old and New Testaments have been thus clearly proved, yet it may perhaps be asked whether those books have not long since been destroyed? And whether they have been transmitted to us *entire* and *uncorrupted?* To these inquiries we reply, that we have evidence, equally decisive and satisfactory with that which has demonstrated the genuineness and authenticity of the Old and New Testaments, to prove that they have descended to us entire and uncorrupted in any thing material;—such evidence indeed as can be adduced for no other production of antiquity.

I. And, first, *with regard to the Old Testament*, although the Jews have been charged with corrupting it, yet this charge has never been substantiated, and, in fact, the thing itself is morally impossible. Generally speaking, the arguments which have demonstrated that the Pentateuch (or five books of Moses) is not, and could not be a forgery in the first instance, apply equally to prove that these books have not been wilfully and designedly corrupted. But, to be more particular, we may remark,

1. *That there is no proof or vestige whatever of such pretended alteration.*

The Jews have in every age regarded the Pentateuch as the genuine and uncorrupted work of one single person, and have equally respected every part of it. Indeed, if they had mutilated or corrupted these writings, they would doubtless have expunged from them every relation of facts and events, that militated against the honour and credit of their nation. Besides, when could such an alteration or corruption have been executed? It was not possible, shortly after the death of Moses, for the memory of the transactions recorded in the Pentateuch was too recent for any one to venture upon any corruption or alteration, which public notoriety would have contradicted. The Pentateuch, therefore, could not have been altered or corrupted so long as Joshua and that generation lived, who were zealous for the worship of the true God. (Josh. xxiv. 31.) From that time to the age of Samuel, the Israelites were under the direction of civil governors or judges, who braved every danger in defence of the form of government established in the sacred books.

Further, if they had wilfully corrupted the books of the Old Testament *before the time of Christ and his apostles*, the prophets who flourished from Samuel to Malachi, and who were neither slow nor timid in reproving the sins both of rulers and subjects, would not have passed over so heinous an offence in silence. After the separation of the ten tribes, at least, the books of Moses were kept in the kingdom of Israel; and the rivalry that continued to subsist between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, was an insuperable bar to any corruption or alteration; for it could not have been attempted in either kingdom without opposition and detection from the other, of which some notice must have been taken in their historical books. Besides, if the Old Testament had been corrupted in the time of Jesus Christ and his apostles, the Jews could not have passed without censure from them, who rebuked their hypocrisy, incredulity, and wickedness with so much severity. If there had been any alteration or corruption, it must have been the work either of *one* or of *many* persons. It cannot be conceived that any one person could do it, without being exposed: nor that any one could have vanity enough to expect success in an attempt to alter facts in a book so universally read and so much esteemed. The unity of design, the correspondence of sentiment, and the uniform reference to the same facts, which are observable throughout the Old Testament, forbid us to imagine that *many* were united in corrupting or altering any part of it. In a word, no man of

Epistle.	*Gospel.*
II. 5. Whosoever keepeth his word, truly in that man the love of God is perfected.	XIV. 23. If a man love me, he will keep my words, and my Father will love him.
II. 6. He who saith he abideth in him, ought himself also so to walk, even as he walked. See ch. iii. 24. iv. 13. 16.	XV. 4. Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bring forth fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in me.
II. 8. I write to you a new commandment.	XIII. 34. A new commandment I give to you, that ye love one another as I have loved you.
III. 11. This is the message which ye have heard from the beginning, that we should love one another.	I. 5. The light shineth in darkness.
II. 8. The darkness passeth away, and the light which is true, now shineth.	9. That was the true light.
10. Abideth in the light, and there is no stumbling block to him.	XI. 10. If a man walk in the night, he stumbleth, because there is no light to him.
II. 13. Young children, I write to you, because ye have known the Father.	XVII. 3. This is the eternal life, that they might know thee the only true God, And Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.
14. Because ye have known him from the beginning.	III. 3. Except a man be begotten again.
II. 29. Every one who worketh righteousness, is begotten of God. See also iii. 9. v. 1.	5. Except a man be begotten of water and of the Spirit.
III. 1. Behold how great love the Father hath bestowed on us, that we should be called the sons of God!	I. 12. To them he gave power to become the sons of God, even to them who believe on his name.
III. 2. We shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is.	XVII. 24. Be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory.
III. 8. He who worketh sin is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning.	VIII. 44. Ye are of your father the devil—He was a murderer from the beginning.
III. 13. Do not wonder, my brethren, that the world hateth you.	XV. 20. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you.
IV. 9. By this the love of God was manifested, that God sent his Son, the only begotten, into the world, that we might live through him.	III. 16. God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him might not perish, but have everlasting life.
IV. 12. No man hath seen God at any time.	I. 18. No man hath seen God at any time.
V. 13. These things I have written to you who believe on the name of the Son of God, that ye may know that ye have eternal life; and that ye may believe on the name of the Son of God.	XX. 31. These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name.
V. 14. If we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us.	XIV. 14. If ye shall ask any thing in my name, I will do it.
V. 20. The Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we know him that is true, and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life.	XVII. 2. Thou hast given him power over all flesh, that he might give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him. 3. And this is eternal life, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.

[1] Remarks on Eccles. Hist. vol. i. pp 28. *et seq.* Less's Authenticity of the New Testament, translated by Mr. Kingdon, pp. 1—24. Michaelis, vol. i. pp. 4—54. Simpson's Internal Evidences, pp. 160—165. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book ii. pp. 687—692. Stosch, de Canone, p. 89. Pictet, Theologie Chrétienne, tome i. p. 83. Ernesti Interp. Nov. Test. pars. iii. pp. 147. *et seq.* See also a very copious discussion of the Evidences for the Authenticity of the New Testament in Dr. Cook's Inquiry into the Books of the New Testament, Edinburgh, 1821. 8vo.

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number of men could make an attempt of this kind without being exposed. Nor is it rational to suppose, that any man or number of men could have capacity competent to effect such a design, who would not also have had the sense to observe the necessity of making it more agreeable to the natural tempers of mankind, in order that it might obtain credit in the world.

Again, if the Old Testament had been mutilated or corrupted *after the birth of Christ*, out of malice to the Christians, and in order to deprive them of arguments and evidences for proving their religion, the Jews would unquestionably have expunged or falsified those memorable prophecies concerning Christ which were so irrefragably cited both by him and by his apostles. But no such obliteration or alteration has ever been made; on the contrary, those very passages have continued in their original purity, and are sometimes more express in the original Hebrew text than in the common translation.

2. *In fact, neither before nor after the time of Christ*, could *the Jews corrupt or falsify the Hebrew Scriptures; for*,

[i.] *Before that event*, the regard which was paid to them by the Jews, especially to the law, would render any forgery or material change in their contents impossible.

The law having been the deed by which the land of Canaan was divided among the Israelites, it is improbable that this people, who possessed that land, would suffer it to be altered or falsified. The distinction of the twelve tribes, and their separate interests, made it more difficult to alter their law than that of other nations less jealous than the Jews. Further, at certain stated seasons, the law was publicly read before all the people of Israel;[1] and it was appointed to be kept in the ark, for a constant memorial against those who transgressed it.[2] Their king was required to *write him a copy of this law in a book, out of* that which is *before the priests the Levites, and to read therein all the days of his life;*[3] their priests also were commanded *to teach the children of Israel all the statutes, which the Lord had spoken to them by the hand of Moses;*[4] and parents were charged not only to make it familiar to themselves, but also to teach it diligently to their children;[5] besides which, a severe prohibition was annexed, against either making any addition to or diminution from the law.[6] Now such precepts as these could not have been given by an impostor who was adding to it, and who would wish men to forget rather than enjoin them to remember it; for, as all the people were obliged to know and observe the law under severe penalties, they were in a manner the trustees and guardians of the law, as well as the priests and Levites. The people who were to teach their children, must have had copies of it; the priests and Levites must have had copies of it; and the magistrates must have had copies of it, as being the law of the land. Further, after the people were divided into two kingdoms, both the people of Israel and those of Judah still retained the same book of the law; and the rivalry or enmity, that subsisted between the two kingdoms, prevented either of them from altering or adding to the law. After the Israelites were carried captives into Assyria, other nations were placed in the cities of Samaria in their stead; and the Samaritans received the Pentateuch, either from the priest who was sent by order of the king of Assyria, to instruct them in the *manner of the God of the land*,[7] or several years afterwards from the hands of Manasseh, the son of Joiada the high-priest, who was expelled from Jerusalem by Nehemiah, for marrying the daughter of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria; and who was constituted, by Sanballat, the first high-priest of the temple at Samaria.[8] Now, by one or both of these means the Samaritans had the Pentateuch as well as the Jews; but with this difference, that the Samaritan Pentateuch was in the old Hebrew or Phenician characters, in which it remains to this day: whereas the Jewish copy was changed into Chaldee characters (in which it also remains to this day), which were fairer and clearer than the Hebrew, the Jews having learned the Chaldee language during their seventy years abode at Babylon. The jealousy and hatred, which subsisted between the Jews and Samaritans, made it impracticable for either nation to corrupt or alter the text in any thing of consequence without certain discovery: and the general agreement between the Hebrew and Samaritan copies of the Pentateuch, which are now extant, is such, as plainly demonstrates that the copies were originally the same. Nor can any better evidence be desired, that the Jewish Bibles have not been corrupted or interpolated, than this very book of the Samaritans; which, after more than two thousand years discord between the two nations, varies as little from the other as any classic author in less tract of time has disagreed from itself by the unavoidable slips and mistakes of so many transcribers.[9]

After the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, the book of the law, and the prophets, were publicly read in their synagogues every Sabbath day;[10] which was an excellent method of securing their purity, as well as of enforcing the observation of the law. The Chaldee paraphrases and the translation of the Old Testament into Greek, which were afterwards made, were so many additional securities. To these facts we may add, that the reverence of the Jews for their sacred writings is another guarantee for their integrity: so great indeed was that reverence, that, according to the statements of Philo and Josephus,[11] they would suffer any torments, and even death itself, rather than change a single point or iota of the Scriptures. A law was also enacted by them, which denounced him to be guilty of inexpiable sin, who should presume to make the slightest possible alteration in their sacred books. The Jewish doctors, fearing to add any thing to the law, passed their own notions as traditions or explanations of it; and both Jesus Christ and his apostles accused the Jews of entertaining a prejudiced regard for those traditions, but they never charged them with falsifying or corrupting the Scriptures themselves. On the contrary, Christ urged them to *search the Scriptures*;[12] which he doubtless would have said with some caution if they had been falsified or corrupted: and he not only refers to the Scriptures in general, but appeals directly to the writings of Moses.[13] It is also known, that during the time of Christ the Jews were divided into various sects and parties, each of whom watched over the others with the greatest jealousy, so as to render any attempt at such falsification or corruption utterly impracticable. Since, then, the Jews could not falsify or corrupt the Hebrew Scriptures *before* the advent of Christ,

[ii.] *So neither have these writings been falsified or corrupted* AFTER *the birth of Christ.*

For, since that event, the Old Testament has been held in high esteem both by Jews and Christians. The Jews also frequently suffered martyrdom for their Scriptures, which they would not have done, had they suspected them to have been corrupted or altered. Besides, the Jews and Christians were a mutual guard upon each other, which must have rendered any material corruption impossible, if it had been attempted; for if such an attempt had been made by the *Jews*, they would have been detected by the Christians. The accomplishment of such a design, indeed, would have been impracticable, from the moral impossibility of the Jews (who were dispersed in every country of the then known world) being able to collect all the then existing copies with the intention of corrupting or falsifying them. On the other hand, if any such attempt had been made by the *Christians*, it would assuredly have been detected by the Jews; nor could any such attempt have been made by any other man or body of men, without exposure both by Jews and Christians.

3. The admirable *agreement of all the ancient paraphrases and versions*,[14] and of the writings of Josephus, with the

[1] Deut. xxxi. 9—13. Josh. viii. 34, 35. Neh. viii. 1—5.
[2] Deut. xxxi. 26. [3] Deut. xvii. 18, 19. [4] Levit. x. 11.
[5] Deut. vi. 7. [6] Deut. iv. 2. xii. 32. [7] 2 Kings xvii. 27.
[8] Neh. xiii. 28. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xi. c. 8. Bp. Newton's Works, vol. i. p. 23.

[9] Dr. Bentley's Remarks on Freethinking, part i. remark 27. (vol. v. p. 144. of Bp. Randolph's Enchiridion Theologicum, 8vo. Oxford, 1792.)
[10] Acts xiii. 14, 15. 27. Luke iv. 17—20.
[11] Philo, apud Euseb. de Præp. Evang. lib. viii. c. 2. Josephus contra Apion. lib. i. § 8.
[12] John v. 39. [13] John v. 46, 47.
[14] The Old Testament has been translated into a great number of languages; but the only versions, to which we shall now advert, are those which were made either previously to the Christian æra, or very shortly after its commencement. At that period, almost all the books of the Old Law had been translated into *Chaldee*, for the use of the Jews in the East, with whom the original Hebrew had ceased to be a living language; the whole had been rendered into Greek (two hundred and eighty-two years before the birth of Jesus Christ) for the Jews of Alexandria, who were still less acquainted with Hebrew; and, at the close of the first, or in the beginning of the second century, the Old Testament was translated into Syriac, for the Syrian Christians. These three versions have been preserved to our time: numerous manuscript copies and printed editions of them are extant; and, with the exception of a few unimportant differences, they represent to us the same text, the same books, the same predictions, and the same phrases. Now this agreement is not the result of any design on the part of the translators, or of any fraud on the part of learned men. These three sister versions, having once issued from their common parent, have been for ever separated by events and by a rivalship which still subsists. The Chaldee version, which was carefully preserved and consulted by the Hebrews, remained unknown to Christians during the early ages of the church, and has been in their hands only for two or three centuries. The Christians of Syria knew as little of the Greek version, as the Greeks did of the Syriac: and the Greek version,—which was diffused throughout the West, and translated in its turn into Latin, and which, under this second form, became the object of exclusive respect in the Romish Church,—could not borrow any thing from the other versions, of the existence of which the inhabitants of the West were utterly ignorant. The agreement, therefore, of these three witnesses, is so much the more

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Old Testament as it is now extant, together with the quotations which are made from it in the New Testament, and in the writings of all ages to the present time, forbid us to indulge any suspicion of any material corruption in the books of the Old Testament; and give us every possible evidence of which a subject of this kind is capable, that these books are now in our hands genuine and unadulterated.

4. Lastly, the *Agreement of all the Manuscripts of the Old Testament* (amounting to nearly eleven hundred and fifty), *which are known to be extant, is a clear proof of its uncorrupted preservation.*

These manuscripts, indeed, are not all entire; some contain one part and some another.[1] But it is absolutely impossible that *every* manuscript, whether in the original Hebrew, or in any ancient version or paraphrase, should or could be *designedly* altered or falsified in the *same* passages, without detection either by Jews or Christians. The manuscripts now extant are, confessedly, liable to errors and mistakes from the carelessness, negligence, or inaccuracy of copyists: but they are not *all* uniformly incorrect throughout, nor in the same words or passages; but what is incorrect in one place is correct in another. Although the various readings, which have been discovered by learned men, who have applied themselves to the collation of every known manuscript of the Hebrew Scriptures, amount to many thousands, yet these differences are of so little *real* moment, that their laborious collations afford us scarcely any opportunities of correcting the sacred text in important passages. So far, however, are these extensive and profound researches from being either trivial or nugatory, that we have, in fact, derived from them the greatest advantage which could have been wished for by any real friend of revealed religion; namely, the certain knowledge of the agreement of the copies of the ancient Scriptures, now extant in their original language, with each other, and with our Bibles.[2]

II. Equally satisfactory is the evidence for the INTEGRITY AND UNCORRUPTNESS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT in any thing material. The testimonies, adduced in the preceding section in behalf of the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament, are, in a great measure, applicable to show that it has been transmitted to us entire and uncorrupted. But, to be more particular, we remark,

1. *That the uncorrupted preservation of the books of the New Testament is manifest, from their contents;*

For, so early as the two first centuries of the Christian æra, we find the very same *facts*, and the very same *doctrines*, universally received by the Christians, which we of the present day believe on the credit of the New Testament.

2. *Because an universal corruption of those writings was both impossible and impracticable, nor can the least vestige of such a corruption be found in history.*

[i.] They could not be corrupted during the lives of their authors; and before their death copies were dispersed among the different communities of Christians, who were scattered throughout the then known world. Within twenty years after the ascension, churches were formed in the principal cities of the Roman empire; and in all these churches the books of the New Testament, especially the four Gospels, were read as a part of their public worship, just as the writings of Moses and the Prophets were read in the Jewish synagogues.[3] Nor would the use of them be confined to public worship; for these books were not, like the Sibylline Oracles, locked up from the perusal of the public, but were exposed to public investigation. When the books of the New Testament were first published to the world, the Christians would naturally entertain the highest esteem and reverence for writings that delivered an *authentic* and inspired history of the life and doctrines of Jesus Christ, and would be desirous of possessing such an invaluable treasure. Hence, as we learn from unquestionable authority, copies were multiplied and disseminated as rapidly as the boundaries of the church increased; and translations were made into as many languages as were spoken by its professors, some of which remain to this day; so that it would very soon be rendered absolutely impossible to corrupt these books in any one important word or phrase. Now it is not to be supposed (without violating all probability) that *all* Christians should agree in a design of changing or corrupting the original books; and if *some* only should make the attempt, the uncorrupted copies would still remain to detect them. And supposing there was some error in one translation or copy, or something changed, added, or taken away; yet there were many other copies and other translations, by the help of which the neglect or fraud might be or would be corrected.

[ii.] Further, as these books could not be corrupted during the lives of their respective authors, and while a great number of witnesses was alive to attest the facts which they record; *so neither could any material alteration take place* AFTER *their decease*, without being detected while the original manuscripts were preserved in the churches. The Christians who were instructed by the apostles or by their immediate successors, travelled into all parts of the world, carrying with them copies of their writings; from which other copies were multiplied and preserved. Now (as we have already seen)[4] we have an unbroken series of testimonies for the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament, which can be traced backwards, from the fourth century of the Christian æra to the very time of the apostles; and these very testimonies are equally applicable to prove its uncorrupted preservation. Moreover, harmonies of the four Gospels were anciently constructed; commentaries were written upon them, as well as upon the other books of the New Testament (many of which are still extant), manuscripts were collated, and editions of the New Testament were put forth. These sacred records, being universally regarded as the supreme standard of truth, were received by every class of Christians with peculiar respect, as being divine compositions, and possessing an authority belonging to no other books. Whatever controversies, therefore, arose among different sects (and the church was very early rent with fierce contentions on doctrinal points), the Scriptures of the New Testament were received and appealed to by every one of them, as being conclusive in all matters of controversy; consequently it was morally impossible, and in itself impracticable, that any man or body of men should corrupt or falsify them, in any fundamental article, should foist into them a single expression to favour their peculiar tenets, or erase a single sentence, without being detected by thousands. "If one party was inclined either to omit what opposed their peculiar tenets, or to insert what might afford them additional support, there was always some other party both ready and willing to detect the fraud. And even if they persevered in altering their *own* manuscripts, they had not the power of altering the manuscripts in the hands of their opponents. Though the corruption therefore might be partial, it could not become general. Nor must we forget that the books which compose the Greek Testament have been transcribed, beyond all comparison, more frequently than the works of any other Greek author. And it is evident that the difficulty of corrupting the Greek manuscripts must have increased with every increase in their number. Though it cannot be denied, therefore, that there is stronger temptation to alter a work which relates to doctrines, than to alter a work which relates to matters indifferent, the impediments to the alteration of the Greek manuscripts were still more powerful than the temptation. The Gospels, which were written in different places, and the Epistles, which were addressed to different communities, were multiplied in copies, dispersed in Palestine and Egypt, in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy. Under such circumstances a general corruption of the Greek manuscripts was a thing impossible, for it could not have been effected without a union of sentiment, which never existed, nor without a general combination, which could not have been formed, before Christianity had received a civil establishment. But if such a combination had been practicable, it could not have been carried into effect, without becoming a matter of general notoriety. And ecclesiastical historians are *silent* on such a combination. The *silence* of history is indeed no argument against the truth of a fact established by induction, if the fact was such that it could not be generally known. But the silence of history is important in reference to a fact, which, if it ever existed, *must* have been a subject of general notoriety. Whatever corruptions therefore may have taken place in the Greek manuscripts, those corrup

remarkable, as they never could have heard, that these versions belonged to rival and hostile churches, and were the work of inveterate enemies, of Christians and Jews, of Eastern and Western Christians, of Jews of Palestine, and Alexandrian Jews. They do, however, agree together. Therefore they give us, with certainty, the ancient and true text of the Old Testament, precisely as it was extant before the time of Jesus Christ. Cellérier, de l'Origine Authentique et Divine de l'Ancien Testament, pp. 148—151.

[1] See an account of the principal manuscripts of the Old Testament, *infra*, Scripture, Chap. part i. chap. iii. sect. i. and sect ii. §§ 2, 3.; and for the chief critical editions see the Bibliographical Appendix to vol. ii. part i. chap. i. sect. i.

[2] Bp. Tomline's Elements of Christ. Theol. vol. i. p. 13.

[3] Dr. Lardner has collected numerous instances in the second part of his Credibility of the Gospel History; references to which may be seen in the general index to his works, article *Scriptures*. See particularly the testimonies of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, and Augustine.

[4] See pp. 41—46. *supra*

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tions must have been confined to a few, and could not, by any possibility, have been extended to them all."[1] Indeed, though all the Christian doctors, who were dispersed throughout the world, should have conspired to corrupt the New Testament, yet the people would never have consented to it; and if even both teachers and people had been disposed to have committed such a fraud, most unquestionably their adversaries would not fail to have reproached them with it. The Jews and heathens, whose only aim was to decry and put down their religion, would never have concealed it. Celsus, Porphyry, Julian, and other acute enemies of the Christians, would have derived some advantage from such corruption. In a word, even though the silence of their adversaries had favoured so strange an enterprise, yet the different parties and various heresies, which soon after sprang up among Christians, were an insuperable obstacle to it. Indeed, if any material alteration had been attempted by the orthodox, it would have been detected by the heretics; and on the other hand, if a heretic had inserted, altered, or falsified any thing, he would have been exposed by the orthodox, or by other heretics. It is well known that a division commenced in the fourth century, between the eastern and western churches, which, about the middle of the ninth century, became irreconcilable, and subsists to the present day. Now it would have been impossible to alter all the copies in the eastern empire; and if it had been possible in the east, the copies in the west would have detected the alteration. But, in fact, both the eastern and western copies agree, which could not be expected if either of them was altered or falsified.

3. The uncorrupted preservation of the New Testament is further evident, *from the Agreement of all the Manuscripts.*

The manuscripts of the New Testament, which are extant, are far more numerous than those of any *single* classic author whomsoever: upwards of three hundred and fifty were collated by Griesbach, for his celebrated critical edition. These manuscripts, it is true, are not all entire: most of them contain only the Gospels; others, the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles; and a few contain the Apocalypse or Revelation of John. But they were all written in very different and distant parts of the world; several of them are upwards of twelve hundred years old, and give us the books of the New Testament, in *all* essential points, perfectly accordant with each other, as any person may readily ascertain by examining the critical editions published by Mill, Kuster, Bengel, Wetstein, and Griesbach.[2] The *thirty thousand* various readings, which are said to be found in the manuscripts collated by Dr. Mill, and the *hundred and fifty thousand* which Griesbach's edition is said to contain, in no degree whatever affect the general credit and integrity of the text. In fact, the more copies are multiplied, and the more numerous are the transcripts and translations from the original, the more likely is it, that the genuine text and the true original reading will be investigated and ascertained. The most correct and accurate ancient classics now extant, are those of which we have the greatest number of manuscripts; and the most *depraved, mutilated,* and *inaccurate* editions of the old writers are those of which we have the fewest manuscripts, and perhaps only a single manuscript extant. Such are Athenæus, Clemens Romanus, Hesychius, and Photius. But of this formidable mass of various readings, which have been collected by the diligence of collators, not one-tenth—nay, not one hundreth-part,—either makes or can make any perceptible, or at least any material, alteration in the sense in any modern version. They consist almost wholly of palpable errors in transcription, grammatical and verbal differences, such as the insertion or omission of an article, the substitution of a word for its equivalent, and the transposition of a word or two in a sentence. Even the few that do change the sense, affect it only in passages relating to unimportant, historical, and geographical circumstances, or other collateral matters; and the still smaller number that make any alteration in things of consequence, do not on that account place us in any absolute uncertainty. For, either the true reading may be discovered by collating the other manuscripts, versions, and quotations found in the works of the ancients; or, should these fail to give us the requisite information, we are enabled to explain the doctrine in question from other *undisputed* passages of Holy Writ. This observation particularly applies to the doctrines of the deity of Jesus Christ and of the Trinity; which some persons of late years have attempted to expunge from the New Testament, because a few controverted passages have been cited in proof of them; but these doctrines are written, as with a sunbeam, in other parts of the New Testament. *The very worst manuscript extant would not pervert one article of our faith, or destroy one moral precept, not elsewhere given in the most explicit terms.* All the *omissions* of the ancient manuscripts put together could not countenance the omission of one essential doctrine of the Gospel, relating either to faith or morals; and all the *additions*, countenanced by the whole mass of manuscripts already collated, do not introduce a single point essential either to faith or manners beyond what may be found in the Complutensian or Elzevir editions. And, though for the beauty, emphasis, and critical perfection of the *letter* of the New Testament, a new edition, formed on Griesbach's plan, is desirable; yet from such a one infidelity can expect no help, false doctrine no support, and even true religion no accession to its excellence,—as indeed it needs none. The general uniformity, therefore, of the manuscripts of the New Testament, which are dispersed through all the countries in the known world, and in so great a variety of languages, is truly astonishing, and demonstrates both the veneration in which the Scriptures have uniformly been held, and the singular care which was taken in transcribing them; and so far are the various readings contained in these manuscripts from being hostile to the uncorrupted preservation of the books of the New Testament, (as some sceptics have boldly affirmed, and some timid Christians have apprehended,) that they afford us, on the contrary, an additional and most convincing proof that they exist at present, in all essential points, precisely the same as they were when they left the hands of their authors.

The existence of various readings affords no just inference against the divine inspiration of the prophets and apostles. "We all distinguish between the *substance* and the *circumstances* of a work, though we may not be able to draw with accuracy the line between the one and the other. No one doubts that he possesses, in general, the *sense* of a valuable author, whether ancient or modern, because of some defects or interpolations in the copy, or because he may be uncertain respecting the true reading in some inconsiderable passage. The narrative of an historian, and the deposition of a witness in a court of justice, may impress the mind as true, notwithstanding they contain some mistakes and inconsistencies. I do not know why a degree of precision should be deemed requisite for a divine communication, which is not thought necessary for human testimony; or why a standing miracle should be wrought to prevent accidents happening to a sacred book, which are never supposed to affect the credit or utility of profane writings."[3]

4. The last testimony, to be adduced for the integrity and incorruptness of the New Testament, is furnished by the *agreement of the Ancient Versions and Quotations from it, which are made in the writings of the Christians of the first three centuries, and in those of the succeeding fathers of the church.*

The testimony of VERSIONS, and the evidence of the fathers and other ecclesiastical writers, have already been noticed as a proof of the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament.[4] The QUOTATIONS from the New Testament in the writings of the fathers are so numerous, that (as it has been frequently observed) the whole body of the Gospels and Epistles might be compiled from the various passages dispersed in their commentaries and other writings. And though these citations were, in many instances, made from memory, yet, being always made with due attention to the sense and meaning, and most commonly with regard to the words as well as to the *order* of the words, they correspond with the original records from which they were extracted:—an irrefragable argument this, of the purity and integrity with which the New Testament has been preserved. The idle objection, therefore, to the incorruptness of the New Testament, which some opposers of divine revelation have endeavoured to raise, on an alleged alteration of the Gospels in the fourth century by order of the emperor Anastasius, falls completely to the ground for want of proof.[5] Nor do we hazard too

[1] Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part vi. pp. 10, 11.

[2] See an account of the principal manuscripts of the New Testament, *infra*, Part I. Chap. III. Sect. II. § 4., and of the critical edition, above mentioned in the Bibliographical Appendix to vol. ii. Part. I. Chap. I. Sect. III.

[3] Rev. R. Burnside's "Religion of Mankind, a Series of Essays," vol. i. p. 327.

[4] See pp. 40—45. 48. *supra.*

[5] The objection above alluded to is founded on the following passage, occurring in the Chronicle of Victor Tununensis, an African bishop, who flourished about the middle of the sixth century. "Messala V. C. Coss. Constantinopoli, jubente Anastasio Imperatore, sancta evangelia, tamquam ab idiotis evangelistis composita, reprehenduntur et emendantur." (Vict. Tun. Chron. p. 6. apud Scalig. Thes. Temp.) i. e. *In the consulship of Messala* (A. D. 506.), *at Constantinople, by order of the emperor Anastasius, the holy Gospels, as being composed by illiterate evangelists, are censured and corrected.* On the objection to the integrity of the Gospels, which has been attempted to be founded on this passage, we may remark, in addition

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much in saying, that if all the ancient writings now extant in Europe were collected together, the bulk of them would by no means be comparable to that of the quotations taken from the New Testament alone; so that a man might, with more semblance of reason, dispute whether the writings ascribed to Homer, Demosthenes, Virgil, or Cæsar, are in the main such as they left them, than he could question whether those of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Peter, James, and Paul, are really their productions.[1]

III. Although we thus have every possible evidence that can be *reasonably* desired; yet, as there are some books cited or referred to in the Old and New Testaments, which are not now extant, it has been objected that some of those books are now *wanting*, which once were constituent parts of the Scriptures. A little consideration will suffice to show that this objection is utterly destitute of foundation, and that none of the writings which are accounted sacred by the Jews and Christians (and which claim to be received as inspired writings) ever were or could be lost; and, consequently, that no sacred or inspired writing is now wanting to complete the canon of Scripture.

1. In the first place, we may observe, that it seems very unsuitable to the ordinary conduct of Divine Providence, to suffer a book written under the influences of the Holy Spirit, to be lost.

It seems to be no small reflection on the wisdom of the Divine Being, to say, that he first influenced the writing of a set of books, (that is, by his own extraordinary impressions on men's minds caused them to be written,) and afterwards permitted them by chance, or the negligence of men, to be irrecoverably lost. If they were not serviceable to instruct and direct mankind in the methods of attaining the great ends of being, why were they at first given? If they were, it seems hard to imagine that the same kind Providence which gave them would again take them away. How high such a charge as this rises, both against the wisdom and goodness of Divine Providence, may easily be perceived by every one who will think impartially on the matter. This argument becomes still more strong, when we consider the great care which the Divine Being in all ages took to preserve those books which are now received into the canon of the Old Testament, even when the persons with whom they were intrusted were under circumstances, in which, without the influence of Heaven, it would have been almost impossible for them to have preserved them. To instance only that one time when the Jews were under the tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes,[2] when although that monster of iniquity laid their temple and their city waste, destroyed all the sacred books he could meet with, and at length published a decree, that all those should suffer immediately death who did not resign their copies, yet was the sacred volume safely preserved, and care was taken of it by its author.

2. The zeal of the faithful at all times for their sacred books was such, as would be a very effectual means to secure them from perishing.

This is well known both of the Jews and Christians; and indeed no less can be reasonably imagined of those, who looked upon these books as discovering the method of obtaining eternal life, and that religion, for which they willingly sacrificed both themselves and all they had. Hence, as under the barbarous persecution of the Jews by Antiochus just mentioned, so also under the Christian persecutions no endeavours were wanting to extirpate and abolish the Scriptures. It is evident that the warm zeal and diligent care of the faithful preserved them; and although the emperor Dioclesian in his imperial edict, among other cruelties, enacted, that all the sacred books should be burnt wherever they were found;[3] yet as the courage and resolution of the Christians baffled and frustrated the design of his rage in all other instances, so they frustrated it very remarkably in this instance. Nor indeed could it be otherwise, when we consider,

3. That the canonical books, either in the original languages or by means of versions, were dispersed into the most countries, and in the possession of innumerable persons.

As the truth of this fact has been demonstrated in the two preceding sections of this chapter, we are authorized to infer how improbable it is, nay, almost impossible, that any book, so esteemed as the books of the Old and New Testament were and still are, both by Jews and Christians, and which they severally believe to be divinely inspired, so diffused into the most distant countries, the copies of which, or of translations from them, would also be continually multiplying and increasing, could by any accident or chance, by any human force or power, or much less by any careless neglect, be lost and irrecoverably perish.

IV. With regard to the Old Testament, more particularly we may observe, that what has given credit to the objection, that some of the canonical books of Scripture are lost, is the common notion, that the books, so supposed to be lost, were *volumes* of some size, and all of them indited by the Holy Spirit. Now, in opposition to this erroneous notion, it is to be considered,

1. That the Hebrew word (ספר SEPPHER), which we render *book*, properly signifies the bare rehearsal of any thing, or any kind of writing, however small; and it was the custom of the Jews to call every little memorandum by that name.

Thus, what we translate a *bill of divorcement* (Deut. xxiv. 1.) is in the original a *book of divorcement*; and the short account of the genealogy of Jesus Christ (Matt. i. 1.) is termed in the Hebrew idiom the *book of the generation of Jesus Christ*. So in Matt. xix. 7. and Mark x. 4. it is in the Greek a *book* of divorcement. In like manner, David's *letter* to Joab in 2 Sam. xi. 14, 15. is a *book* in the Hebrew and Greek; as also the king of Syria's letter to the king of Israel, mentioned in 2 Kings v. 5.[4]

2. That several of these tracts, which are now extant, were written, not by persons pretending to any supernatural assistance, but by those who were styled recorders or writers of chronicles,[5] an office of great honour and trust, but of a different kind from that of the prophets.

3. But, supposing that the books in question were written by those who were truly prophets, yet they were not written by inspiration.

This argument is forcibly stated by Augustine[6] in the following manner:—"In the histories of the kings of Judah and Israel, several things are mentioned, which are not there explained, and are referred to as contained in other books which the prophets wrote: and sometimes the names of these prophets are mentioned; and yet these writings are not extant in the canon which the church of God receives. The reason of which I can account for in no other way, than by supposing, that those very persons to whom the Holy Spirit revealed those things which are of the highest authority in religion, sometimes wrote only as faithful historians, and at other times as prophets under the influences of divine inspiration; and that these writings are so different from each other, that the one sort are to be imputed to themselves as the authors, the other to God, as speaking by them; the former are of service to increase our knowledge, the other of authority in religion, and canonical." In addition to this observation, we may remark, that the books of prophecy always have their authors' names expressed, and commonly

to the observations already given, first, that, whatever this design upon the Gospels was, it does not appear to have been put in execution; for if any falsification of them had been attempted, what tumults would it have raised in the east, where Anastasius was universally hated! It would, in fact, have cost that emperor his crown and his life. Secondly, if he had really designed to corrupt the purity of the Gospels, the historians of that time, who have not been backward in relating his other malpractices, would not fail to have recorded it as a standing monument of his infamy. But they are totally silent concerning any such attempt. See Millii Prolegomena ad Nov. Test. §§ 1014, 1015. (p. 98. edit. Kuster); Dr. Bentley's Remarks on Freethinking, rem. xxxiii. (Enchiridion Theologicum, vol. v. pp. 175—186.); Dr. Ibbot's Discourses at the Boyle Lectures, vol. ii pp. 759, 760. folio edit.

[1] Ernesti, Inst. Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 151—156. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 650—672.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 459—470. Stosch, De Canone, pp. 86. *et seq.* Moldenhawer, Introd. ad Lib. Bibl. pp. 196—198. Less, pp. 243—266. Dr. Harwood's Introd. to the New Test. vol. i. pp. 120—126. Michaelis, vol. i. pp. 23—69. and vol. ii. pp. 362—374. Dr. Nares's Remarks on the Unitarian Version of the New Testament, pp. xxix. xxx. 258, 259. Dr. Ryan's Evidences of the Mosaic and Christian Codes, pp. 152—159. Abbadie, Traite de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne, vol. ii. pp. 45—57. Vernet, Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne, vol. iii. pp. 48—76. Dr. Bentley's Remarks on Freethinking, remark xxxii. (in Enchirid. Theol. vol. v. pp. 154—175.)

[2] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. xii. c. 7. See also 1 Macc. i. 56. 57.

[3] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. viii. c. 2.

[4] Many similar instances are to be found in ancient profane writers, in which *letters* are called *books*. Two of the most striking are the following, taken from the father of profane history, as Herodotus is frequently called:—Relating the conspiracy of Harpagus against Astyages, king of Media, he says, that Harpagus communicated his intentions to Cyrus in a *letter*, which, as all the roads leading to Persia were guarded by the king's troops, he sewed up in the belly of a hare, and sent it to him by one of his most trusty domestics.—Λαχων μηχανησαμενος, και αναστισας τουτου την γαστερα, και ουδεν αποτιλας, ὡς δε εἰχε, ουτω εστειλε ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ, γραψας τα οι εδοκεε. lib. i. c. 124. tom. i. p. 57. Oxon. 1809.—Again, speaking of Histiæus's attempt to excite a conspiracy against Darius, he says,—His next measure was to send *letters* to certain persons at Sardis, with whom he had previously communicated on the subject of a revolt. Τοισι εν Σαρδισι εουσι Περσεων επεμψε ΒΙΒΛΙΑ, ὡς προλελεσε χρηνυμενων αυτων αποστασιος περι. lib. vi. c. 4. vol. ii. p. 62.

[5] See 2 Sam. viii. 16. (marginal rendering) and 2 Kings xviii. 18.

[6] De Civitate Dei. lib. xviii. c. 38.

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they are repeated in the books themselves. But in the historical books there was not the same reason for specifying the names of their authors; because, in matters of fact which are past, an author may easily be disproved, if he relates what is false concerning his own times, or concerning times of which there are memorials still extant. But the credit of prophecies concerning things which are not to come to pass for a very long time must depend on the mission and authority of the prophet only; and therefore it was necessary that the names of the prophets should be annexed, in order that their predictions might be depended upon, when they were known to be delivered by men, who, by other predictions already fulfilled, had shown themselves to be true prophets.

4. The bare citation of any book in an allowedly canonical writing is not sufficient to prove that such book ever was canonical.

If this were to be admitted, we must receive as the word of God, the Greek poems of Aratus, Menander, and Epimenides; for passages are quoted from them by Paul.[1]

5. Lastly, we may observe that most of the pieces supposed to be lost are still remaining in the Scriptures, though under different appellations; and that such as are *not* to be found there were never designed for religious instruction, nor are they essential to the salvation of mankind. In illustration of this remark, we may adduce the following examples, which are taken exclusively from the Old Testament. Thus,

[i.] The *Book of the Covenant*, mentioned in Exod. xxiv. 7., which is supposed to be lost, is not a distinct book from the body of the Jewish laws; for whoever *impartially* examines that passage will find that the book referred to is nothing else but a collection of such injunctions and exhortations as are expressly laid down in the four preceding chapters.

[ii.] *The Book of the Wars of the Lord*, cited in Num. xxi. 14., and supposed also to be lost, is, in the opinion of an eminent critic,[2] that very record, which, upon the defeat of the Amalekites, Moses was commanded to make as a memorial of it, and *to rehearse it in the ears of Joshua*. So that it seems to be nothing more than a short account of that victory, together with some directions for Joshua's private use and conduct in the management of the subsequent war, but in no respect whatever dictated by divine inspiration, and consequently no part of the canonical Scriptures.

[iii.] The *Book of Jasher*, mentioned in Josh. x. 13., is supposed by some to be the same with the book of Judges, because we find mention therein of the sun's standing still; but the conjecture of Josephus[3] seems to be better founded, viz. that it was composed of certain records (kept in a safe place at that time, and afterwards removed into the temple), which contained an account of what happened to the Jews from year to year, and particularly of the sun's standing still, and also directions for the use of the bow (see 2 Sam. i. 18.), that is, directions for instituting archery and maintaining military exercises. So that this was not the work of an inspired person, but of some common historiographer, who wrote the annals of his own time, and might therefore deserve the name of Jasher, or the upright; because what he wrote was generally deemed a true and authentic account of all the events and occurrences which had then happened.

[iv.] Once more, the several books of Solomon, mentioned in 1 Kings iv. 32, 33., were no part of the canonical Scriptures. His '*Three thousand Proverbs*' were perhaps only spoken, not committed to writing. His '*Songs*,' which were *one thousand and five* in number, were in all probability his juvenile compositions; and his universal history of vegetables, and that of animals of all kinds, belonged to philosophy. It was not necessary for every one to be acquainted with them; and though the loss of them (considering the unequalled wisdom conferred upon their author) is to be deplored, yet it is a loss which only the busy investigators of nature have cause to lament.

Upon the whole, therefore, we may conclude, that if any books of the Old Testament *seem* to be wanting in our present canon, they are either such as lie unobserved under other denominations; or they are such as *never* were accounted canonical, such as contained no points essential to the salvation of man, and consequently such of which we may safely live ignorant here, and for which we shall never be responsible hereafter.[4]

V. Equally satisfactory is the evidence to show that none of the books of the New Testament have at any time been lost. Some learned men, indeed, have imagined that they have found allusions to writings in the New Testament, from which they have been persuaded that Paul wrote several other epistles to the Christian churches besides those we now have: but a little examination of the passages referred to will show that their conjectures have no foundation.

1. Thus in 1 Cor. v. 9. the following words occur—Εγραψα ὑμιν εν τῃ επιστολῃ, which in our version is rendered—*I have written to you in an epistle.* From this text it has been inferred that Paul had already written to the Corinthians an epistle which is no longer extant, and to which he alludes; while others contend that by τῃ επιστολῃ he means only the epistle which he is writing. A third opinion is this, viz. that Paul refers to an epistle which he had written, or begun to write, but had not sent; for, on receiving further information from Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, he suppressed that, and wrote this, in which he considers the subject more at large.

[i.] To the hypothesis, which supposes that Paul wrote a former letter which is now lost, there is this formidable objection, that no such epistle was ever mentioned or cited by any ancient writer, nor has any one even alluded to its existence, though both the received epistles are perpetually quoted by the fathers from the earliest period. To which we may add, that the reverence of the first professors of Christianity for the sacred writings, and their care for the preservation of them, were so great, as to render it extremely improbable that a canonical book should be lost.[5] From the third hypothesis the praise of ingenuity cannot be withheld; but as it is a mere conjecture, unsupported by facts, we therefore apprehend that this first Epistle to the Corinthians, and no other, was intended by the Apostle. The grounds on which this opinion rests are as follow:—

(1.) The expression τῃ επιστολῃ does not mean *an* epistle, but that which Paul is writing. Thus Tertius, who was Paul's amanuensis, speaking of the Epistle to the Romans, says, "I Tertius, who wrote *this* epistle (τῃν επιστολῃν), salute you." (Rom. xvi. 22.) Similar expressions occur in Col. iv. 16. 1 Thess. v. 27. and 2 Thess. iii. 14.

(2.) With regard to the word εγραψα, *I wrote*, some commentators refer it to what the Apostle had said in verses 5. and 6. of this chapter: but it may also be considered as anticipative of what the Apostle will be found to have written in subsequent parts of this epistle, viz. in vi. 13., again in v. 18., and also in vii. 2. It is probable, therefore, that Paul, on reading over this letter after he had finished it, might add the expression in verse 9., and take notice of what he says afterwards, "*I have* (says he) *written to you in this epistle*," viz. in some of the following chapters, against fornication, and joining yourselves to persons addicted to that sin.

(3.) The word εγραψα, however, is not necessarily to be understood in the past tense. There are nearly one hundred instances in the New Testament in which the past is put for the present tense. Thus, in John iv. 38., Jesus Christ, speaking of the mission of the apostles, says, απεστειλα, *I sent you*, though it had not yet taken place. A more material example occurs in a subsequent chapter of this very epistle (ix. 15.), where Paul uses εγραψα in the sense of γραφω, *I write*. *Neither* (says he) *have I written these things*, that is, at this time, in this epistle which I am now writing. In the passage now under consideration, therefore, the expression εγραψα ὑμιν εν τῃ επιστολῃ, is equivalent to γραφω ὑμιν, *I write unto you in this epistle, not to associate with fornicators*: and that this view of the passage is correct, is evident from v. 11. of this chapter, which is only a repetition of v. 9. Νυνι δε εγραψα, *Now I write unto you.* The adverb νυνι, *now*, shows that it is spoken of the present time, though the verb be in the past tense. The following, then, is the plain sense of the text and context: "*I write unto you*," says the Apostle, "*in this my letter, not to associate* (literally, *be mingled*) *with fornicators, yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, or extortioners, or idolaters, since then indeed ye*

[1] Aratus is cited in Acts xvii. 28.; Menander in 1 Cor. xv. 33.; and Epimenides in Titus i. 12.

[2] Dr. Lightfoot.

[3] Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. v. c. 2.

[4] Edwards's Discourse concerning the Authority, Style, and Perfection of the Old and New Testament, vol. iii. pp. 451—463. Jenkins's Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion, vol. ii. pp. 95—97. Jones on the Canon of the New Testament, vol. i. pp. 130—135.

[5] This observation is so applicable to the epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, which is extant in the *Armenian* tongue, that any further notice of that pseudo-epistle is unnecessary. The curious reader may find an English translation of it, as also of a pretended epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, accompanied with satisfactory observations to prove their spuriousness, in Jones on the Canon, vol. i. pp. 143—147.

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must go out of the world (renounce all worldly business whatever, there being so great a multitude of them). *But I mean this—that ye should avoid the company of a brother* (that is, a professed Christian), if he be *given to fornication, covetousness, or idolatry. This is the thing which I at this time write unto you.*"

Putting all these circumstances together, we conclude that the *internal* evidence seems to be unfavourable to the hypothesis, that a letter to the Corinthians had preceded that which Paul was now writing. The *external* evidence is decidedly against such hypothesis. Upon the whole, therefore, we have no doubt that the two epistles still preserved are the only epistles which Paul ever addressed to the Corinthians.[1]

2. In 2 Cor. x. 9—11. we read as follows: *That I may not seem as if I would terrify you* BY LETTERS. *For his* LETTERS, *say they, are weighty and powerful, but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible. Let such an one think this, that such as we are in word by* LETTERS *when we are absent, such will we be also in deed when we are present.* Hence it has been argued that Paul had already written more than one—even several letters to the Corinthians.

But to this it is answered, that it is very common to speak of one epistle in the plural number, as all know; and Paul might well write as he here does, though he had hitherto sent only one epistle to the persons to whom he is writing. And from so long a letter as the first Epistle to the Corinthians is, men might form a good judgment concerning his manner of writing LETTERS, though they had seen no other.[2]

3. In Col. iv. 16. Paul desires the Colossians to send to Laodicea the epistle which they themselves had received, and to send for another from Laodicea, which was also to be read at Colossæ. His words are these: *When this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans, and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea:* —και την εκ Λαοδικειας ινα και υμεις αναγνωτε. Now the former part of this verse is clear: but it is not so clear what epistle St. Paul meant by η επιστολη εκ Λαοδικειας. These words have been interpreted three different ways.

(1.) Η επιστολη εκ Λαοδικειας has been explained, as denoting "an epistle, which had been written from Laodicea to Paul." This epistle has been supposed to have contained several questions, proposed to the apostles by the Laodiceans, which he answered in the epistle to the Colossians; and hence it has been inferred that Paul ordered them to read the former, as being necessary toward a right understanding of the latter.

But this opinion is erroneous: for if Paul had received an epistle from Laodicea, the capital of Phrygia, he would have returned the answer to the questions which it contained to Laodicea itself, and not to a small town in the neighbourhood. Besides, there would have been a manifest impropriety in sending to the Colossians answers to questions, with which they were not acquainted, and then, after they had the epistle which contained the answers, desiring them to read that which contained the questions.

(2.) Another opinion is, that Paul meant an epistle which he himself had written at Laodicea, and sent from that place to Timothy, because the Greek subscription to the first epistle to Timothy is Προς Τιμοθεον εγραφη απο Λαοδικειας. This opinion is defended by Theophylact: but it is undoubtedly false. For it is evident from Col. ii. 1. that Paul had never been at Laodicea, when he wrote his epistle to the Colossians; and if he had, he would not have distinguished an epistle, which he had written there, by the place where it was written, but by the person or community to which it was sent. It was not Paul's custom to date his epistles; for the subscriptions, which we now find annexed to them, were all added at a later period, and by unknown persons. If, therefore, he had meant an epistle, which he himself had written at Laodicea, he certainly would not have denoted it by the title of η επιστολη εκ Λαοδικειας.

(3.) There remains, therefore, no other possible interpretation of these words, than an "epistle, which the Laodiceans had received from Paul," and which the Colossians were ordered to procure from Laodicea, when they communicated to the Laodiceans their own epistle.

But, as among the epistles of Paul in our own canon, not one is addressed to the Laodiceans in particular, the question again occurs: Which, and where is this epistle?

1. There exists an epistle, which goes by the name of Paul's epistle to the Laodiceans.

This, however, is undoubtedly a forgery, though a very ancient one; for Theodoret, who lived in the fifth century, in his note to the passage in question, speaks of it as then extant. But this is manifestly a mere rhapsody, collected from Paul's other epistles, and which no critic can receive as a genuine work of the Apostle. It contains nothing which it was necessary for the Colossians to know, nothing that is not ten times better and more fully explained in the epistle which Paul sent to the Colossians; in short, nothing which could be suitable to Paul's design.

2. As the epistle, therefore, which now goes by the name of the epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans, is a forgery, the Apostle might mean an epistle, which he had sent to the Laodiceans, and which is now lost.

An objection, however, to this opinion (namely, that he had sent an epistle to the Laodiceans in particular), may be made from Col. iv. 15., where Paul requests the Colossians to salute Nymphas, who was a Laodicean. If he had written a particular epistle to the Laodiceans he would have saluted Nymphas rather in this epistle, than in that to the Colossians.

3. There remains a third explanation, which is not clogged with the preceding difficulty, namely, that Paul meant an epistle, which he had written partly, but not solely for the use of the Laodiceans.

This epistle, in all probability, is that which is called the epistle to the Ephesians; because Laodicea was a church within the circuit of the Ephesian church, which was the metropolitan of all Asia. And as Ephesus was the chief city of Proconsular Asia, this epistle may refer to the whole province.[3]

The preceding are the most material instances which have afforded occasion for the supposition that Paul wrote epistles which are now lost. There are indeed three or four other examples, which have been conjectured to refer to lost epistles; but as these conjectures are founded on misconceptions of the Apostle's meaning, it is unnecessary to adduce them. We have, therefore, every reason to conclude that NO PART OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IS LOST, and that the canon of Scripture has descended to our times, entire and uncorrupted.

[1] Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 62—68. Ferdinandi Stosch, ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΟΝ ΟΛΟΚΛΗΡΟΝ, sive Tractatus Theologicus de Epistolis Apostolorum non deperditis, pp. 75—94. (Groningen, 12mo. 1753.) Rosenmüller, Scholia in N. T. tom. iv. pp. 71, 72. Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article, pp. 469. 474. Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 668—671.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 468, 469. Dr. John Edwards on the Authority, &c. of Scripture, vol. iii. pp. 467—469. Dr. Storr, Opuscula Academica, vol. ii. pp. 279. Jones on the Canon, vol. i. pp. 136—142.

[2] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 668.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 467, 468.

[3] Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 124—127. Edwards on the Perfection, &c. of Scripture, vol. iii pp. 470, 471. Alber. Hermeneutica Novi Testamenti, tom i. pp. 233, 234.

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CHAPTER III.

ON THE CREDIBILITY OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

SECTION I.

DIRECT EVIDENCES OF THE CREDIBILITY OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

Their Credibility shown, I. *From the Writers having a perfect knowledge of the subjects they relate.*—II. *From the Moral Certainty of Falsehood being detected, if there had been any. This proved at large,* 1. *Concerning the Old Testament; and,* 2. *Concerning the New Testament.*—III. *From the subsistence, to this very day, of Monuments instituted to perpetuate the memory of the principal facts and events therein recorded.*—*And,* IV. *From the wonderful Establishment and Propagation of Christianity.*

SATISFACTORY as the preceding considerations are, in demonstrating the genuineness, authenticity, and uncorrupted preservation of the books of the Old and New Testaments as *ancient writings*, yet they are not of themselves sufficient to determine their *credibility*. An author may write of events which have happened in his time and in the place of his residence, but should he be either credulous or a fanatic, or *should* we have reason to suspect his honesty, his evidence is of no value. In order, therefore, to establish the credibility of an author, we must examine more closely into his particular character, and inquire whether he possessed abilities sufficient to scrutinize the truth, and honesty enough faithfully to relate it as it happened.

That the histories contained in the Old and New Testaments are CREDIBLE; in other words, that there is as great a regard to be paid to them, as is due to other histories of allowed character and reputation, is a FACT, for the truth of which we have as great, if not greater, evidence than can be adduced in behalf of any other history. For the writers of these books had a perfect knowledge of the subjects which they relate, and their moral character, though rigidly tried, was never impeached by their keenest opponents: if there had been any falsehoods in the accounts of such transactions as were public and generally known, they would easily have been detected; and their statements are confirmed by monuments subsisting to this very day, as also by the wonderful propagation and establishment of Christianity.

I. In the first place, THE WRITERS OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT HAD A PERFECT KNOWLEDGE OF THE SUBJECTS WHICH THEY RELATE; AND THEIR MORAL CHARACTER, THOUGH RIGIDLY TRIED, WAS NEVER IMPEACHED BY THEIR KEENEST OPPONENTS.

The authors of these books were, for the most part, contemporary with and eye-witnesses of the facts which they have recorded, and concerning which they had sufficient opportunity of acquiring full and satisfactory information; and those transactions or things which they did not see, they derived from the most certain evidences, and drew from the purest sources. If a man be deemed incompetent to record any *thing* but that which he sees, history is altogether useless: but a satisfactory degree of certainty is attainable on events, of which we were not eye-witnesses; and no one who reads these pages doubts the signing of Magna Charta, or the battles of Agincourt or Waterloo, any more than if he had stood by and seen the latter fought, and the seals actually affixed to the former. We owe much to the integrity of others; and the mutual confidence, on which society is founded, requires, with justice, our assent to thousands of events which took place long before we were born, or which, if contemporary with ourselves, were transacted at some remote spot on the face of the globe. Who will affirm that Rapin or Hume were incompetent to produce a history, which, making some allowances for human prejudices, is worthy the confidence and the credit of our countrymen? Yet neither the one nor the *other* was the witness of more than an insignificant portion of his voluminous production. But if, by drawing from pure sources, a man is to be deemed competent to relate facts, of which he was not an eye-witness, then the writers of the Bible, in those particular events of which they were not eye-witnesses, but which they affirm with confidence, are entitled to our credit.[1]

1. *With regard to the authors of the several books of the* OLD TESTAMENT, it is evident in the four last books of the Pentateuch, that Moses had a chief concern in all the transactions there related, as legislator and governor of the Jews. Every thing was done under his eye and cognizance; so that this part of the history, with the exception of the last chapter of Deuteronomy (which was added by a later writer), may, not improperly, be called the history of his life and times. He speaks of himself, it is true, in the third person; but this affords no ground for suspecting either the genuineness of his writings or the credibility of their author. Xenophon, Cæsar, and Josephus write of themselves in the third person; yet no one ever questions the genuineness or credibility of their writings on that account. And for the first book of the Pentateuch, or that of Genesis, we have already seen that he is competent to the relation of every event, and that he had sufficient authority for all the facts therein recorded.[2]

In like manner, the authors of the subsequent historical books, as Joshua, Samuel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, relate the transactions of which they were witnesses; and where they treat of events prior to their own times, or in which they did not actually participate, they derived their information from ancient coeval and public documents, with such care as frequently to have preserved the very words and phrases of their authorities; and very often they have referred to the public annals which they consulted. Moreover, they published their writings in those times when such documents and annals were extant, and might be appealed to by their readers; who so highly approved of their writings, and recommended them to posterity, that they were preserved with more care than the more ancient and coeval monuments, which were lost in the lapse of time. So also the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and others, where they relate events that took place before their own times, derived their narratives of them from the authentic documents just noticed; but concerning the facts that occurred in their own times, which indeed, for the most part, relate to the degeneracy, corruption, or idolatry of their countrymen, whom they reproved for those crimes, and urged them to repentance, they are contemporary and native witnesses. But, supposing the authors of any of these books, as those of Joshua and Samuel, were not known, it would not follow (as some have objected) that because it was anonymous, it was therefore of no authority. The venerable record, called *Doomsday Book*, is anonymous, and was compiled from various surveys (fragments of some of which are still extant) upwards of seven hundred and thirty years since; yet it is received as of the highest authority in the matters of fact of which it treats. If this book has been preserved among the records of the realm, so were the Jewish records, several of which (as the books of Jasher, Abijah, Iddo, Jehu, and others that might be mentioned) are expressly cited. The books abovementioned are therefore books of authority, though it should be admitted that they were not written by the persons whose names they bear.[3]

[1] Dr. Collyer's Lectures on Scripture Facts, p. 553.

[2] See pp. 34—36. *supra.*

[3] "If any one having access to the journals of the lords and commons, to the books of the treasury, war office, privy council, and other public documents, should at this day write an history of the reigns of George the first and second, and should publish it without his name, would any man, three or four hundreds or thousands of years hence, question the authority of that book, when he knew that the whole British nation had received it as an authentic book, from the time of its first publication to the age in which he live? This supposition is in point. The books of the Old Testament were composed from the records of the Jewish nation, and they have been received as true by that nation, from the time in which they were written to the present day. Dodsley's Annual Register is an anonymous book, we only know the name of its editor; the New Annual Register is an anonymous book; the Reviews are anonymous books; but do we, or will our posterity esteem these books as of no authority? On the contrary, they are admitted at present, and will be received in after-ages, as authoritative records o

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2. In like manner, the writers of the NEW TESTAMENT were contemporary with the facts which they have recorded, and had sufficient means of acquiring correct information concerning them. The chief writers of the New Testament are Matthew, John, Peter, James, and Jude, all Jews by birth, and resident at Jerusalem, the scene of the history which they relate. They were all the immediate disciples of Jesus Christ, and eye-witnesses of his miracles as well as of the wonderful effects produced by his discourses on the people. Paul, it is true, was a native of Tarsus, and *not* among those who had been the friends of Jesus and the eye-witnesses of his actions; but he had lived a long time at Jerusalem, had studied theology under Gamaliel (a Jewish teacher at that time in the highest repute), and diligently employed himself in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the Jewish religion. Mark, it is well known, composed his Gospel under the immediate inspection of Peter, and Luke composed his Gospel and Acts under the immediate inspection of Paul. Their histories, therefore, are of as great authority as if they had been written by the above-mentioned eye-witnesses.[1] It is an extraordinary but singular fact that no history since the commencement of the world has been written by an equal number of contemporary authors. We consider several histories as authentic, though there has not been transmitted to our times any authentic monument in writing, of equal antiquity with those facts of which we are fully persuaded. *The history of Alexander, king of Macedon, and conqueror of Asia, is not attested by any contemporary author.* And the same remark may be made on the history of Augustus, Tiberius, and others, of which no doubt can be entertained, though it has been written by authors who were not witnesses of the facts therein contained. It is exceedingly rare, when the facts are ancient, to have well circumstantiated proofs of the same date and age.

That all the writers of the New Testament were contemporaries with the events which they have related, is manifest from the following considerations. So many facts and circumstances indeed are recorded, that, if the narrative were not true, they might have been easily confuted. The scenes of the most material events are not laid in remote, obscure, or unfrequented places; the time fixed is not some distant age; nor is the account given obscure and general. The facts are related as of recent occurrence, some of them as having taken place at Jerusalem, then subject to the Roman government, and garrisoned by a band of Roman soldiers; others as having happened at Cæsarea; others, in cities of great resort in Syria, and elsewhere. The Gospels are a history of no obscure person. Jesus Christ was a subject of universal curiosity: he preached and wrought miracles in the presence of thousands, and was frequently attended by great numbers of persons of all ranks and characters. When the high-priest interrogated him concerning his disciples and doctrine, he answered, "I spake *openly to the world;* I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple, whither the Jews *always resort*, and in secret have I said nothing" (John xviii. 20.); and he appealed to those who had heard him, for the publicity of his conduct. Both Jews and Gentiles severely scrutinized his character and conduct; and he was ultimately put to death publicly, and during a solemn festival, when the Jews were assembled at Jerusalem. While the principal facts, related in the Gospels, were fresh in the memory of their countrymen, the four evangelists published their several memoirs of the life and death of Jesus Christ. In relating his miraculous operations, they mention the time, the place, the persons concerned, and the names of those whom he healed or raised from the dead. They delivered their histories to the people among whom he had lived, while that generation was alive who beheld the scenes which they had described. Now the enemies of Christ and his disciples were sufficiently able and willing to detect falsehoods, if there had been any, in these publications: their credit was at stake, and for their own vindication, it was incumbent on those who put him to death, and persecuted his disciples, to contradict their testimony, if any part of it had been false. But *no attempt was ever made to contradict or to refute such testimony:* on the contrary (as will be shown in a subsequent page),[2] it is confirmed by the historical testimony of adversaries, and consequently the circumstantiality of the evangelical historians establishes their credibility. The same remark is applicable to the Acts of the Apostles, which, like the Gospels, were published in the place and among the people where the facts recorded were transacted, and were attested by those who opposed Christianity.—"*What shall we do to these men? for that indeed a notable miracle hath been done by them is manifest to all them that dwell at Jerusalem*, AND WE CANNOT DENY IT." (Acts iv. 16.)

II. Secondly, IF THERE HAD BEEN ANY FALSEHOODS IN THE ACCOUNTS OF SUCH TRANSACTIONS AS WERE PUBLIC AND GENERALLY KNOWN, THEY WOULD HAVE BEEN EASILY DETECTED: FOR THESE ACCOUNTS WERE PUBLISHED AMONG THE PEOPLE WHO WITNESSED THE EVENTS WHICH THE HISTORIANS RELATED. BUT NO SUCH DETECTION EVER WAS OR COULD BE MADE IN THE WRITINGS OF THE AUTHORS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

In fact, we cannot charge Moses with having asserted falsehoods in the writings that bear his name, without charging him with being the greatest knave as well as the most wicked impostor that ever lived. The injustice and impossibility of such charges as these (which, however, the impugners of the Scriptures persist in asserting, regardless of the convincing evidence to the contrary) will readily appear from the following considerations:—

[i.] It is almost incredible that so great an impostor as Moses must have been, if he had asserted such falsehoods, could have given to men so perfect and holy a law as he did; which not only does not allow of the smallest sins, but also condemns every evil thought and every criminal desire. This at least must be conceded, that no impostor has ever yet been seen, who enacted such excellent laws as Moses did.

[ii.] As Moses did not impose upon others, so neither was he imposed upon himself; in other words, he was neither an enthusiast (that is, one labouring under the reflex influence of a heated imagination), nor a dupe to the imposition of others. This will be evident from a brief view of his early education and apparent temper of mind.

Moses was educated in all the learning of Egypt, which country (we know from profane writers) was at that time the seat of all the learning in the then known world; and though we cannot, at this distant period, ascertain all the particulars of which that learning consisted, yet we are told that he learned arithmetic, geometry, rhythm, harmony, medicine, music, philosophy as taught by hieroglyphics, astronomy, and the whole circle of the sciences in which the kings of Egypt were wont to be instituted. Now the effects of a profound knowledge of philosophy are very seldom either enthusiasm or superstition. Such knowledge, in an age when it was exclusively confined to the kings and priests of Egypt, might admirably qualify a man to make dupes of others, but it would have no tendency to make the possessor *himself* an enthusiast; though, for the purposes of deception, he might affect to view his own experiments in the light of miraculous interpositions from heaven. Moreover, the Hebrew legislator was brought up in all the luxury and refinement of a splendid court, which is obviously very far from being favourable to enthusiasm; and the temper of mind with which he describes himself to have received his commission, was not that of an enthusiast. The history of past ages shows us that an enthusiast sees no difficulties, dangers, or objections, no probabilities of disappointment in any thing he wishes to undertake. With *him* the conviction of a divine call is sufficient to silence every rational argument. But no such precipitate forwardness or rash confidence is to be traced in the conduct of Moses; on the contrary, we may plainly observe in him a very strong degree of reluctance to undertake the office of liberating the Israelites from their Egyptian bondage. Repeatedly did he request to be excused from the ungrateful task, and start every difficulty and objection which the wit of man can imagine. "First, he asks, *Who am I that I should go unto Pharaoh*, and that I should bring forth *the children of Israel out of Egypt?* (Exod. iii. 11.) Next he urges, *When I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you, and they shall say unto me, What is his name? What shall I say unto them?* (Exod. iii. 13.) Then he objects, *Behold, they will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice; for they will say, The Lord hath not appeared unto thee.* (Exod. iv. 1.) Afterwards his plea is, *O my Lord, I am not eloquent, neither heretofore, nor since thou hast spoken to thy servant; but I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue.* (Exod. iv. 10.) At length, when all his objections are overruled, he fairly owns his utter dislike of the

the civil, military, and literary history of England, and of Europe. So little foundation is there for our being startled by the assertion, 'It is anonymous and without authority.'" Bp. Watson's Apology, in answer to Paine's Age of Reason, p. 36. 12mo. London, 1820.

[1] See the testimonies of Origen, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Papias, in Dr. Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History, part ii. chapters 26. 27. 22. and 9.

[2] See § 2. of the following section

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task, and beseeches God to appoint another. *O my Lord, send I pray thee by the hand of him whom thou wilt send.* (Exod. iv. 13.)" This reluctance is unaccountable on the supposition that Moses was a discontented and impatient enthusiast; but it is perfectly intelligible, if we allow him to have been free from that mental disorder, as the whole of his conduct, together with the sound moral feeling, and the deep political wisdom that pervade his code of laws, proclaim him to have been.[1]

[iii.] It is absolutely incredible that he should have imposed on the Israelites, as true, things that were notoriously false, and of the falsehood of which they could convict him.

For he relates facts and events which had taken place in the presence of six hundred thousand men, and urges the reality and truth of these facts upon them as motives to believe and obey the new religion, which he introduced among them: *Ye* KNOW *this day, says he, for I speak not unto your children which have not known them;* and after relating a number of awful events, he concludes by saying, *for your* EYES *have seen all these great acts of the Lord which he did.* (Deut. xi. 2—7.) Is it likely that Moses could have established his authority among the Israelites (who on many occasions rebelled against him) by relating that he had performed various miracles in their behalf previously to their departure from Egypt, and that they had *seen* rivers turned into blood,—frogs filling the houses of the Egyptians,—their fields destroyed by hail and locusts,—their lands covered with darkness,—their first-born slain in one night,—the Red Sea forming a wall for the Israelites, but overwhelming their enemies,—a pillar of a cloud and of fire conducting them,—manna falling from heaven for their food,—the earth opening and destroying his opponents,—if all these things had been false? The facts and events related by Moses are of such a nature, as precludes the *possibility* of any imposition; and, by appealing to his adversaries, who witnessed the transactions he records, he has given the world the most incontestable evidences of his veracity as an historian, and also of his divine commission. Indeed, if Moses had not been directed and supported by supernatural aid, and by a divine commission, his attempt to release the Israelitish nation from their servitude in Egypt must have been characterized by no other term than adventurous folly; and *all* his subsequent proceedings must, in any other view of the fact, be regarded as imprudent and insane.[2]

[iv.] We cannot conceive for what end, or with what view, Moses could have invented all these things. Was it to acquire glory or riches? he does not appear to have sought either riches or profit. Though he had ample opportunities of aggrandizing his family, he left not to his own children any office of honour or emolument; and, on his decease, he appointed an individual from another tribe to be the general who was to conduct the Israelites into the promised land. On the contrary, his writings are marked by the strictest veracity, candour, and impartiality.

If we consider those apologists for themselves, who have left us memoirs of their own lives, we shall find in most of them an ambitious display of those moral virtues, by which they desire to be distinguished: they lose no opportunity of setting forth the purity of their designs, and the integrity of their practice. The rest may do this with less pomp and affectation; they may preserve a modesty in the language, and a decent reserve in the air and cast of their narration; still, however, the same purpose is discoverable in all these writers, whether they openly proclaim or nicely suggest and insinuate their own importance. When men are actuated by a strong desire of appearing in the fairest light to others, it unavoidably breaks out in some shape or other, and all the indirect ways of address cannot conceal it from the intelligent observer. This remark we see exemplified in Xenophon and Julius Cæsar, two of the most extraordinary persons of the pagan world. They thought fit to record their own acts and achievements, and have done it with that air of neglect and unpretending simplicity, which has been the wonder of mankind. Yet, through all this apparent indifference, every one sees the real drift of these elaborate volumes; every one sees that they are composed in such a way as to excite the highest opinion, not only of their abilities as generals, but also of their justice, generosity, and benevolence, and, in short, of the moral qualities of their respective authors. It evidently appears that they designed to be their own panegyrists; though none but such men could have executed that design in so successful and inoffensive a manner. But, however accomplished these great men were, can we doubt but that many exceptionable steps were taken by them in the affairs they managed? that, on some occasions, their prudence failed them, and their virtue in others? that their counsels and measures were conducted, at times, with too little honesty or too much passion? Yet, in vain shall we look for any thing of this sort in their large and particular histories. There, all is fair, judicious, and well advised; every thing speaks the virtuous man and able commander, and the obnoxious passages are either suppressed, or they are turned in such a way as to do honour to their relators.[3]

But now, if we turn to the authors of the Bible, we shall find no traces of their thus eulogizing themselves. They narrate their story unambitiously, and without art. We find in it no exaggerations of what may be thought praiseworthy in themselves; no oblique encomiums on their own best qualities or actions; no complacent airs in the recital of what may reflect honour on their own characters; no studied reserve and refinement in the turn and language of their history.

More particularly, with respect to MOSES, whom we find mentioned by ancient writers with very high encomiums, we see him taking no advantage of his situation or talents, or placing them in the most advantageous point of view. On the contrary, he takes very particular notice of his own infirmities, as his want of eloquence, and being slow of speech (Exod. iv. 10.); of his impatience (Num. xi. 10.); his unbelief (Num. xx. 12.); his rebelling against the commandment of God, for which he was excluded from entering the promised land (Num. xxvii. 14.); of his great anger (Exod. xi. 8.); and of his being very wroth. (Num. xvi. 5.) He takes notice of his repeated declining of the measures to which he was called,[4] and ascribes the new modelling of the government to Jethro's advice, and not to his own wisdom and policy. In short, he spares neither himself, nor his people, nor their ancestors the patriarchs, nor his own family or relatives.

"Of the patriarchs he speaks in such a way as not only did not gratify the vanity of his countrymen, but such as must most severely wound their national pride: he ranks some of their ancestors very high indeed, as worshippers of the true God, and observers of his will, in the midst of a world rapidly degenerating into idolatry; yet there is not one of them (Joseph perhaps excepted) of whom he does not recount many weaknesses, which a zealous partisan would have been careful to suppress; and to many he imputes great crimes, which he never attempts to palliate or disguise. In this point, the advocates of infidelity may be appealed to as judges; they dwell upon the weaknesses and crimes of the patriarchs with great triumph; let them not deny, then, that the Scripture account of them is impartial and true in all its points, good as well as bad; and we fear not but it will be easily proved, that notwithstanding their weaknesses and even crimes, they were upon the whole, and considering the moral and religious state of the human mind in that age, characters not unworthy of pardon and acceptance with God, and fit instruments for the introduction of the divine dispensations. Of the Jewish nation in general, the author of the Pentateuch speaks, it may be said, not only impartially, but even severely; he does not conceal the weakness and obscurity of their first origin, that 'a Syrian ready to perish was their father;'[5] nor their long and degrading slavery in Egypt: their frequent murmurings and criminal distrust of God, notwithstanding his many interpositions in their favour; their criminal apostacy, rebellion, and resolution to return to Egypt, first, when they erected the golden calf at Mount Sinai;[6] and next, on the return of the spies from the land of Canaan, when they were so afraid of the inhabitants, that they durst not attack them;[7] he repeatedly reproaches the people with these crimes, and loads them with the epithets of stiff-necked, rebellious, and idolatrous:[8] he inculcates upon them most emphatically, that it was not for their own righteousness

[1] Faber's Horæ Mosaicæ, vol. i. pp. 210—224. in which the topics, above briefly noticed, are treated at length with great force of argument.

[2] See this argument fully considered and illustrated in M. Du Voisin's Intégrité des Livres de Moyse, pp. 157—169.; and in Mr. Bryant's Dissertation on the Divine Mission of Moses, forming the fourth part of his Treatise on the Plagues inflicted upon the Egyptians (pp. 175—274.), London, 1810. 8vo. M. Cellérier has also collected many circumstances in the character and conduct of Moses (some few of which are similar to those above stated), but all of which, taken together, confirm his credibility as a writer, besides affording a strong evidence of his divine mission. De l'Origine Authentique et Divine de l'Ancien Testament, pp. 181—221. Genève, 1818. 12mo.

[3] Bp. Hurd's Works, vol. vii. pp. 179. 181.

[4] See the passages given in pp. 60, 61. *supra*.

[5] Deut. xxvi. 5. [6] Exod. xxii. [7] Numb. xiii. and xiv.

[8] Vide in particular Deut. ix. also Exod. xxxii.

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that God gave them possession of the promised land: he declares to them his conviction, that in their prosperity they would again[1] relapse into their rebellions and idolatries, and imitate the foul vices of those nations whom God had driven out from before them for these very crimes. Here again we may appeal to the judgment of infidels: they triumph in the apostacies and crimes of the Jews, and represent them as totally unworthy the divine protection and regard: surely then they must confess, that the historian who has thus described them is strictly impartial; and that as he has concealed nothing that would disgrace, we may also be confident that he has feigned nothing to exalt his countrymen; and admitting this, we may easily show that, notwithstanding the crimes and the stubbornness of the Jews, it was yet not unworthy of the divine wisdom to employ them as the medium of preserving the worship of the true God amidst an idolatrous world, and of preparing the way for the introduction of a pure and universal religion.

"The impartiality of the author of the Pentateuch is not less remarkable in the mode in which he speaks of the nearest relations and connections of the Jewish Lawgiver. His brother[2] Aaron is related to have been engaged in the great crime of setting up the golden calf, to have joined with his[3] sister Miriam in an unjustifiable attack on the authority of Moses, and to have offended God so much, that he was excluded from the promised land; and the[4] two eldest sons of Aaron are related to have been miraculously put to death by God himself, in consequence of their violating the ritual law. The tribe and kindred of the lawgiver are not represented as exempt from the criminal rebellion of the Jews on the return of the twelve spies: Caleb and Joshua, who alone had opposed it, were of different tribes, one of Judah, and the other of Ephraim. In a word, nothing in the narrative of the Pentateuch exalts the character of any of the near relatives of Moses and Aaron, except only in the instance of[5] Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron: who, for his zeal in restraining and punishing the licentiousness and idolatry into which the Midianitish women had seduced his countrymen, was rewarded by the high priesthood being made hereditary in his family. Of the family of the legislator we are told nothing, but that his[6] father-in-law Jethro was a wise man, who suggested to Moses some regulations of utility: that his[7] wife was an Æthiopian woman, and as such the object of contempt and opposition even to his own brother and sister; and that he had two sons, of whom, or their families, the history takes no notice; so that nothing about them is known, but that they were undistinguished from the rest of the Levitical tribe. How different is all this from the embellishments of fiction or the exaggerations of vanity! How strongly does it carry with it the appearance of humility and truth!"[8]

The preceding observations are equally applicable to the writers who succeeded Moses; and who exhibit every mark of integrity in their character, temper, and manner of writing. They relate facts with the utmost simplicity. They appear to have no secular interest in view; nor can we conceive that they could possibly be under any such influence. On the contrary, they exposed themselves to many disadvantages. In relating the most wonderful facts, they make no apologies. They use no panegyric. There is nothing like flattery or reserve in their narrations, or their addresses. "Their own frailties and follies, and the misconduct of their greatest heroes and sovereigns, are recorded with singular and unexampled fidelity. They offer no palliation of their conduct; they conceal nothing; they alter nothing," however disgraceful to the Hebrew worthies and to the Hebrew nation. No *candid* reader can peruse their writings attentively, without observing that this is a just, though imperfect representation of their character; nor can any one suppose that men of such a character would wish to deceive their readers. And would the transactions recorded by them have been received as true by those who had the best means and opportunities of examining the truth of them, if they had not really and truly taken place?

2. Let us now direct our attention to the writings of the evangelists and apostles contained in the New Testament; and we shall see their credibility established upon evidence equally conclusive with that adduced for the Old Testament. For,

[i.] *The actions ascribed to Jesus Christ in the New Testament are of that description that they* COULD NOT *have been recorded, if they had not been true.*

[1] Vide Deut. xxxi.
[2] Num. xii.
[3] Num xxv. 7—13.
[4] Exod. xxxii.
[5] Num. iii. 4. and Lev. x. 1—7.
[6] Exod. xviii.
[7] Num. xii. 1.
[8] Dr Graves's Lectures on the Pentateuch, vol. i. pp. 54—57.

Independently of the miracles performed by Jesus Christ (which are fully investigated in a subsequent chapter),[9] "his general conduct, as described by the evangelists, is that of a person surpassing both in wisdom and in goodness the most perfect character, that was ever drawn by Roman or by Grecian eloquence. The character of our Saviour, as represented by the evangelists, is not drawn in a *formal* manner, exhibiting at one view the various qualities of which that character is composed. The character of our Saviour must be learnt by comparing the facts recorded of him, with the situations in which he was placed, and the circumstances under which he acted. This comparison exhibits unshaken fortitude in the severest trials, calmness undisturbed by provocation, kindness returned for injury, and dignity maintained inviolate through every action of his life. Nor is the wisdom and the judgment displayed on every trying occasion less conspicuous in the character of our Saviour. At the same time we perceive the gradual unfolding of a scheme for the general welfare of mankind, a scheme uniform and consistent in all its parts, yet misunderstood *at first* by the apostles themselves, as being opposed to the general prejudices of the Jews. Facts of *this* description could not have been *invented* by the apostles. Plain and unlettered Jews, as the twelve apostles were, though adequate to the office of recording what they had seen and heard, were incapable of fabricating a series of actions which constitute the most exalted character that ever existed upon earth. If the learning and the ingenuity of Plato or Xenophon might have enabled them to draw a picture of Socrates more excellent than the original itself, it was not in the power of unlettered Jews to give ideal perfection to a character which was itself imperfect, and to sustain that ideal perfection, as in a dramatic representation, through a series of imaginary events. Indeed it is highly probable, that the apostles and evangelists were not *wholly aware* of that perfection which they themselves have described. For that perfection is not contained in any formal panegyric, expressive of the writer's opinion, and indicating that opinion to the reader. It is known only by comparison and by inference. We are reduced, therefore, to this dilemma:—either the actions, which are ascribed to our Saviour, are *truly* ascribed to him; or actions have been invented for a purpose of which the inventors themselves were probably not aware, and applied to that purpose by means which the inventors did not possess. And when we further consider that the plan developed by those facts was in direct opposition to the notion of the Jews respecting a temporal Messiah, we must believe in what was wholly impossible, if we believe that unlettered Jews could have *invented* them."[10]

[ii.] *The apostles could not be deceived in the facts which they have recorded.* This will appear from the following considerations:—

(1.) They were *competent witnesses* of the facts which they attested, and on which the Christian religion is founded.

Their testimony did not relate to certain abstract points, in forming a judgment of which they might have been misled by the sophistry of others, or have erred through their own inadvertence and incapacity; nor to events which had happened before their birth, or in a distant region of the earth, concerning which, therefore, they might have received false information. It respected facts which they had witnessed with their eyes and with their ears. They had lived with Christ during his ministry, they had heard his discourses, and seen his wonderful works, and consequently received them on the testimony of their own senses. They all had the same knowledge, and in the same degree, and they agree in the same essential testimony. Now we may seek in vain for any thing of a similar nature in the whole universe. Contemporary authors themselves rarely *see* the facts which they relate; they are often in a distant country from that in which the event happened, and are informed of it only by public reports, which are seldom faithful in all points. And their want of exactness will be evident to any one who may undertake to compare the relations of different though contemporary writers.[11] If, indeed, it happens that an author be at the same time both historian and witness;—that he has accompanied the prince or general whose actions he relates (as Polybius, the historian, accompanied the illustrious Roman general Scipio),—that he has been his particular confidant; and has participated in his deliberations and councils;—in such a case we set a high value upon his memoirs; and should consider it an act of injustice, as

[9] See chap. iv. sect. ii. § vii. viii. ix. *infra.*
[10] Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part vi. pp. 71—73.
[11] Witness the contradictory statements, in numerous particulars, published by various French, German, and English writers, relative to the momentous transactions of the campaigns of 1812—1814.

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well as a want of common honesty, to call them in question or doubt them, *without solid proofs*, even though such a writer's testimony be *single*. Further, we likewise highly value histories written by generals or princes,[1] who relate their own actions with an air of sincerity and modesty, which leaves an appearance of probability in their writings, though otherwise their testimony might naturally be suspected.

What then must we think of the joint testimony of so many historians, who relate nothing but what they saw with their eyes, who were present at all the transactions, who heard each particular, and are themselves a great part of the history which they have written? Who can refuse to believe persons who write, as one of them does, in the following manner:—"*That*," says he, "*which was from the beginning*" (of Christ's ministry), "*which we have* HEARD, *which we have* SEEN *with our* EYES, *and our* HANDS *have* HANDLED *of the word of life*" (Christ and his Gospel), ... "*that which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you?*" (1 John i. 1—3.) If Plato has been deemed a competent witness, and in every respect qualified to compose the biographical account of his master Socrates, and of his discourse in prison before he drank of the poisoned bowl, because he was present on those occasions; or, to come nearer to our own times, if Mr. Boswell is considered as a competent witness to compose the life of the illustrious English moralist Dr. Johnson, because he was present at most of the conversations, &c. which he has related; or, if Sir William Forbes be considered a competent witness for writing the life of the acute detector of the sophistry of Hume, Dr. Beattie; or, Mr. Hayley, for the life of the amiable poet Cowper, because they knew them intimately, conversed and corresponded with them, and had authentic information from the friends and correspondents of the eminent men whose lives they have written; surely the evangelical historians were equally competent witnesses of the facts which they have related!

(2.) Moreover, they were not *enthusiasts or fanatics*.

The characteristics of enthusiasm or fanaticism are, a blind credulity, in consequence of which its subject is led to imagine himself always to be the favourite of Heaven, and actuated by divine inspiration;—disorder and contradiction in the religious system proposed by the enthusiast; and obscurity and absurdity in his exposition of it, accompanied with dictatorial positiveness, requiring an implicit credence of his pretensions, or at least on grounds as vain and delusive as those which have satisfied himself;—a morose, unsocial, and severe system of morality;—and contempt of all written revelation. But none of these characteristics is to be traced in the character or writings of the apostles. They became the disciples of Jesus Christ upon rational conviction,—not upon internal persuasion alone, but on the irrefragable evidence of clear and stupendous miracles, proofs submitted to their senses, and approved by their reason, which enthusiasm could not have counterfeited, and never would have required; and at every step of their progress, as their faith was called to signalize itself by new exertions, or to sustain new trials, it was fortified by new proofs. The slowness and caution with which the apostles received the fact of their Lord's resurrection from the dead fully exempt them from all suspicion of being the dupes of delusion and credulity. Throughout their various writings, the utmost impartiality, sobriety, modesty, and humility prevail. In the most frank and artless manner they do that which enthusiasts *never* do; they record their own mistakes, follies, and faults, and those of very serious magnitude, acknowledged to be such by themselves, and severely censured by their Master. No example of this nature can be found in the whole history of enthusiasm, and no other such example in the whole history of man. Enthusiasts also, in all their preaching and conversation on religious subjects, pour out with eagerness the dictates of passion and imagination; and never attempt to avail themselves of the facts or arguments, on which reason delights to rest. Strong pictures, vehement effusions of passion, violent exclamations, loudly vociferated and imperiously enjoined as objects of implicit faith and obedience, constitute the sum and substance of their addresses to mankind. They themselves believe, because they believe, and know, *because* they know: their conviction, instead of being (as it ought to be) the result of evidence, is the result of feeling merely. If any one attempt to persuade them that they are in error, by reasoning, facts, and proofs, they regard him with a mixture of pity and contempt, for weakly opposing his twilight probabilities to the noonday certainty, and for preposterously labouring to illumine the sun with a taper. How contrary is all this to the conduct of the apostles! When a proof of *their* mission or doctrine was required of them, they appealed instantly and invariably to arguments, facts, and miracles. These convinced mankind *then*, and they produce the same conviction *now*. The lapse of more than seventeen centuries have detected them in no error, and in no degree enfeebled their strength. Their discourses were then, and are now, the most noble, rational, and satisfactory discourses on moral and religious subjects ever witnessed by mankind. There is not one single instance in them all, in which belief is demanded on any other grounds than these; and on these grounds it is always rightfully demanded; but on these grounds it is never demanded by enthusiasts. There is not in the world a stronger contrast to the preaching of enthusiasts, than that of Christ and his apostles.

Further, the style of fanatics is *always* obscure, arrogant, and violent. The style of the New Testament is the very reverse of this.

The utmost harmony exists through every part of the system of religion inculcated by its authors. The *historical* books are plain, calm, and unexaggerated; detailing the facts which establish the unparalleled perfection of their Divine Lord, with the particularity and consistency of truth. Some trifling discrepancies, it is true, are found in the collateral circumstances related by the historians of Jesus Christ (and this is an evident proof that they did not copy one from another); but in all *essential matters* they entirely and perfectly agree; and though scarcely one among them had read, or could have read, the writings of the others, yet their histories and doctrines are perfectly accordant. And the *epistles*—though written at different and distant times, on various occasions, from different places, and addressed to very different communities, and persons—never contradict each other. On the contrary, they are uniformly, in the highest degree, natural, rational, and affectionate, admirably adapted to the occasions which produced them, and to the relations which their several writers bore to the various churches and persons whom they addressed:—instructing their ignorance, and encouraging their virtues,—rebuking their offences without bitterness,—vindicating their own character from calumny, without betraying any excessive resentment,—and maintaining their own authority, as religious instructors and guides, without any trace of spiritual pride, any arrogant claims to full perfection of virtue. So far are they from inculcating a gloomy devotion, or a morose, unsocial, or selfish system of morality, that, while they insist on the necessity of sincere, fervent, and heartfelt piety to God, without any affectation of rapturous ecstasy or extravagant fervour,—a piety, in short, chastened and controlled by humility and discretion,—they at the same time inculcate the strictest equity and justice in our intercourse with our fellow-men, together with the purest, most active, and most diffusive benevolence. While the just pre-eminence is allowed to internal sincerity, outward rites and observances have their due importance preserved; every grace, and every virtue, that can form a part of the Christian character, has its just order and value assigned to it in the Christian scheme; every civil, relative, and social duty is taught in the clearest manner, and enforced by the strongest motives. So far are the authors of the New Testament from contemning all written revelation, that in their writings they uniformly evince the greatest reverence for the written revelation of the Old Testament, which they exhort their disciples to study diligently,[2] and point out its friendly harmony with the Christian system.[3] And though they insist on the necessity of receiving and believing that system,[4] yet they equally condemn all spirit of persecution,[5] and all religious indifference.[6]

[iii.] *They were neither deceived themselves, nor did or could they deceive, or impose upon, others.*

We have already remarked,[7] that the evangelical historians were eye-witnesses of the facts they recorded: conse-

[1] Such are Xenophon's History of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks, and Cæsar's Commentaries on the Wars of the Romans with the Gauls, among the ancients; and, among the moderns, the Archduke Charles of Austria's Principles of Strategy, or the Science of War, as opposed to Military Tactics, or the Art of War, in which he has given the history of the campaign of 1796, in Germany.

[2] 2 Tim. iii. 14—17. 2 Pet. i. 19, 20.

[3] Acts ii. 14—36. xiii. 15—41. Rom. iv. 10. 19—21, &c.

[4] Acts iv. 12. Rom. iii. 20—26. [5] Rom. xiv. 3—23.

[6] Dr. Graves's Essay on the Character of the Apostles, to prove that they were not enthusiasts, *passim*: Dr. Less on the Authenticity, &c. of the New Testament, pp. 280—299.; by both of whom the topics above glanced at are fully and ably illustrated. Lord Lyttleton has also applied similar considerations to the conversion of St. Paul, which he has shown to be an irrefragable argument for the truth of the Christian religion. See his "Observations on the Conversion of St. Paul,"—an inestimable little treatise, to which scepticism could never frame a reply.

[7] See pp. 62, 63. *supra*

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quently *they could not be deceived* as to the actual occurrence of the facts and miracles related in the Gospels and Acts.

That they could not be imposed upon themselves is evident from the nature, number, and publicity of the miracles said to have been performed, first by Jesus Christ, and afterwards by his apostles. They saw diseases healed, the dumb made to speak, the power of hearing given to the deaf, the lame made to walk, the maimed (that is, those who *wanted* a limb) made *perfect* or whole, and the dead raised to life. They had the best possible information, and were fully convinced of the reality of such miracles. *Neither did they deceive or impose upon others.* The whole tenor of their lives demonstrated, and even their adversaries confessed, that they were men of piety and integrity. They never would have pretended to persuade (nor could they have succeeded in persuading) their countrymen and contemporaries, that a man, whose death was public and notorious, was risen again,—that darkness had covered the land at the time of his execution,—and that there had been an earthquake at the moment of his decease,—if these events had not taken place. Besides, when it is recollected that the writers in question were men who had not received a learned education, and who were also of a very humble class in society, it is utterly improbable that they could pretend to speak foreign languages and upbraid an entire and numerous society with making a bad use of the same extraordinary gift, if that society had not received it.[1] Such pretensions, if false, could never have been admitted; and it were absurd, not to say impossible, that so many men should conspire to propagate a falsehood, especially at a time when even attendance on the ministers of Christ, much less the profession of his faith, exposed them to the severest persecutions and most imminent danger of their lives. Moreover, it rarely happens that any one will propagate a *deliberate falsehood*, without having some advantage in view, either immediate or remote. Now the first teachers of Christianity could have no prospect whatever of any advantage. They could expect none from him in whom they professed to believe. Jesus Christ, indeed, had warned them to expect persecution, ignominy, and death in this world, if they continued to be his disciples. They could not therefore aspire to honours or emoluments, for the distribution of these was in the hands of Jews and heathens, who reviled and persecuted them with unrelenting severity. Still less could they expect to acquire wealth; for their profession of the Christian faith subjected them to the loss of all things. According to their own principles, either as Jews or Christians, they involved themselves in eternal misery, if they deliberately persevered in propagating falsehoods. Further, if the evangelists and apostles had confederated to impose upon mankind, it is incredible that none of their associates should not have confessed the fraud before the tribunals. It is equally incredible that so many precepts of piety and virtue should have been delivered by men of such abandoned principles, as they must have been if they had really been impostors; and it is still more incredible that they should have been willing to die for the cause of Christ, who, if he had not risen again from the dead, would have miserably deceived them. Still less is it to be credited that they performed miracles (the reality of which was acknowledged by their enemies) in confirmation of their doctrine. Lastly, if the apostles and evangelists had designed to impose upon mankind, they would have accommodated themselves to the humours of the people whom they addressed; they would have indulged their passions, and would carefully have avoided saying or doing any thing that might shock or offend them. Nothing of the kind was done by the apostles. They did not accommodate themselves to the dispositions of mankind; they boldly impugned the traditions of the Jews, and the religion of the Gentiles; nor would they suffer the law to be confounded with the Gospel, or the Mosaic ceremonies to be retained. They spared not the corruptions that prevailed in their times; they sought not to clothe their discourses or writings in the attractive garb of human eloquence, nor did they gratify the passions of their hearers. Would persons, deliberately confederating to impose upon the world, have pursued a conduct so little calculated to secure success to their designs? And as the evangelical historians were neither deceived nor imposed upon themselves, nor did deceive or impose upon others, so neither could they have successfully carried on such deceit or imposition, if they had been ever so much disposed or desirous to do it. For, as we have already had occasion incidentally to remark, the facts recorded by them were *public* facts. They were not done in a corner, but performed openly; and were openly related before all mankind. They were declared, not merely to the ignorant and illiterate, but to men of learning, leisure, sagacity, and power. Thousands *could* examine the truth of their story, and were under obligations to examine it; and if it had been false, to refute it. The importance and strangeness of the subject thus announced would naturally excite curiosity; and on this account it would certainly be examined by multitudes. If the report of the apostles and evangelists had not been true, it would have been the most ridiculous that can be imagined. If it *were* true, it was the most important that ever sounded in the ears of mortals. He must therefore be a strange man, indeed, who could hear such things reported and repeatedly asserted (in whatever light he might consider them), without investigating the truth of them, the grounds on which the report was made, and the evidence by which it was confirmed. So far, however, were the apostles from being either deceived themselves or deceivers of others, that,

[iv.] On the contrary, they were *men of the strictest integrity and sincerity.*

This is evident from the style and manner of their writings, which are characterized by the most rigid impartiality and fidelity. They were not ambitious of being known to the world by their writings, but wrote only as they were induced by necessity, for the further propagation of the Gospel.[2] "A statuary works upon marble: an historian upon facts: both cut them to their fancy, and pare off all that will not serve for their purpose. The writers of the New Testament stand remarkably clear from this imputation."

There is no preparation of events; there are no artful transitions or connections; no set character of persons to be introduced; no reflections on past actions, or on the authors of them; no excuses or apologies for such things, as a writer might probably foresee would shock and disturb his readers; no specious artifices, no plausible arguments to set off a doubtful action, and reconcile it to some other, or to the character of the person that did it. In short, it does not appear that it ever entered the minds of these writers, to consider how this or the other action would appear to mankind, or what objections might be raised against it. But, without at all attending to such a consideration, they lay the facts before the world, at no pains to think whether they will appear credible or not. If the reader will not credit their testimony, there is no help for it: they tell the truth and nothing else. Greater marks of sincerity than these it is impossible to find in any historical compositions that are extant; and they show that they published nothing to the world but what they believed themselves. They never attempt to astonish their readers, but uniformly endeavour to enlighten and convince them: regardless of themselves, they seem engrossed by the great truths which they were commissioned to promulgate. They do not dissemble certain circumstances in the life and sufferings of their Master, which have no tendency to enhance his glory in the eyes of the world: such are the low circumstances of his parents,—the mean accommodations of his birth—that when he appeared publicly to the world, his townsmen and near relations despised and rejected him,—that few among his followers were men conspicuous for wealth, dignity, or knowledge,—that the rulers, the scribes and Pharisees, disowned his pretensions and opposed him continually,—that some, who for a time followed him, afterwards deserted him,—that he was betrayed into the hands of the high-priests and rulers by one of those who had been selected for his constant companions,—and that he was crucified in the most ignominious manner with two malefactors. Had they been silent concerning such events, their adversaries assuredly never could have discovered them, nor, consequently, have taken any advantage of them. They have, however, not failed to relate them with all their minutest circumstances. Impostors would certainly have acted differently. They would either have kept back such facts as appear so disrespectful to their leader; or they would have endeavoured to assign some cause in order to obviate any bad impressions that might arise from them. They would enter into a laboured detail of the intellectual endowments or moral excellences of their Master. But the evangelists do no such thing. They utter no lofty panegyrics; they pronounce no eloquent encomiums. They depart from the common line of historians, and give an artless narrative of every circumstance, however apparently unfavourable to their Master and leave the truth to support itself.

Again, when they relate any of the miracles of Jesus Christ, they announce them with the same dispassionate coolness as if

[1] As Saint Paul upbraided the church at Corinth. See 1 Cor. xiv.

[2] Eusebius Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 23.

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they had been common transactions; saying nothing *previously* to raise expectation, nor, *after the recital of them*, breaking out into exclamations; but they leave the reader to draw his own conclusion. Does he confound and triumph over his enemies? We see no symptoms of exultation. Is he in the lowest distress! On their parts we can collect no tokens of fear, of grief, or indignation. Do they record his giving of sight to the blind, restoring the lame, feeding many thousands with a few loaves and fishes, calming the raging sea, and even raising the dead? They seem perfectly calm and unconcerned. Do they narrate his resurrection and ascension? They afford no explanation of any difficulties; they never offer a single argument to enforce their credit; they leave the bare facts with their readers, who may receive or reject them as they please. In perusing the simple and unadorned narratives of the evangelists, it is impossible not to feel that the purport of their writings was *to bear witness of the truth*.

The conduct of the evangelists, when speaking of their enemies, is characterized by the same striking integrity. Of all who were concerned in the persecution and death of Christ, they mention by name only the high-priest Caiaphas, and his coadjutor Annas, the Roman procurator Pilate, and the treacherous disciple Judas; because the suppression of their names would have impaired the evidence of their history to posterity. Not the slightest tincture of party-spirit is observable in the notice of these persons; who are barely mentioned without censure and without resentment. The epithet attached to Judas by all the evangelists (ὁ παραδοὺς, *who delivered him up*) is expressive of the simple fact, rather than of its criminality; which would more aptly be signified by προδότης, *traitor*, as he is styled on one solitary occasion. (Luke vi. 16.)[1]

Further, it is worthy of remark, that the evangelical historians pay no regard to what others had *before* written on the same subject.

"Had they written in concert, and with the direct view of promoting the same cause, they would have taken proper care to have preserved some uniformity in their arrangement; to have supported the same facts, and not to have contradicted, in their narration, any of those facts or circumstances that had been recorded by their colleagues or friends. But if any one will read, with attention, their several histories, he will find a difference of arrangement, different facts and circumstances also brought forward by different historians, the same fact differently told, and many things so altered and changed in their different relations, that we are sometimes at a loss to determine, whether it be in reality the same fact, that any two or more of them are telling, or some other one nearly resembling it in some leading features. Matthew and Luke give us even different pedigrees of Jesus Christ.[2] We mention this only to show that we have no reason to suppose, that they wrote in collusion; and also to show how instructive they were to what others had written on the same subject before. Each appears to have written what struck him the most forcibly, and what seemed the most proper to make us acquainted with the character and doctrines of Jesus Christ. They are only careful to give them upon the best authority, either from their own personal knowledge, or as they had them from those, *who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word*. Like honest and faithful historians, they are concerned about nothing but the truth. In their histories, you meet with just such accounts as you may naturally expect from different observers of the same fact. No two men of equal capacity and attention ever yet related the same fact precisely in the same manner and words. Without the smallest prejudice or partiality, and with the strictest regard to truth, they will give you the circumstances of the same action with considerable difference."

The inferences, then, that we have a right to draw from this apparent honesty and impartiality of the sacred historians are, First, that the Gospel bears all the marks of a true history, and that the differences and trifling disagreements among the historians are a strong evidence of the truth of the whole. It is much more likely to be true, than if the whole had been transmitted to us by a single writer of the greatest ability. Secondly, that though we meet with differences and difficulties in the relation of some material facts, yet none of these difficulties affect the main cause, or the leading principles of our religion. We are left in the full possession of all these. They all agree that Jesus Christ was upon this earth, that he was a divine teacher, and a great example, that he died and rose again. On the contrary, had they been all uniform in their narration, we should have had good cause to suspect fraud and collusion. Had they in the relation of each particular sermon, prayer, and great work, expressed themselves in the very same words, would not unbelievers have found good cause to allege, "these men are no more but copyists of one another, a company of men under the pretended direction of the spirit of truth, imposing a most impudent fraud on the world!"

These differences bear all the marks of candour, of honesty, and integrity. We know from them, that Jesus Christ was on this earth, that he wrought great works, that he delivered remarkable prophecies, that he died and rose again, that his disciples, immediately after his resurrection, with firmness embraced his cause; and in obedience to his last commands, went and baptized all nations. We know, in short, that he brought life and immortality to light, and placed our hopes upon the best foundation. Let the learned, then, settle lesser differences, and let cavillers dispute about dark expressions and darker tenets; we will hold fast by the main pillars; and if the world itself should sink, these will support us: this is our joy and rejoicing: in the strength of this, let us march onwards towards heaven.[3]

If, from the consideration of the narratives of the evangelical historians concerning their Master, we proceed to whatever is recorded concerning themselves, we shall find the same integrity and fidelity every where prevail. When Cicero had offended against the capital law of *his* moral code—that which enjoined the love of his country—first, by his backwardness to join the camp of Pompey, and afterwards by his prompt submission to the tyranny of Cæsar, what was the conduct of that illustrious Roman on this pressing occasion? Did he frankly condemn those false steps, or did he content himself with the simple relation of them? He did neither of these things. He softened and disguised the truth; and employed all his wit and eloquence to palliate this inglorious desertion of his principles to himself and to others. What a striking contrast is this to the ingenuousness of the evangelical writers! They study no arts of evasion or concealment. They honestly acknowledge not only the lowness of their station, but also the meanness of their original employments, the indigence of their circumstances, the inveteracy of their national prejudices, the slowness of their apprehension under so excellent a teacher, the weakness of their faith, the ambition of some of the disciples, the intolerant temper of others, and the worldly views of all. They even tell us of their cowardice in deserting their Master when he was seized by his enemies; and that after his crucifixion they all resumed their secular employments,—for ever resigning those hopes which they had once fondly cherished, and abandoning the cause in which they had been so long engaged; notwithstanding all the proof that had been exhibited, and the conviction which they had before entertained, that Jesus was the Messiah, and his religion was from God. They mention, with many affecting circumstances, the incredulity of one of their associates, who was not convinced of the reality of their Lord's resurrection but by ocular and sensible demonstration. They might have concealed their own faults and follies from the world; or, if they had chosen to mention them, they might have alleged plausible reasons to soften and extenuate them. But they did no such thing: they related, without disguise, events and facts just as they happened, and left them to speak for themselves. In like manner, when recording the exercise of the miraculous powers with which they were endowed, they relate these astonishing facts, without any ornaments of language, in the most concise and simple manner. They do nothing, they assume nothing, in their own character. In short, they speak with such certainty, with so much self-conviction, and with such confidence in the truth of their history, that assuredly we can no longer depend on any historian whatever, if we entertain the least doubt concerning the integrity of the writers of the New Testament. And if we compare their merits as *historians* with that of other writers, we shall be convinced that they are inferior to none who ever wrote, with regard to knowledge of persons,

[1] The argument, here necessarily treated with brevity, is prosecuted at considerable length, and in the very words of the most learned defenders of Christianity, in Mr. Simpson's Internal and Presumptive Evidences of Christianity, pp. 125—142.

[2] See a solution of this and other *supposed* difficulties, *infra*, Vol. I. Part II. in the Chapter on the Interpretation of the Contradictions falsely alleged to exist in the Holy Scriptures.

[3] Popular Evidences of Natural Religion and Christianity, by the Rev. Thomas Watson, pp. 415—418.

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acquaintance with facts, candour of mind, or reverence for truth.[1]

Lastly, in the epistles of the apostles which have been transmitted to us, there are preserved memorials of many particulars which are not very honourable to the first converts to Christianity. Such are the readiness of the churches of Galatia to depart from the purity and simplicity of the Gospel; the scandalous disorders of the church of Corinth in some solemn parts of their worship; the contentions among them in behalf of their teachers; the preposterous use of the gift of tongues, proceeding from vanity and ostentation; and the unaccountable conceits of others, who depended upon an empty faith without works, and a speculative knowledge without a suitable holy practice, referred to in the epistle of James and John. Upon the whole, it is most evident from the facts that were disadvantageous to Christ himself, to the writers themselves, and also to the first Christians, that those persons from whom we have received these accounts had a very particular regard to truth, and preferred its interest before all selfish considerations.

[v.] *They appealed to notorious proofs.*

Whatever internal marks of credibility the evangelical writings possess (and which could not but carry conviction to those to whom they were addressed), their authors confirm the veracity of their statements by an appeal to the miracles wrought by themselves, and to the extraordinary gifts conferred by them upon many other persons. This is evident from their epistles, which were written and directed to those who had beheld those miracles, and had participated in those gifts, and which also contain reproofs for the mismanagement of such gifts, and various directions respecting the better use and employment of them.[2] If these persons had not received such gifts, would this mode of writing and arguing have recommended the persons or doctrines of the apostles to them who were declining from both? Would they not have contradicted the apostles, as asserting deliberate falsehoods? But this was *never* attempted.

[vi.] *They suffered every thing for the truth of their narration, even death itself; and brought many of their contemporaries to a conviction of its truth.*

The history of the first professors of Christianity bears witness to the afflictions, sufferings, and painful deaths to which they were constantly exposed, and which they cheerfully endured for the sake of their testimony. If the things which they attested had been false, it would have been unparalleled madness for any one to persist in them to the loss of life; and it would have been incredible, that so many should conspire in the same unreasonable and unaccountable folly; especially when the religion which they professed excluded all liars from the happiness and rewards of the next life, of which they pretended to be persuaded; so that, whatsoever those persons might otherwise be, and however they might falsify, there is no reason to doubt of their truth and fidelity in this report, because they died for the testimony of it. Therefore the highest attestation of a thing is called martyrdom, and the most credible witnesses martyrs; and though bare martyrdom be not an argument of the infallible truth of a testimony, or of the infallibility of a person that gives it, yet it is one of the highest arguments that can be of his honesty and integrity in that thing, and that he believes it himself, otherwise he would not die for it; and it is a good evidence of the general integrity of these persons, as to all other things, that they were so conscientious as not, for fear of death, to deny what they believed to be a truth, nor to conceal what they believed to be of importance.

Further, history shows, that, by their testimony, the first disciples of Christianity so convinced a vast number of their contemporaries, who could without any trouble have proved the truth or falsehood of their statements, that even these encountered great persecutions, and cheerfully ventured estate, liberty, and even life itself, on the truth of the facts they asserted. Nor were the persons who thus embraced the Christian faith (notwithstanding all the sufferings which they knew that such profession would infallibly bring upon them) merely ignorant or illiterate individuals, who might be supposed to be hurried into a belief of it, through a blind and thoughtless enthusiasm. On the contrary, among the first professors of Christianity, we have instances of many persons of quality and rank, men capable of investigating truth, and judging of its evidences, some of whom were philosophers and accurately acquainted with the best writings, and with all the learning of the Gentiles.[3]

III. Thirdly, THE CREDIBILITY OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS IS FURTHER ATTESTED BY THE PRINCIPAL FACTS CONTAINED IN THEM BEING CONFIRMED BY CERTAIN COMMEMORATIVE ORDINANCES OR MONUMENTS OF GREAT CELEBRITY, THAT EXISTED AMONG THE JEWS AND CHRISTIANS FROM THE TIME WHEN THE EVENTS TOOK PLACE, WHICH THEY ARE SAID TO COMMEMORATE, AND WHICH ORDINANCES OR MONUMENTS SUBSIST TO THE PRESENT DAY, WHEREVER EITHER JEWS OR CHRISTIANS ARE TO BE FOUND.

1. For instance, among the Jews, there are the ordinance of Circumcision, and the feasts of the Passover, of Tabernacles, and of Pentecost.

[i.] CIRCUMCISION is the seal of the covenant with Abraham, the great progenitor of the Jews, on all whose posterity it was enjoined. This rite was adopted by the Egyptians, Colchians, the Ethiopians, the Phœnicians, and one or two other ancient nations; but though its high antiquity ascended beyond the records of the pagans, no particular reason was assigned for it, except that some professed their adherence to it for the sake of cleanliness. Now it is this precise want of reason which constitutes the grand difference between the circumcision of the Gentiles and that of the Israelites. In the case of the Gentiles it proved no one historical fact: in the case of the Israelites, it proved the historical fact that Abraham was commanded to adopt the rite, and to hand it down to his posterity, as a badge of their being, in certain chosen lines, the peculiar people of Jehovah. This *fact*, which is a vital one in the Mosaic history, it decidedly and incontrovertibly establishes. For though the Israelites, like any other nation, might have *simply* adopted the rite of circumcision, yet they could not have adopted it as a commemorative ordinance, professing to commence from the time when the commemorative fact occurred, unless that fact really *had* occurred. The reason is obvious. If the belief, associated with the rite, had commenced at any given point of time *subsequent* to the adoption of the rite itself, the persons who first embraced the belief must unaccountably have suffered themselves to be persuaded, not only that such was the origin of the rite, but that they and their fathers before them, from the very time of its primeval institution, always *knew* and *believed* that such was its origin.[4]

[ii.] The PASSOVER was instituted to commemorate the protection of the Israelites, when all the first-born of the Egyptians were destroyed, and their deliverance from bondage in Egypt, which was its immediate consequence. To this was added the solemn consecration of the first-born of man and beast to God; and in further commemoration of the destruction of the first-born of the Egyptians, the tribe of Levi was set apart. The month in which this feast was solemnized, from being the seventh, was reckoned as the first month of the year, in order to mark it as the æra of this illustrious deliverance. The passover was eaten, with bitter herbs, to remind the Israelites of their severe bondage and servile food in Egypt:—with unleavened bread, because the Egyptians, in their terror, urged them to depart, and would no allow them time to leaven their bread, *for they said, We be all dead men.* And it was likewise eaten in the posture of travellers just prepared for a journey, to mark its having immediately preceded their sudden and final departure from the house of bondage.

[iii.] The FEAST OF TABERNACLES was instituted to perpetuate the deliverance of the Israelites, and their journeyings in the desert. On this occasion they were commanded to dwell in tabernacles or booths, "made of the boughs of goodly trees." And,

[iv.] The FEAST OF PENTECOST was appointed fifty days after the passover, to commemorate the delivery of the Law from Mount Sinai, which took place fifty days after their departure from Egypt. At this festival, which was celebrated at that season of the year when their harvest usually closed, each head of a family was enjoined by the Jewish law to take some of the first-fruits of the earth, and bring it to the place which the Lord

[1] Bonnet, Œuvres, tom. x. pp. 498—501. Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. pp. 693. *et seq.* Dr. Harwood's Introduction to the New Test. vol. i. pp. 6—10. Less on the Authenticity of the New Testament, pp. 267—330. Vernet, Traité de la Vérité de la Rel. Chrét. tom. iii. throughout, and tom. iv. pp. 9—137.

[2] See 1 Cor. i. 4—6. ii. 4, 5. v. 3—5. xii. xiii. 8. xiv. 1—33. 2 Cor. xii. 7—11. Gal. iii. 5. 1 Thess. v. 5.

[3] Such were Sergius Paulus, proconsul of Cyprus (Acts xiii. 7—12.) Dionysius, a member of the senate or council of Areopagus, and many others of the polished and inquisitive Athenians (Acts xvii. 34.); Erastus, treasurer of Corinth; and even persons belonging to the imperial court (Rom. xvi. 23); Justin Martyr, once a Platonic philosopher: and Athenagoras, an Athenian philosopher, who at first entertained so unfavourable an opinion of the Christian religion, that he determined to write against it, but on inquiring into the facts that supported it, was convinced by the blaze of evidence in its favour, and turned his designed invective into an elaborate apology. Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 180—187.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 379—381.) To these may be added the eminent writers whose testimonies to the authenticity of the New Testament have already been cited. pp. 70—82. *supra*

[4] Faber's Horæ Mosaicæ, vol. i. pp. 337—341.

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should choose, and to set it down before the altar of the Lord, making the solemn acknowledgment of the whole series of peculiar and miraculous providences experienced by the nation, which is prescribed in Deut. xxvi. 5—10.[1]

Now all these institutions have been held sacred among the Jews in all ages since their appointment, and are solemnly and sacredly observed among them to this day. Can these observances be accounted for, on any principle but the evidence of the FACTS on which they were founded? We have not more certain evidence of the *facts* of the murder of king Charles I., contrary to all law and justice, and of the restoration of the profligate Charles II., and of the deliverance of king James I. and the English parliament from destruction by gunpowder (conspired by certain incendiaries), and of the arrival of king William III., which terminated the odious tyranny of James II., all which events are respectively commemorated on the thirtieth day of January, the twenty-ninth day of May, and the fifth of November in each year.

2. In like manner, the principal facts contained in the Gospels are confirmed by monuments, which subsist to this day among Christians, and which are the objects of men's senses. These monuments are the ordinances of Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the festival observed on the first day of the week.

[i.] It is a well known fact, that, in all countries where the Christian faith is held, its professors are initiated by BAPTISM; and that, by submitting to this rite, they renounce every other religious institution, and bind themselves to the profession of the Gospel alone. Now Baptism, being performed in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, plainly signifies the firm persuasion of the Christian church that their religion is from God, the fountain of all good; that it was published to mankind by Jesus Christ the Son of God, the voluntary messenger of this dispensation; and that it was confirmed by many great signs, miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost. Particularly, on the part of those who administer this rite, it signifies that they act agreeably to the will of the Father who appointed the Christian religion, and by express commandment from him, and from his Son who published it, as well as from the Holy Ghost, who confirmed it, when they baptize men into the belief and profession of Christianity. On the part of God, this rite is a declaration, by his ministers, that he accepts and pardons the baptized person, provided he gives the answer of a good conscience, and in his subsequent life acts agreeably to the obligations of baptism. And, lastly, on the part of the baptized, their receiving of this rite is understood to be an affectionate and solemn public declaration of *their* sense of the relation in which they stand to God the Father as their Creator, to God the Son as their Redeemer, and to God the Holy Ghost as their Sanctifier, according to the views which the Christian religion gives of these relations; and also of their firm resolution faithfully to perform all the duties resulting from these relations.

[ii.] That the LORD'S SUPPER is often celebrated in all Christian countries is a fact that cannot be questioned; neither can it be questioned, that Christians consider this rite to be essentially connected with the profession of their religion. Our fathers entertained the same opinion of its importance; and their fathers viewed it in the same light. But what claims and deserves particular notice with reference to this institution is, that by the common consent of Christians now living, and of all in former ages of whose opinion we have any knowledge, the importance of the Lord's Supper arises from its being a commemoration of the life, sufferings, death, and resurrection, and second coming of the founder of their religion, and from its having been expressly enjoined to all his disciples by his dying request, with a view to perpetuate the memory and demonstrate the truth of these events.

[iii.] The stated observance of THE FIRST DAY OF THE WEEK, as a sacred festival in honour of Christ's resurrection from the dead,—on which day Christians abstain from all secular labours and affairs, and hold solemn assemblies for the public worship of God,—preserves that grand event from falling into oblivion.

Now, as these monuments perpetuate the memory, so they demonstrate the truth of the facts contained in the Gospel history beyond all reasonable contradiction; because, unless the events of which the Christian rites are commemorations had really existed, it is impossible to conceive how those rites could have come into general use. For, if Jesus Christ neither lived, nor taught, nor wrought miracles, nor died, nor rose again from the dead, it is altogether incredible that so many men, in countries so widely distant, should have conspired together to perpetuate such a series of falsehoods, by commencing the observation of the institutions of Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the Lord's day; and it is equally incredible that, by continuing to observe them, they should have imposed those falsehoods on posterity.[2]

IV. Lastly, THE WONDERFUL ESTABLISHMENT AND PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY IS A MOST CONVINCING PROOF OF THE ENTIRE CREDIBILITY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, AND OF THE RELIGION WHICH IT ESTABLISHES.

Before the second century was completed, the Christian doctrine was propagated through the whole Roman empire, which then comprised almost the whole known world. It prevailed without the assistance of any temporal power. "Destitute of all human advantages, protected by no authority, assisted by no art, not recommended by the reputation of its author, not enforced by eloquence in its advocates, the word of God grew mightily and prevailed. We behold twelve men, poor, artless, and uneducated, triumphing over the fiercest and most determined opposition, over the tyranny of the magistrate, and the subtleties of the philosopher, over the prejudices of the Gentile, and the bigotry of the Jew." In progress of time the church became divided by heretics, as well as exposed to a series of the most sanguinary persecutions; yet still the truths she professed continued to spread, in defiance of all these impediments. And notwithstanding that those truths are repugnant to every bad passion of the human heart, and require, from those who profess them, the most exalted piety, together with the strictest possible regard to every civil, moral, and relative duty, as well as the purest and most diffusive benevolence,—still Christianity has continued to spread (as its founder had predicted) in every part of the known world, and, at the present day, is embraced and confessed by a tenth part of the human race.[3]

In considering these direct evidences of the credibility of the writers of the New Testament, it is of importance to observe, that there is no opposite testimony to contradict the positive credible testimony of the apostles, evangelists, and multitudes of others, to the history and miracles of Jesus.

Now is it probable, or even possible, that so many characteristic marks of truth as we have mentioned, derived from such various quarters, should all so exactly coincide in favour of a false story? Is not the supposition of the truth of a history thus accredited much more natural, more consonant to general observation and experience, to the laws of evidence, and of the human mind, than is the supposition of its falsity? A belief in the Christian Scriptures is, indeed, a belief in the reality of past miracles, to confirm a religion worthy of GOD and useful to man. Such a belief implies no absurdity, or contradiction to any truth or any fact. But by rejecting the Gospel, persons are compelled to maintain, in opposition to positive credible testimony, that extensive important events have taken place without an adequate cause. They must maintain the reality of miracles, greater than Christians believe, and which accord neither with the nature of GOD, nor the condition of man, but which involve absurdities, contradictions, and impossibilities.

To explain the most wonderful and extraordinary appearances in the natural world, philosophers without hesitation admit a cause which accounts for them clearly, and with the fewest difficulties; especially when every other supposition necessarily leads to absurdities and contradictions. Upon what rational ground, then, can the truth of the Gospel history be doubted? And its truth establishes the divine authority of Jesus and his religion.

The full force of the arguments, which we have brought together to prove the truth of the Christian Scriptures, would be more obvious and impressive, if we were to compare the New Testament with other sacred writings, or with accounts of other persons who have been represented as divine messengers. Confucius, the writer of the Chinese canonical books, ingenuously acknowledges that his doctrine was not his own, but taken from legislators who lived centuries before him. The ancient sacred code of the Hindoos, the Koran of Mohammed, the lives of Pythagoras, of Proclus, and of Apollonius of Tyana, and the Popish Legends, all bear many stamps of fiction. We shall instance in Philostratus's life of Apollonius, for the following reasons: Hierocles, an ancient opponent of Christianity, has drawn a parallel between him and Jesus, and preferred Apollonius.[4] Eunapius, the biographer of several ancient philosophers,

[1] Du Voisin, Autorité des Livres de Moyse, pp. 169—172.

[2] Macknight's Harmony, vol. i. prelim. obs. viii. and his Credibility of the Gospel History, pp. 565—563.

[3] The difficulties which Christianity had to encounter at its first propagation, are considered in the APPENDIX, No. V.

[4] Lard. Heath. Test. chap. xxxix. sect. 4. § 7.

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imagined Apollonius to be a kind of middle being between the gods and men; on which account he thought that "*the sojourning of* GOD *amongst mankind*" would have been a more proper title for Philostratus's history than that which it now bears. In modern times, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and Mr. Blount, have taken the pains of making favourable comments upon Apollonius's history.

Philostratus's account is the only one that we have of Apollonius, who lived upwards of *one hundred* years BEFORE him. He tells us, that he took his narrative partly from common report, and partly from memoirs of Apollonius, said to have been written by one Damis, his companion. Some other person having shown these memoirs to Julia the wife of Severus, she gave them to Philostratus. Before this time they were not known to the world. Philostratus endeavoured to gain the favour of Julia, and of Antoninus Caracalla, who were both great admirers of the marvellous. The latter was so prejudiced in favour of Apollonius, that he paid him the honours which Pagans thought due to heroes. Philostratus, to gratify his humour, when his subject required it, added all the ornament he could, and made quite a romance of it. The narrative shows that he was fond of displaying his parts and genius. It contains laboured discussions of trifling questions; such as, which is the most ancient, the earth or the trees? which composes to sleep best, water or wine? Impertinent, ridiculous, and absurd relations are often introduced in it. For example, of beasts with a human head and a lion's body; of women half white and half black; of wool growing like corn out of the earth; of countries abounding with phœnixes, griffins, and dragons. In the description of his miracles, he unwarily mentions his cure of a dropsy to have been effected by prescribing abstinence to the patient.—Though Apollonius be made to tell Damis, that he understood all languages without learning them, yet in India, when he came before King Phraortes, he wanted an interpreter. In an account of his raising a young lady seemingly dead, at Rome, he mentions that it was still a secret, whether there were some remaining sparks of life; besides this, the miracle was unknown to any who lived at that time. The history tells us, that Apollonius appeared after his death to Aurelian, when he besieged Tyana; of which we have no other proof than the testimony of this romance writer. Apollonius is represented as manifesting the greatest vanity, and pretending to universal knowledge. He taught the doctrine of transmigration. He said, "It was wise to speak well of all the gods, especially at Athens, where altars of unknown demons were erected." He attempted to deify a lion. Three instances are given of his pretended prophetic spirit. Two of them evidently imply nothing superior to human knowledge. The third, that Nerva should one day be emperor, one is not surprised at, when the feigned prophet was, by flattery and advice, actually encouraging him, at that time, to a revolt; and what totally destroys the authority of the prediction is, that he denied it before Domitian. "His wonder-working faculty he pretends to have fetched from the East Indies; yet the account which he has given of those parts is so grossly fabulous, that that alone convicts him of imposture."[1]

These instances will suffice to manifest the striking contrast that subsists between the memoirs of Apollonius and those which we have of Jesus. Genuine marks of truth distinguish the narratives of the evangelists, while characters of fiction abound in the history written by Philostratus.

Such are the evidences, both external and internal, direct and collateral, for the Genuineness and Authenticity of the New Testament; and when their number, variety, and the extraordinary nature of many of them are impartially considered, it is impossible not to come to this convincing conclusion, that the SCRIPTURES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT ARE GENUINE AND AUTHENTIC, AND WERE ACTUALLY WRITTEN BY THE PERSONS WHOSE NAMES THEY BEAR, AND THAT THEY DID APPEAR IN THE TIMES TO WHICH THEY REFER.

We shall conclude this section with the concessions of three writers concerning the Christian records, whose sentiments will not be suspected to have arisen from an unreasonable partiality in favour of them.

Mr. HOBBES acknowledges, that "the writings of the New Testament are as ancient as the times of the apostles; and that they were written by persons who lived in those times, some of whom *saw* the things which they relate. And though he insinuates that the copies of the Scriptures were but few, and in the first ages in the hands of the ecclesiastics only; yet he adds, that he sees no reason to doubt, but that the books of the New Testament, as we have them, are the *true* registers of those things which were *done* and *said* by the prophets and apostles."[2] He says also, "That he is persuaded the ecclesiastics did not falsify the Scriptures; because if they had had an intention so to do, they would surely have made them more favourable to their power over Christian princes and civil sovereignty than they are."[3]

Mr. CHUBB left the following sentiments:—"That there was such a person as Jesus Christ, and that he, in the main, *did and taught* as is recorded of him, appears probable, because it is improbable that Christianity should take place in the way and to the degree that it did (or at least that we are told it did), supposing the history of Christ's life and ministry to be a fiction." He adds, that "if such power attended Jesus Christ in the exercise of his ministry as the history sets forth, then, seeing his ministry, and the power that attended it, seems at least in general to have terminated in the public good, it is more likely that GOD was the primary agent in the exercise of that power, than any other invisible being. And then it is probable that Jesus Christ, upon whose will the immediate exercise of that power depended, would not use that power to impose upon and mislead mankind to their hurt; seeing that power appears to have been well directed and applied in other respects, and seeing he was accountable to his Principal for the abuse of it. He adds, "From these premises, or from this general view of the case, I think this conclusion follows, viz. it is probable Christ's mission was divine; at least it so appears to me, from the light or information I have received concerning it."[4]

Lord BOLINGBROKE grants, that "Christianity has all the proofs which the manner in which it was revealed, and the nature of it, allowed it to have."[5] He further acknowledges, that "it is out of dispute that we have in our hands the Gospels of Matthew and John, who give themselves out for *eye* and *ear witnesses* of all that Christ *did* and *taught*. That two channels were as sufficient as four to convey those doctrines to the world, and to preserve them in their original purity. The manner, too, in which these evangelists recorded them, was much better adapted to this purpose than that of Plato, or even of Xenophon, to preserve the doctrines of Socrates. The evangelists did not content themselves with giving a general account of the doctrines of Jesus Christ in their own words, nor presume in feigned dialogues to make him deliver their opinions in his own name, and as his own doctrines. They recorded his doctrines in the very words in which he taught them, and they were careful to mention the several occasions on which he delivered them to his disciples or others. If, therefore, Plato and Xenophon tell us with a good degree of certainty what Socrates taught, the two evangelists seem to tell us with much more what the Saviour taught, and commanded them to teach."[6]

What but the irresistible force of truth could have extorted such concessions from men of learning and ability, who have written several things to depreciate the Christian religion, and the Divine authority of its author?

From the preceding observations, it is evident that we have all the evidence that can be *reasonably* desired in favour of the credibility of the Scripture History, and particularly of what the evangelical historians relate concerning Jesus Christ. It is manifest that they were every way qualified to give an account of the transactions which they have recorded; they had no design to impose on mankind; they could have no inducement whatever to attempt an imposture, but every imaginable inducement to the contrary; nor could they possibly have succeeded, if they had made the attempt

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SECTION II.

TESTIMONIES TO THE CREDIBILITY OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS FROM NATURAL AND CIVIL HISTORY.

THE evidences for the credibility of the Old and New Testaments, which have been stated in the preceding section, have been drawn principally from an examination of those books compared with facts that have existed, and many of

[1] Lard. Heath. Test. chap. xxxix. sect. 5, 6. and append. to chap. xxxix. near the end.—Bp. Douglas's Criterion, pp. 55. *et seq.*—Houtteville's Diss. on the Life of Apollonius.—Paley's Evid. vol. ii. part 2. chap. 6. sect. 41. p. 180.

[2] Leviathan, p. 204.—Leland's View of Deistical Writ. vol. i. p. 58. let. iii

[3] Leviathan, p. 203.—Leland, ib. let. v. p. 104.

[4] Chubb's Posthumous Works, vol. ii. p. 41. to 43.; compared with p 394. to 396.—Leland, ib. letter xii. p. 338. to 339.

[5] Works, vol. v. p. 91. 4to. edit.

[6] Bolingbroke's Works, vol. iv. ess. 4. sect. 18. p. 390

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which continue to exist to the present day. We might safely rest the credibility of the Scriptures upon those evidences; but there is an additional testimony to their credibility and truth as well as to their genuineness, which is afforded by *their agreement with natural and civil history*, and which is too valuable to be passed in a cursory manner.

§ 1. TESTIMONIES FROM NATURAL AND CIVIL HISTORY TO THE CREDIBILITY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. *Testimonies to the Mosaic account of the creation of the world.*—II. *Particularly of man.*—III. *Of the fall of man.*—IV. *Of the translation of Enoch.*—V. *Of the longevity of the antediluvian patriarchs.*—VI. *Men of a gigantic stature.*—VII. *Of the deluge.*—1. *Proofs of that event from the fossilized remains of the animals of a former world;*—2. *From civil history, particularly from the paucity of mankind, and vast tracts of uninhabited land, mentioned in the accounts of the first ages, the late invention and progress of arts and sciences, and from the universal tradition of the deluge;—Refutation of objections to the Mosaic history of that catastrophe.*—VIII. *Testimonies of profane history to the building of the tower of Babel.*—IX. *To the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.*—X. *To the Mosaic account of the patriarchs.*—XI. *To the reality of the person and character of Moses, and to the departure of the Israelites from Egypt.*—XII. *Notice of various customs borrowed by ancient nations from the Hebrews.*—XIII. *And of certain personal histories, which may be traced to the Old Testament history.*—XIV. *Testimonies of ancient and modern writers to the truth of the Scripture account of the fertility of Palestine.—Concluding observations.*

THE Scripture history agrees, in a surprising manner, with the most authentic records that remain of the events, customs, and manners of the countries and ages to which it stands related. The rise and fall of empires, the revolutions that have taken place in the world, and the grand outlines of chronology, as mentioned or referred to in the Scriptures, are coincident with those stated by the most ancient writers that are extant: while the palpable errors in these respects, which are detected in the apocryphal books, constitute one of the most decisive reasons for rejecting them as spurious. The history of the Bible is of far greater antiquity than any other records extant in the world: and it is remarkable that, in numerous instances, it shows the real origin of those absurd fables which disgrace and invalidate all other histories of those remote times; which is no feeble proof that it was derived from some surer source than human tradition. The facts recorded in the Old Testament cannot be disproved; but, on the contrary, they are confirmed by the traditionary accounts of almost all nations. Mr. Hume, indeed, affirmed that the Pentateuch was "wrote [written] in all probability long after the facts it relates." That this book was written long after some of the facts which it relates, is not denied; but that it was written long after *all* or even most of those facts, there is (as we have already shown) no reason to believe. If, as Dr. Campbell forcibly remarked (and Mr. Hume neither did nor could refute the remark), this writer meant to signify by the expression quoted, that this was in all probability the case, why did he not produce the grounds on which such probability is founded? Shall a bold assertion pass for argument? or can it be expected that any one should consider reasons, which are only in general supposed, but not specified.

Mr. Hume added, that the Pentateuch was "corroborated by no *concurring* testimony." To which we may reply, that it is as little invalidated by any *contradictory* testimony; and both for this plain reason, because there is no human composition that can be compared with this in respect of antiquity. It were absurd to require that the truth of Moses's history should be attested by heathen writers of the same or nearly the same antiquity with himself; since we know that those who affected to fix upon other nations the name of barbarians, were in his time, and for several centuries afterwards, themselves barbarians. But though the Pentateuch is not corroborated by the concurrent testimonies of any coeval histories, because if such histories were ever extant, they have long since perished, yet it is not on that account destitute of collateral evidence. On the contrary, its authority is legible in the few fragments that remain of the earliest writers: and subsequent historians have fully confirmed it by the accounts which they give, though evidently mixed with depravation, of the history of the Jews, and of the legislation of Moses; as will appear from the following instances, selected out of a greater number which have been pointed out, and treated at length by various learned men.

I. TESTIMONIES TO THE MOSAIC ACCOUNT OF THE CREATION OF THE WORLD.

1. The heathens had a tradition among them concerning the *primeval chaos whence the world arose*, and the production of all things by the efficiency of a supreme mind, which bears so close a resemblance to the Mosaic account of the creation, as proves that they all originated from one common source; while the striking contrast between the unadorned simplicity of the one, and the allegorical turgidity of the others, accurately distinguishes the inspired narrative from the distorted tradition. This remark applies particularly to the Chaldean, Egyptian, Phœnician, Hindoo, Chinese, Etruscan, Gothic, Greek, and American Cosmogonies.[1]

2. One of the most striking collateral confirmations of the Mosaic history of the creation, is the general adoption of the division of time into *weeks*, which extends from the Christian states of Europe to the remote shores of Hindostan, and has equally prevailed among the Hebrews, the Egyptians, Chinese, Greeks, Romans, and northern barbarians;—nations, some of whom had little or no intercourse with others, and were not even known by name to the Hebrews. It is to be observed, that there is a great difference between the concurrence of nations in the division of time into *weeks*, and their concurrence in the other periodical divisions into *years*, *months*, and *days*. These divisions arise from such natural causes as are every where obvious, viz: the annual and diurnal revolutions of the sun, and the revolution of the moon. The division into *weeks*, on the contrary, seems perfectly arbitrary: consequently, its prevailing in distant countries, and among nations which had no communication with one another, affords a strong presumption that it must have been derived from some remote tradition (as that of the creation), which was never totally obliterated from the memory of the Gentiles, and which tradition has been older than the dispersion of mankind into different regions. It is easy to conceive, that the practice, in rude and barbarous ages, might remain through habit, when the tradition on which it was founded was entirely lost: it is easy to conceive, that, afterwards, people addicted to idolatry, or who, like the Egyptians, had become proficients in astronomy, should assign to the different days of the week the names of their deities or of their planets.[2]

3. Even the Mosaic method of reckoning by nights instead of days has prevailed in more than one nation. Thus, the polished Athenians computed the space of a day from sunset to sunset;[3] and from a similar custom of our Gothic ancestors, during their abode in the forests of Germany, words expressive of such a mode of computing time have been derived into our own language.[4] The same custom also prevailed among the Celtic nations.[5]

II. Of the FORMATION OF MAN IN THE MORAL IMAGE OF GOD, and his being vested with dominion over other animals, similar traditionary vestiges remain in the widely diffused notion, that mankind formerly lived in complete happiness and unstained innocence; that spring reigned perpetually, and that the earth spontaneously gave her increase.

This was the origin of the fabled golden age, so exquisitely described by the classic poets, and which may also be distinctly traced in the legends of our Scythian forefathers, and in the age of perfection of the Hindoos; and in the classical story of the garden of the Hesperides, we may equally discover an evident tradition of the Mosaical paradise and of the promised Saviour, who should bruise the head of the infernal dragon. Nor is it improbable that, from the holiness of the garden of Eden, the pagans borrowed their ancient custom of consecrating groves to the worship of their various deities.[6]

III. The FALL OF MAN AND THE INTRODUCTION OF SIN INTO THE WORLD are related in the third chapter of the book of Genesis. It has been the fashion with minute philosophers

[1] See an account of these various Cosmogonies in Mr. Faber's Hora Mosaicæ, vol. i. pp. 17—40. The Greek and Latin Cosmogonies are particularly considered in Edwards on the Truth and Authority of the Scriptures, vol. i. pp. 88—102. The testimonies of profane writers to the truth of the principal facts related in the Scriptures are adduced and fully considered by Dr. Collyer in his "Lectures on Scripture Facts." 8vo. 2d edit. London, 1809. The subjects, noticed in this section, particularly the Creation and the Deluge, are likewise copiously treated of in the notes to Grotius, De Veritate Rel. Christ. lib. i. c. 16.

[2] Dr. Campbell's Dissertation on Miracles, p. 219. note.

[3] Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticæ, lib. iii. c. 2.

[4] Tacitus, de Mor. Ger. c. 11. The expressions of *fortnight* and *se'nnight*, for fourteen nights and seven nights, are still in use among us in England

[5] Cæsar, de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 18.

[6] Faber's Hor. Mos. vol. i. pp. 41—50. Edwards on Scripture, vol. i. pp. 103—106

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and philosophizing divines to endeavour to explain away the reality of the fall, and to resolve it all into allegory, apologue, or moral fable; but the whole scheme of redemption by Christ is founded upon it, and must stand or fall with it; a figurative fall requiring only a figurative redemption. Even Lord Bolingbroke (than whom Revelation never had a more subtle opposer) justly rejects the allegorical interpretation. "*It* CANNOT," says he, "*be admitted by Christians;* for, if it was, what would become of that famous text [that the seed of the woman should crush the serpent's head, Gen. iii. 15], whereon the doctrine of our redemption is founded?"[1]

Indeed the Mosaic account, from its simplicity and consonance with the whole tenor of the Scriptures, was evidently designed to represent a real transaction;[2] and it has been received as such by the writers of the Old and New Testaments, who certainly were more competent to decide than men who have lived several thousands of years after the transaction, and whose bold contradictions of the best attested matters of fact render their unsupported assertions of no effect. Modern opposers of revelation have ridiculed the account of the fall as a fable. But nothing is easier than ridicule to men who pay no regard to piety, equity, and common decency. Whatever they may *assert* (and let it be remembered that assertions without proof are not facts), and however they may attempt to explain away the Mosaic account of the fall, or attempt to prove it false, yet the evidently ruined condition of the human race would still remain as an UNDENIABLE FACT. And the narrative of the fall is confirmed both by natural and civil history. Thus, it agrees in an eminent manner both with the obvious facts of labour, sorrow, pain, and death, and also with what we see and feel every day, and with all our philosophical inquiries into the frame of the human mind, the nature of social life, and the origin of evil. The several powers of the little world within a man's own breast are at variance with one another, as well as those of the great world; and we are utterly unable to give a complete solution of the origin of the evils which flow from these discords, and from the jarring elements of the natural world. But the Mosaic narrative accounts for all these otherwise unaccountable phenomena, and is corroborated by various traditions, more or less agreeable to it.

1. "The commencement of this moral taint is ascribed by the author of the Pentateuch to the DISOBEDIENCE OF OUR FIRST PARENTS.

"An evil spirit, the origination of whose malignity itself is a mystery which can never be fathomed, speaking through the organs of a serpent, tempted them to transgress the command of God by tasting the forbidden fruit of a distinctly specified tree. The penalty of their rebellion was death." Though Moses gives no account of Satan or the tempter, yet we learn, from other passages of Scripture, that he was first made like other celestial spirits, perfect in his kind, and happy in his condition; but that, through pride or ambition, falling into a crime (the circumstances of which are unknown to us), he thence fell into misery, and, together with his accomplices, was banished from the regions of bliss. Of this fall of wicked angels, the ancients had some notion, as is manifest from their tradition of the Titans and Giants invading heaven, fighting against Jupiter, and attempting to depose him from his throne, for which reason he cast them headlong into hell, where they are tormented with incessant fire. And therefore Empedocles, in some verses cited by Plutarch, makes mention of the fate of some demons, who for their rebellion were, from the summit of heaven, plunged into the bottom of the great abyss, there to be punished as they deserved.[3]

The fictions of Indian mythology, with regard to contending powers and their subordinate ministers, both benevolent and malignant, are erected on the same basis of truth.

2. THE INTRODUCTION OF PHYSICAL EVIL into the world,

By the disobedience of our first mother Eve, is plainly alluded to by the well-known heathen legend of Pandora; who being led by a fatal curiosity to open a casket that had been given her by Jupiter, out of it flew all the evil into the world, and she became the original cause of all the miserable occurrences that befall mankind. Hope alone—the hope in a promised and long remembered deliverer—remaining at the bottom of the casket.

3. ORIGINAL SIN, the early corruption and depravation of man's nature, in consequence of our first parents' transgression, is a subject of complaint among the ancient heathen moralists, philosophers, and poets.

Thus, Pythagoras termed it the *fatal companion, the noxious strife that lurks within us, and which was born along with us;*—Sopater called it, *the sin that is born with mankind;*—Plato, *natural wickedness;*—Aristotle, *the natural repugnancy of man's temper to reason;* and all the Greek and Roman philosophers, especially the Stoics and Platonists, complain of the depraved and degenerate condition of mankind, of their propensity to every thing that is evil, and of their aversion from every thing that is good. Thus, Cicero lamented, that *men are brought into life by nature as a step-mother, with a naked, frail, and infirm body, and with a soul prone to divers lusts.* Seneca, one of the best of the Roman philosophers, observes, *We are born in such a condition, that we are not subject to fewer disorders of the mind than of the body;*—that *The seeds of all the vices are in all men, though they do not break out in every one;*—and that *To confess them is the beginning of our cure.* And Hierocles called this universal moral taint, *The domestic evil of mankind.* Even some of the sprightliest poets bear their testimony to the same fact. Propertius could say, *Every body has a vice to which he is inclined by nature.* Horace declared that *No man is born free from vices,* and that *He is the best man who is oppressed with the least;* that *Mankind rush into wickedness, and always desire what is forbiddden;* that *Youth has the softness of wax to receive vicious impressions, and the hardness of rock to resist virtuous admonitions;* and, in short, that *We are mad enough to attack heaven itself,* and that *Our repeated crimes do not suffer the God of Heaven to lay aside his wrathful thunderbolts.* And Juvenal has furnished a striking corroboration to the statement of Paul of Tarsus concerning the *carnal mind* (Rom. vii. 18—23.), when he says that *Nature, unchangeably fixed, runs back to wickedness,* as bodies to their centre.

Further, there is reason to suppose, that the ancient Celtic Druids expressly taught the defection of the human soul from a state of original rectitude; the invariable belief of the Brahmins, in Hindostan, is, that man is a fallen creature; and it is well known that a similar opinion was inculcated by the classical mythologists, and especially by Hesiod, in their descriptions of the gradual corruption of the human race, during the period subsequent to the golden age. Catullus represents the unhallowed period, when justice was put to flight, and brothers imbrued their hands in fraternal blood, while incest and sacrilege alienated the mind of God from man; and Tacitus marks out the progress of depravity, from a period free from offence and punishment, to a flagitious and abandoned wickedness, devoid even of fear. Thus, "Providence seems to have drawn evidence of the guilt of men from their own confessions, and to have preserved their testimony for the conviction of subsequent times."[4]

4. THE FORM ASSUMED BY THE TEMPTER,

When he seduced our first parents, has been handed down in the traditions of most ancient nations, particularly the Persians, Hindoos, Greeks, the Egyptians, and the Scythians or Goths; and though animals of the serpent tribe were worshipped by *some* of the Pagans, as the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Greeks, as symbols of the good demon[5], yet they were more generally regarded as types or figures of the evil principle.[6]

There is nothing in which the traditions and opinions of the heathens bear stronger testimony to the doctrines of Scripture, than the conviction which prevailed, of the necessity of an ATONEMENT FOR SIN, AND OF THE INTERVENTION OF A DIVINE MEDIATOR, and the universal practice of devoting piacular victims, which has at one period or other equally prevailed in every quarter of the globe.

It has been alike adopted by the most barbarous, and by the most savage nations. "The rude idolater of the recently discovered hemisphere, and the polished votary of polytheism, equally concur in the belief that without shedding of blood

[1] Bolingbroke's Works, vol. p. 372. 8vo. edit.
[2] Dr. Hale's Chronology, vol. ii. book i. p. 10.
[3] Huet, Quæstiones Alnetanæ, lib. 2. Edwards on Scripture, vol. i. pp. 106 107.

[4] Faber, vol. i. pp. 65—71.; Edwards, vol. i. pp. 108—110.; Bp. Gray's Connection between Sacred and Profane Literature, vol. i. pp. 163—165.; Fletcher's Appeal to Matter of Fact, pp. 143—147.; Cormack's Inquiry into the Doctrine of Original Sin, pp. 24—26.; in which works the proofs of the *facts* above stated are given in detail.
[5] This is a manifest relic of the tempter's assuming the form of a goodly serpent, and appearing like a good demon or angel of light, when he tempted Eve.
[6] Faber, vol. i. pp 71—76. Edwards, vol. i. pp. 111—114. Gray, vol. i. pp 161, 162. The fullest view of this subject will be found in the Rev. J. B. Deane's elaborate treatise, entitled "The Worship of the Serpent traced throughout the World, and its Traditions referred to the Events in Paradise; proving the Temptation and Fall of Man to be the Instrumentality of a Serpent Tempter. London, 1830." 8vo.

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there can be no remission of sins. Nor was the life of the brute creation always deemed sufficient to remove the taint of guilt, and to avert the wrath of heaven. The death of a nobler victim was frequently required; and the altars of paganism were bedewed with torrents of human blood." Thus, the Canaanites caused their first-born to pass through the fire, in order to appease the anger of their false deities; and one of the kings of Moab is said to have offered up his eldest son as a burnt-offering, when in danger from the superior power of the Edomites.[1] "Nor was the belief that the gods were rendered propitious by this peculiar mode of sacrifice confined to the nations which were more immediately contiguous to the territories of Israel. We learn from Homer, that a whole hecatomb of firstling lambs was no uncommon offering among his countrymen;[2] and the ancient Goths having laid it down as a principle, that the effusion of the blood of animals appeased the anger of the gods, and that their justice turned aside upon the victims those strokes which were destined for men,[3] soon proceeded to greater lengths, and adopted the horrid practice of devoting human victims. In honour of the mystical number three, a number deemed particularly dear to heaven, every ninth month witnessed the groans and dying struggles of nine unfortunate victims. The fatal blow being struck, the lifeless bodies were consumed in the sacred fire which was kept perpetually burning; while the blood, in singular conformity with the Levitical ordinances, was sprinkled, partly upon the surrounding multitude, partly upon the trees of the hallowed grove, and partly upon the images of their idols.[4] Even the remote inhabitants of America retained similar customs, and for similar reasons. It is observed by Acosta, that in cases of sickness, it was usual for a Peruvian to sacrifice his son to Virachoca, beseeching him to spare his life, and to be satisfied with the blood of his child.[5]

"Whence, then," we may ask with the learned author, to whose researches this section is so deeply indebted: "Whence, then, could originate this universal practice of devoting the first-born, either of man or beast, and of offering it up as a burnt-offering? Whence, but from a deep and ancient consciousness of moral depravation? Whence, but from some perverted tradition, respecting the true sacrifice to be once offered for the sins of all mankind? In the oblation of the first-born, originally instituted by God himself, and faithfully adhered to both by Jew and Gentile, we behold the death of him, who was the first-born of his virgin-mother, accurately though obscurely exhibited. And in the constant use of fire, the invariable scriptural emblem of wrath and jealousy, we view the indignation of that God who is a consuming fire averted from our guilty race, and poured out upon the immaculate head of our great Intercessor. Had a consciousness of purity reigned in the bosoms of the ancient idolaters, it does not appear, why they should have had more reason to dread the vengeance of the deity, than to expect and to claim his favour; yet that such a dread did universally prevail, is too well known to require the formality of a laboured demonstration."[6]

IV. The Translation of Enoch

May be traced in the Grecian fables of the translation of their heroes or demigods, and particularly of Hesperus and Astrea (among the ancient Greeks), who are fabled to have ascended to heaven alive, and to have been turned into stars and celestial signs; of Dhruva among the Hindoos; of Buddha among the Ceylonese, and of Xaca (another name for Buddha) among the Calmucks of Siberia.[7]

V. The Longevity of the Antediluvian Inhabitants, mentioned by Moses, is confirmed by various heathen writers.

"All," says Josephus, "who have committed to writing the antiquities either of the Greeks or Barbarians, attest this longevity of the men before the flood." And he immediately subjoins,—"Manetho, who wrote an account of the Egyptians, Berosus, who compiled [an account of] the affairs of Chaldæa, and Mochus, and Hestiæus, and with them Hieronymus the Egyptian, who had treated of the affairs of Egypt, agree with me in this. Also Hesiod, and Hecatæus, and Hellanicus, and Acusilaus, and Ephorus, and Nicolaus, relate that the ancients lived a thousand years."[8] Similar traditions of the longevity of men, in former ages, are still to be found among the Burmans of the further Indian Peninsula, and also among the Chinese.[9]

VI. The Mosaic account of Men of a Gigantic Stature, who were inured to deeds of lawless violence and rapine,

Is confirmed by the Greek and Latin poets, who relate that there were giants in the first ages of the world, and also by the Greek and Latin historians, particularly by Pausanias and Philostratus among the Greeks, and Pliny among the Romans, who have recorded that, on opening some sepulchres, the bodies of men were found to be much larger in old times. Josephus also speaks of bones seen in his days, of a magnitude almost exceeding credibility.[10] These testimonies of historians of former ages to the generally gigantic stature of men, furnish a satisfactory answer to the petty cavils of those who object to the credibility of Moses, from his mentioning the gigantic size of Og's bedstead. (Deut. iii. 11.) But men of very large size are occasionally seen even in our days. Some allowance may also be made for royal vanity; as Alexander the Great ordered his soldiers to enlarge the size of their beds, that they might give to the Indians, in succeeding ages, a great idea of the prodigious stature of the Macedonian soldiers.[11]

VII. No part of the Mosaic history has been more ridiculed by the opposers of revelation, than the narrative of the Deluge; though no fact that ever occurred in the world is so well attested both by natural and civil history.

1. *Proofs of that event from* Natural History.

It has been asserted that the relation of the deluge, contained in the seventh chapter of the book of Genesis, is contrary to philosophy, and that the deluge could not be universal, because no stock of water could be found sufficient to overflow the earth to the degree represented by Moses. The Hebrew historian, however, expressly asserts that it *was* universal, and *his relation is confirmed by the fossilized remains of animals belonging to a former world, which are found in every quarter of the globe.*

Thus, the highest eminences of the earth, as the Andes, the Alps, the Apennines, the Pyrenees, Libanus, Atlas, and Ararat, in short, all the mountains of every region under heaven, where search has been made, conspire in one uniform and universal proof that the sea was spread over their highest summits; for they are found to contain shells, skeletons of fish, and marine animals of every kind. The bones of extinct animals have been found in America, at an elevation of 7,800 feet, and in the Cordilleras, at 7,200 feet above the level of the sea. In central Asia, the evidence is still more decisive; the fossilized remains of the horse, deer, and bear species, having been brought to England from the Himalaya mountains, from an elevation of more than 16,000 feet.[12] Further, skeletons of the elephant and rhinoceros, natives of Africa and southern Asia, have been dug up on the steppes or table-lands of Tartary and Siberia; and remains of elephants have been found in various parts of England.[13] Crocodiles, chiefly of the Asiatic species, have been discovered in various parts of Europe: the gigantic mammoth (an animal which has hitherto been supposed exclusively to belong to the antediluvian world) has been found in the most northern parts of Russia, and also in North America, and in Ireland. The fossil bones

[1] 2 Kings iii. 27. Other instances of human sacrifices may be seen in p. 7. *supra*, note 4.
[2] Iliad, lib. iv. ver. 202. [3] Mallet's North. Antiq. vol. i. c. 7.
[4] Mallet's North. Antiq. vol. i. c. 7.—Olai Magni Hist. lib. iii. c. 7.
[5] Acost. apud. Purch. Pilgr. book ix. c. 11. p. 885.
[6] Faber's Hor. Mos. vol. i. pp. 64, 65.
[7] Ler, vol. i. pp. 89—91. Edwards, vol. i. p. 117

[8] Josephus, Antiq. Jud. lib. i. c. 3. (al. 4.) On the authors above cited by Josephus, it has been well remarked that "these men either were in possession of traditions relating to this fact, or that they borrowed them from Moses; and in either case our purpose is answered. For, if they received them from prevalent traditions, it will be granted that these traditions had originally some foundation in fact; and they correspond with the sacred history. But if they borrowed them from Moses, two points are gained on our part. It is proved that such a man as Moses did really exist; that his writings were then extant; that they were in substance what they now are; and that they bear an antiquity more remote than these, which are allowed to be the most ancient of the heathen writers. It is proved further, that his history was highly esteemed, and that it was supposed by these writers to contain facts. Whether they drew from Moses or from tradition; and whether their testimony sprang from this narration, or from any other source; either way, the Mosaic account of these early ages is corroborated by the oldest fragments of antiquity." Collyer's Lectures on Scripture Facts, p. 104.
[9] Faber, vol. i. pp. 92, 93.
[10] The passages from the historians above mentioned are given at length in Grotius de Veritate, lib. i. c. 16.
[11] Bp. Watson's Apology in answer to Paine, p. 34. "My philosophy," he adds, "teaches me to doubt of many things, but it does not teach me to reject every testimony which is opposite to experience. Had I been born in Shetland, I could, on proper testimony, have believed in the existence of the Lincolnshire ox, or the largest dray-horse in London: though the oxen and horses of Shetland had not been bigger than mastiffs." Ibid. p. 36
[12] Quarterly Review, vol. xxix. p. 156.
[13] Prof. Buckland's Reliquiæ Diluvianæ, p. 173

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and teeth of the rhinoceros, hippopotamus, tiger, and hyæna[1] (animals found in Africa and the east), and of the bear and numerous other animals, have been found in England: to which we may add trees of vast dimensions with their roots and tops, and some also with leaves and fruit, discovered at the bottom of mines and marle-pits, not only in regions where no trees of such kind were ever known to grow, but also where it is demonstrably impossible that they should grow; which effect could only be produced by the fountains of the great deep being broken up. Further, the drifting of the ark northwards, from Noah's settlement to mount Ararat, leads us to infer that the main current of the waters of the deluge came from the south; and that this was the case is most evident from the present appearance of the great continents of the terraqueous globe; whose deep southern indentations and bold projecting capes on the north, together with the chaotic subversions of the ghauts of Hindostan, as well as of the mountains of Abyssinia and Caffraria, and of those in the neighbourhood of the streights of Magellan,—all conspire to prove that such tremendous disruptions were originally caused by the waters of the *great deep*; which rushed northwards with considerable fury at first, though they afterwards grew less violent towards the end of their progress. There are also traces of prodigious disruptions of the earth in high northern regions, as if on purpose to absorb the redundant waters from the south: and in some parts, as in Norway, whole countries have been uplifted on one side, and half buried on the other in vast gulphs which opened to receive them. To these facts we may add, that all the researches of the most eminent geologists tend to prove the recent population of the world, and that its present surface is not of very ancient formation.[2]

PHYSICAL OBJECTION TO THE MOSAIC HISTORY OF THE DELUGE REFUTED.

Decisive as these *facts* are, it has been attempted to set aside the Mosaic narrative, by some alleged marks of antiquity, which certain continental philosophers have affirmed to exist in the strata of the lava of Mount Ætna. Thus Count Borch has attempted to prove that volcanic mountain to be *eight thousand years* old, by the different strata of lava which have been discovered. And in the vaults and pits which have been sunk to a great depth about Ætna, the Canon Recupero affirmed that seven strata of lava have been found, each with a surface of soil upon them, which (he assumes) would require two thousand years to accumulate upon each stratum; and reasoning from analogy, he calculates that the lowest of these strata *must* have flowed from the mountain *fourteen thousand years ago!*

ANSWER.—Nothing can be more fallacious than this argument, if indeed it deserves to be dignified with the name of an argument. For, who knows what causes have operated to produce volcanic eruptions at very unequal periods? Who has kept a register of the eruptions of any burning mountain for one thousand years, to say nothing of three or four thousand? Who can say that the strata of earth were formed in equal periods? The time for the formation of the uppermost and last is probably not known, much less the respective periods of the lower strata. One might have been formed in a year, another in a century. The philosophers above mentioned are wholly ignorant of the cause of any one of these earthy strata. They build one hypothesis upon another, and to believe their whole argument requires stronger faith than to believe a miracle. Faith in a miracle rests upon testimony; but faith in their scheme must be founded on an extreme desire to prove a falsehood. But the analogy, on which it has been attempted to build the hypothesis just mentioned, is contradicted by another analogy, which is grounded on more certain facts.

Ætna and Vesuvius resemble each other in the causes that produce their eruptions, in the nature of their lavas, and in the time necessary to mellow them into soil fit for vegetation. This being admitted, which no philosopher will deny, the Canon Recupero's analogy will prove just nothing at all. We can produce an instance of *seven* different lavas, with *interjacent strata of vegetable earth*, which have flowed from mount Vesuvius within the space, not of *fourteen thousand*, but of somewhat less than *fourteen hundred years*; for then, according to our analogy, a stratum of lava may be covered with vegetable soil in about *two hundred and fifty years*, instead of requiring two thousand for that purpose. The eruption of Vesuvius, which destroyed Herculaneum and Pompeii, is rendered still more celebrated by the death of the elder Pliny, recorded in his nephew's letter to Tacitus. This event happened A. D. 79; but we are informed by unquestionable authority,[3] that the matter which covers Herculaneum is not the produce of one eruption only, for there are evident marks, that the matter of *six* eruptions has taken its course over that which lies immediately over the town, and which was the cause of its destruction: and these strata are either of lava or of burnt matter, *with veins of good soil between*. Whence it is evident, with what ease a *little attention* and increase of knowledge may remove a great difficulty.[4]

2. But the fact of the *universality* of the deluge does not rest on the evidence arising from the organic remains of the former world which have been discovered: nor is its history confined to the Scriptures. CIVIL HISTORY *likewise affords many evidences which support the Mosaic account of the deluge.* Thus,

[i.] The *Paucity of Mankind*, and the vast tracts of uninhabited land, which are mentioned in the accounts of the first ages, show that mankind are sprung lately from a small stock, and even suit the time assigned by Moses before the flood. To which we may add, that the great number of small kingdoms and petty states, in the first ages, concur to the same purpose.

"Most eminent nations," it has been well observed, "like great families, have at all times been fond of extolling up their pedigree, and carrying it as high as possible; and where no marks remain of the successive alterations in their state, are apt to imagine that it has been always the same. Hence the many foolish pretences among the ancients, to their being aborigines of the countries they had inhabited time out of mind: hence they were led to make their several gods the founders of their government. They knew but very little of the world; and the tradition which they had of that little was so far mixed and corrupted with romance, that it served only to confound them. Upon the removal of this cloud by the more diligent and accurate inquiry of the moderns, we see ancient history beginning to clear up, the world puts on a very different face, and all parts of it appear conformable to each other, and to the late better known course of things; as is proved, very clearly, in various instances, by a learned and ingenious writer.[5]—We find the marvellous in all the annals of those times, and more especially in the great point of their antiquity, exceedingly reduced,[7] and

[1] The reader will find a copious and interesting account of the antediluvian remains of hyænas, discovered in a cave at Kirkdale, in Yorkshire, in the year 1821, by the Rev. Professor Buckland, in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, for 1822, Part I. pp. 171—236, and also in his "Reliquiæ Diluvianæ, or Observations on the Organic Remains contained in Caves, Fissures, and Diluvial Gravel, and on other Geological Phenomena, attesting the Action of an Universal Deluge." London, 1823, fto. That the Mosaic history, particularly of the deluge, is not inconsistent with geological discoveries, is clearly proved by Bp. Sumner, in his "Treatise on the Records of the Creation," vol. i. pp. 267—285. But the fullest view of the harmony between geological discoveries and the Mosaic history will be found in Mr. Granville Penn's "Comparative Estimate of the Mineral and Mosaical Geologies," a work abounding in sound doctrine, founded upon close reasoning, and admirably opposed to the tampering facility of some writers on geology, and to the scepticism and incredulity of others (second Edition, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1825), and the Rev. James Kennedy's Lectures on the Philosophy of the Mosaic Records of the Creation. London, 1827. 2 vols. 8vo.

[2] The proofs of this important fact are stated in M. Cuvier's Essay on the Theory of the Earth, sect. 22. of Mr. Kerr's translation

[3] Sir W. Hamilton's Remarks on the Nature of the Soil of Naples and its Vicinity, in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, vol. lxi. p. 7

[4] Bp. Watson's Apology for Christianity, in reply to Gibbon, pp. 255—263. London, 1776; or pp. 151—156. of the 8vo. edition, London, 1806.

[5] "The grounds of the uncertainty of ancient history may be seen in Stillingfleet, Or. Sac. book i. ch. 1. sect. 16. 18, &c. Comp. Bryant's accurate account of it, *passim*. Of the Egyptian in particular, see Shaw's Travels, pp. 417. 442. 4to. Comp. Baker on Hist. and Chron. Reflect. ch. 10 and 11. Shuckford's Connection, vol. ii. book viii. Winder's History of Knowledge, vol. ii. ch. 10. sect. 4, &c. Bp. Clayton's Remarks on the Origin of Hieroglyphics, p. 58, &c. Goguet, vol. iii. diss. iii. p. 269. That the Babylonish empire was not so old as has been pretended, see Le Clerc on Gen. x. Concerning the fabulous antiquity of the Chinese, see Conclusion of Mod. Hist. ii. p. 95. fol."

[6] See Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology, *passim*.

[7] "Till men come to a scrutiny, they are very apt to imagine that a number is vastly greater than it is. I have often asked people to guess how many men there have been in a direct line between the present king of England [George II.] and Adam, meaning only one man in a generation, the king's father, grandfather, &c. The answer made upon a sudden conjecture, has always been some thousand; whereas it is evident from a calculation, there have not been two hundred. For the space of time between Adam and Christ, let us take the genealogy of our Saviour, preserved by St. Luke, in which the names between Adam and Christ, exclusive of both, are but seventy-four. From the birth of Christ to the birth of the king, were sixteen hundred and eighty years. Let it be supposed, that in the list of the king's progenitors, every son was born when his father was twenty-five years old, which is as early as can be supposed, one with another. According to this supposition, there were four generations in every hundred years: i. e. in those sixteen hundred and eighty-three years, there were sixty-seven generations; which sixty-seven, added to the foregoing seventy-four, will make no more than a hundred and forty one." Hallet on Heb. xi. 7. note a. p. 17. Comp. Goguet, vol. iii. diss. iii. pr. Bryant's Analysis, *passim*.

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our own plain accounts still more and more confirmed: whence we may be convinced, that both the peopling and cultivation of the earth arose at first from a few low beginnings; that it very gradually spread itself from some one centre;[1] and that it has at all times proceeded by pretty near the same slow regular steps as it does at present."[2]

Sir William Jones has shown that the traditions of the present heathen nations of Asia are not of more authority than the traditions of the ancient nations of Asia and Europe. "We find," he says, "no certain monument or even probable tradition of nations planted, empires and states raised, laws enacted, cities built, navigation improved, commerce encouraged, arts invented, or letters contrived, above twelve or at most fifteen or sixteen centuries before the birth of Christ." And it is a well known *fact*, that for the first thousand years of that period we have no history unmixed with fable, except that of the turbulent and variable, but eminently distinguished nation descended from Abraham. The Chinese do not pretend that any historical monument existed among them, in the age of Confucius, more ancient than eleven hundred years before the Christian epoch. And the researches of those who are most deeply skilled in the literature and antiquities of the Hindoos, have shown that the dawn *of true* Indian history appears only three or four centuries before the Christian æra; the preceding ages being clouded by allegory or fable.[3]

[ii.] The *late Invention and Progress of Arts and Sciences* also concur to confirm the Mosaic history of the antediluvians: for, as the Jewish legislator mentions little of their arts, so it appears from the late invention of these *after* the flood that those who were preserved from it were possessed but of few arts.

Since the history of past ages has been more narrowly examined, it has been proved that the ancients were far less knowing and expert, than, by a superstitious reverence for every thing remote, we once were accustomed to suppose. Some of them, indeed, have described their knowledge in lofty strains, and perhaps for their times, and in comparison with some of their neighbours, it may have been considerable: and yet it is more than probable that such accounts are chiefly owing to their ignorance of the true state of mankind. This is particularly the case with the Egyptians, whose learning has been so much extolled. Though this country has been styled the Mother of Arts, as well as Mistress of Religion, and was, no doubt, as early polished as most countries; yet if we be allowed to judge of her improvement in other parts of science, from that most important one, and that which in all reason should have been most cultivated, viz. that of *medicine*, of which she also claims the first invention, we shall not have much room to admire her highest advances. "It must evidently appear," says a learned writer, "that the Egyptians could have no such physician in the days of Moses, as Diodorus and Herodotus seem to suppose: it is much more probable that long after these times, they were like the Babylonians, entirely destitute of persons skilful in curing any diseases that might happen amongst them; and that the best method they could think of, after consulting their oracles, was, when any one was sick, to have as many persons see and speak to him as possibly could; so that if any one who saw the sick person had had the like distemper, he might say what was proper to be done in that condition."[4]

The pretences which the Egyptians made to antiquity, so much beyond the times recorded in the Scriptures, proceeded from their calculating by lunar years or months; or from their reckoning the dynasties of their kings in succession, which were contemporary. For Herodotus[5] mentions twelve Egyptian kings reigning at one time. They had such different accounts, however, of chronology, that, as it is affirmed, some of them computed about thirteen thousand years more than others, from the original of their dynasties to the time of Alexander the Great.[6] The solar year, in use among the Egyptians, who were most celebrated for astronomy, was so imperfect, that they said the sun had several times changed its course since the beginning of their dynasties; imputing the defect of their own computation to the sun's variation; or else affecting to speak something wonderful and extravagant. And Cassini has found the account of eclipses, at the beginning of Diogenes Laertius, to be false; which is a further confutation of the fabulous pretences of the Egyptians to antiquity. The earliest astronomical observations to be met with, which were made in Egypt, are those performed by the Greeks of Alexandria, less than three hundred years before Christ, as Dr. Halley has observed;[7] and, since the recent discoveries in the Egyptian Hieroglyphics of our great archæologist Dr. Young, and of MM. Letronne and Champollion in France, it has been ascertained that the celebrated zodiacs of Esné and Dendera, to which some modern antagonists of divine revelation had assigned an incalculable antiquity, are *posterior to the time of Jesus Christ*, as well as the edifices on the ceilings of which they were painted![8]

The pretensions of the Chaldæans to profound attainments in science have been shown to be equally unfounded. According to Berosus, they supposed the moon to be a luminous body, whence it is evident that they could have no great skill in astronomy: besides, they wanted instruments for making exact calculations. All that remains of their boasted astronomical discoveries is only seven eclipses of the moon; and even those are but very coarsely set down, the oldest not being more than seven hundred years before Christ: whence it is evident that they had made but little progress in this science. And though Callisthenes is *said*, by Porphyry, to have brought observations from Babylon to Greece, upwards of nineteen hundred years older than Alexander; yet, as the proper authors of those observations neither made any mention nor use of them, this circumstance renders his report justly suspected for a fable.[9] So little ground is there for us to depend upon the accounts of time and the vain boasts of antiquity, which these nations have made.

The Greeks had their astronomy from Babylon;[10] and the Athenians had but three hundred and sixty days in their year, in the time of Demetrius Phalereus;[11] yet Dr. Halley further observes, that the Greeks were the first practical astronomers, who endeavoured in earnest to make themselves masters

[1] "This has been observed by Is. Casaubon in one respect, viz. in relation to language. 'Est enim verissimum,' says he, 'linguas cæteras eo manifestiori et magis expressa originis Hebraicæ vestigia servasse, et nunc servare, quo propius ab antiqua et prima hominum sede abfuerunt,' &c. A confirmation of it, in some other respects, may be had from the following *very remarkable* particular, as Hartley justly calls it: (Observ. on Man, vol. ii. p. 113.) 'It appears from history, that the different nations of the world have had, cæteris paribus, more or less knowledge, civil and religious, in proportion as they were nearer to, or had more intimate communication with Egypt, Palestine, Chaldæa, and the other countries that were inhabited by the most eminent persons amongst the first descendants of Noah; and by those who are said in Scripture to have had particular revelations made to them by God: and that the first inhabitants of the extreme parts of the world, reckoning Palestine as the centre, were in general mere savages. Now all this is utterly inexplicable upon the footing of infidelity; of the exclusion of all divine communications. Why should not human nature be as sagacious, and make as many discoveries, civil and religious, at the Cape of Good Hope, or in America, as in Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Greece, or Rome? Nay, why should Palestine so far exceed them all, as it did confessedly. Allow the Scripture accounts, and all will be clear and easy. Mankind after the flood were first dispersed from the plains of Mesopotamia. Some of the chief heads of families settled there, in Palestine and in Egypt. Palestine had afterwards extraordinary divine illuminations bestowed upon its inhabitants, the Israelites and Jews. Hence its inhabitants had the purest notions of God, and the wisest civil establishment. Next after them come the Egyptians and Chaldeans; who, not being removed from their first habitations, and living in fertile countries watered by the Nile, Tigris, and Euphrates, may be supposed to have preserved more both of the antediluvian and postdiluvian revelations; also to have had more leisure for invention, and more free communication with the Israelites and Jews than any other nations. Whereas those small parties which were driven farther and farther from each other into the extremities of heat and cold, entirely occupied in providing necessaries for themselves, and also cut off by rivers, mountains, or distance, from all communication with Palestine, Egypt, and Chaldæa, would lose much of their original stock, and have neither inclination nor ability to invent more.' Compare Bryant's Analysis, *passim*. Of the several arts, customs, religions, and civil institutions which first arose in Asia, see Conclusion of Mod. Hist. p. 120. fol. Any one that fairly examines history will find those accounts more probable, than that extraordinary supposition of Lord Bolingbroke, viz. that science may have come originally from west to east. Lord Bolingbroke's Works, vol. iv. p. 14."

[2] Bp. Law's Theory of Religion, pp. 238—241. 8vo. 1820.

[3] Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. iii. pp. 191. 145. 8vo. edit.

[4] Shuckford, Connect. book ix. p. 167. Bp. Law's Theory of Religion. p. 246.

[5] Lib. ii. c. 151.

[6] Diodor. Sic. lib. i.

[7] Wotton on Ant. and Mod. Learning, ch. 23. Jenkin's Reasonableness of Christianity, vol. i. pp. 335—337.

[8] Cellérier, de l'Origine Authentique et Divine de l'Ancien Testament, pp. 100—104. On the planisphere or zodiac of Dendera, M. Champollion discovered an evidently Roman title, that of ΑΤΟΚΡΤΡ, Αυτοκρατωρ, or *emperor*; which, most probably, may indicate Claudius or Nero, as both those sovereigns, in their medals struck in Egypt, are very often designated by that identical appellation. On prosecuting his researches still farther, M. Champollion read on that great edifice, in the ceiling of which that planisphere had been placed, the titles, names, and surnames of the emperors Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, and Domitian; and on the portico of Esné, the zodiac of which was reputed to be older than that of Dendera, by several ages, he read the imperial Roman names of Claudius and Antoninus Pius. Consequently these monuments, for which Volney and other infidel literati had claimed an incalculably remote antiquity, belong to that period when Egypt was under the domination of the Romans, and they cannot be dated earlier than the first or second century of the Christian æra. Groppo, Essai sur le Système Hiéroglyphique de M. Champollion, pp. 262, 263. Paris, 1829, 8vo.

[9] Dr. Halley, in Wotton's Observations on Learning, ch. 23. Stanley, in his History of Philosophy (pp. 757, 758. Lond. 1753), has shown that Porphyry's account is entitled to little credit; since there is nothing extant in the Chaldæan astrology more ancient than the æra of Nabonassar, which begins only 747 years before Christ.

[10] Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 109.

[11] Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiv. c. 6.

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of the science; and that Thales was the first who could predict an eclipse in Greece, not six hundred years before Christ; and that Hipparchus made the first catalogue of the fixed stars not above one hundred and fifty years before Christ.

According to the well known observation of Varro,[1] there was nothing that can deserve the name of history to be found among the Greeks before the Olympiads; which commenced only about twenty years before the building of Rome: and Plutarch informs us, how little the tables of the Olympiads are to be relied on.[2] Whatever learning or knowledge of ancient times the Romans had, they borrowed it from the Greeks. For they were so little capable of transmitting their own affairs down to posterity, with any exactness in point of time, that for many ages they had neither dials nor hour-glasses, by which to measure their days and nights, for common use; and for three hundred years they knew no such things as hours, or the like distinctions, but computed their time only from noon to noon.

The pretensions of the Chinese to antiquity appear equally vain, and upon the same grounds. They, too, understand little or nothing of astronomy. Indeed, they themselves confess that their antiquities are in great part fabulous, and they acknowledge that their most ancient books were in hieroglyphics; which were not expounded by any one who lived nearer than one thousand seven hundred years to the first author of them; that the numbers in computation are sometimes mistaken, or that months are put for years. But of what antiquity or authority soever their first writers were, there is little or no credit to be given to the books now remaining, since the general destruction of all ancient books by the Emperor Xi Hoam Ti. He lived only about two hundred years before Christ, and commanded, upon pain of death, all the monuments of antiquity to be destroyed, relating either to history or philosophy, especially the books of Confucius: and killed many of their learned men: so that from his time, they have only some fragments of old authors left.—The Chinese are a people vain enough to say any thing that may favour their pretences to antiquity, and love to magnify themselves to the Europeans; which makes them endeavour to have it believed that their antiquities are sufficiently entire, notwithstanding this destruction of their books. But the fact is well known to be otherwise:[3]—and, upon inspection, it was found that their instruments were useless; and that after all their boasted skill in astronomy, they were not able to make an exact calender, and their tables of eclipses were so incorrect, that they could scarcely foretell about what time that of the sun should happen.[4] In like manner, the boasted antiquity, claimed for the science and records of the Hindoos over those of Moses by some modern writers, has been fully exposed since scientific Europeans have become thoroughly acquainted with their language. "The Hindoos, perhaps the most anciently civilized people on the face of the earth, and who have least deviated from their originally established forms, have unfortunately no history. Among an infinite number of books of mystical theology and abstruse metaphysics, they do not possess a single volume that is capable of affording any distinct account of their origin, or of the various events that have occurred to their communities. Their Maha-Bharata, or pretended great history, is nothing more than a poem. The Pouranas are mere legends; on comparing which with the Greek and Latin authors, it is excessively difficult to establish a few slight coincidences of chronology, and even that is continually broken off and interrupted, and never goes back farther than the time of Alexander.[5] It is now clearly proved, that their famous astronomical tables, from which it has been attempted to assign a prodigious antiquity to the Hindoos, have been calculated backwards;[6] and it has been lately ascertained, that their Surya-Siddhanta, which they consider as their most ancient astronomical treatise, and pretend to have been revealed to their nation more than two millions of years ago, must have been composed within the seven hundred and fifty years last past.[7] Their Vedas, or sacred books, judging from the calendars which are conjoined with them, and by which they are guided in their religious observances, and estimating the epochs indicated in these calendars, may perhaps go back about three thousand two hundred years, which nearly coincides with the epoch of Moses.[8] Yet the Hindoos are not entirely ignorant of the revolutions which have affected the globe, as their theology has in some measure consecrated certain successive destructions which its surface has already undergone, and is still doomed to experience: and they only carry back the last of those, which have already happened, about five thousand years;[9] besides which, one of these revolutions is described in terms nearly corresponding with the account given by Moses.[10] It is also very remarkable, that the epoch, at which they fix the commencement of the reigns of the first human sovereigns of the race of the sun and moon, is nearly the same at which the ancient authors of the west have placed the origin of the Assyrian monarchy, or about four thousand years ago.[11]

From all these particulars it is evident how little credit is to be given to the pretences which the several nations among the heathens have made to antiquity, without any ground from history, but upon uncertain calculations of astronomy, in which science they actually had but little or no skill.

[iii.] The truth of the Mosaic history of the deluge is confirmed by the *Tradition* of it, which universally obtained. If such an event had ever happened, it is natural to expect that some traces of it will be found in the records of Pagan nations as well as in those of Scripture. Indeed it is scarcely probable, not to say possible, that the knowledge of so great a calamity should be utterly lost to the rest of the world, and should be confined to the Jewish nation alone. We find, however, that this is by no means the case: a tradition of the deluge, in many respects accurately coinciding with the Mosaic account of it, has been preserved almost universally among the ancient nations. It is indeed a very remarkable fact concerning the deluge, that the memory of almost all nations ends in the history of it, even of those nations which were unknown until they were discovered by enterprising voyagers and travellers; and that the traditions of the deluge were kept up in all the rites and ceremonies of the Gentile world. And it is observable, that the farther we go back, the more vivid the traces appear, especially in those countries which were nearest to the scene of action. The reverse of this would happen, if the whole were originally a fable. The history would not only be less widely diffused; but, the more remote our researches, the less light we should obtain; and however we might strain our sight, the objects would by degrees grow faint, and the scene would terminate in clouds and darkness. Besides, there would not have been that correspondence and harmony in the traditions of different nations, which so plainly subsisted among them: now this could not be the result of chance, but must necessarily have arisen from the same history being universally acknowledged. These evidences are derived to us from people who were of different ages and countries, and, in consequence, widely separated from each other: and, what is extraordinary, they did not know, in many instances, the purport of the data which they transmitted, nor the value and consequence of their intelligence. In their mythology they adhered to the letter, without considering the meaning; and acquiesced in the hieroglyphic, though they were strangers to the purport of it. With respect to ourselves, it is a happy

[1] Censorinus, De Die Natali, c. 21. [2] Plutarch, in Numa, initio.

[3] Martinii Hist. Sin.—Le Compte's Memoir.

[4] Jenkin's Reasonableness of Christianity, vol. i. pp. 339—343.; and see also Winder's History of Knowledge, vol. ii. chapters x—xx., where the facts above stated are confirmed by proofs. Additional testimonies to the late date and imperfect progress of knowledge among the Chinese may be seen in the facts and authorities collected by Bp. Law, in his Theory of Religion, pp. 243—245. note (z).

[5] Consult the elaborate memoir of Mr. Paterson, respecting the kings of Magadaha emperors of Hindostan, and upon the epochs of Vicramaditya and Salahanna, in the Calcutta Memoirs, vol. ix.

[6] See Expos. du Syst. du Monde, by Count Laplace, p. 330.

[7] See the Memoirs, by Mr. Bentley, on the Antiquity of the Surya-Siddhanta, in the Calcutta Memoirs, vol. vi. p. 537. and the Memoir by the same author on the Astronomical Systems of the Hindoos, ibid. vol. ix. p. 195.

[8] See the Memoir by Mr. Colebrooke upon the Vedas, and particularly p. 493., in the Calcutta Memoirs, vol. viii.

[9] Voyage to India by M. le Gentil, i. 235. Bentley in the Calcutta Memoirs, vol. ix. p. 222. Paterson in ditto, ibid. p. 86.

[10] Sir William Jones says, "We may fix the time of Buddah, or the ninth great incarnation of Vishnu, in the year 1014 before the birth of Christ. The Cashmirians, who boast of his descent in their kingdom, assert that he appeared on the earth about two centuries after Crishna, the Indian Apollo.——We have therefore determined another interesting epoch, by fixing the age of Crishna near the year 1214 before Christ. As the three first avatars or descents of Vishnu relate no less clearly to an universal deluge, in which eight persons only were saved, than the fourth and fifth do to the punishment of impiety and the humiliation of the proud; we may for the present assume that the second, or silver age of the Hindoos, was subsequent to the dispersion from Babel; so that we have only a dark interval of about a thousand years, which were employed in the settlement of nations, and the cultivation of civilized society." Works of Sir William Jones, vol. i. p. 29. London, 1799, 4to.

[11] Cuvier's Theory of the Earth, pp. 156—159. The extravagant priority claimed for the Hindoo records and sciences over the writings of Moses by M. Bailly and some other modern infidel writers, has been fully disproved by Count Laplace, in his Exposition du Système du Monde, pp. 293, 294. 4to. or vol. ii. pp. 253, 254. of Mr. Pond's English translation; and by Capt. Wilford, and Mr. Bentley, in their elaborate Memoirs on Hindoo Chronology, inserted in the fifth volume of the Calcutta Memoirs or Asiatic Researches. The subject is also considered by Mr. Carwithen in the second of his Bampton Lectures; but the most compendious view of it is to be found in Dr. Nares's Bampton Lectures, pp. 222—227. and especially his lucid and satisfactory note, pp. 256—273.; which, depending upon minute calculations and deductions, will not admit of abridgment.

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circumstance, not only that these histories have been transmitted to us, but also that, after an interval of so long a date, we should be able to see into the hidden mystery, and from these crude materials to obtain such satisfactory truths. We now proceed to notice a few of the most striking of these traditional narratives.

Thus Berosus, the Chaldæan historian, following the most ancient writings, as Josephus affirms,[1] has related the same things as Moses of the deluge, and of mankind perishing in it, and likewise of the ark in which *Nochus*, the restorer of the human race, was preserved, being carried to the summit of the Armenian mountains. Hieronymus the Egyptian, who wrote the antiquities of the Phœnicians, Nicolaus of Damascus, and many others, mention these things, as Josephus[2] also testifies. Further, there is a fragment preserved of[3] Abydenus, an ancient Assyrian historian, in which mention is made of the deluge being foretold, before it happened, and of the birds being sent forth three different times to see whether the earth was dried, and of the ark being driven into Armenia. He and others agree with Moses in the main circumstances, but in lesser particulars sometimes adulterate the truth with fabulous mixtures. Alexander Polyhistor, another ancient historian, is cited by Cyril[4] of Alexandria, together with Abydenes, and both to the same purpose. He says, *that in the reign of Xisuthrus* (the same as Noah) *was the great deluge; that Xisuthrus was saved, Saturn having predicted to him what should happen, and that he ought to build an ark, and, together with the fowls and creeping things, and cattle, to sail in it.*

Among the Greeks, Plato[5] mentions the great deluge, in which the cities were destroyed, and useful arts were lost; and suggests that there was a great and universal deluge before the particular inundations celebrated by the Grecians. He plainly thought that there had been several deluges, but one greater than the rest. Moreover, it was the tradition of the Egyptians, as Diodorus[6] informs us, that most living creatures perished in the deluge, which was in Deucalion's time. Ovid's[7] description of Deucalion's flood is so well known and remembered by every scholar, that it is needless to point out its identity with Noah's flood to any one who has received the least tincture of letters. Plutarch,[8] in his treatise of the sagacity of animals, observes, that a dove was sent out by Deucalion, which entering into the ark again, was a sign of the continuance of the flood, but afterwards flying away, was a sign of serene weather. Homer also plainly alludes to the particular of the rainbow,[9] by calling it a *sign* or *token* to men, τερας μεροπων ανθρωπων.

Lucian mentions[10] more than once the great deluge in Deucalion's time, and the ark which preserved the small remnant of human kind. He describes also the particulars of Deucalion's flood after the example of Noah's flood: the present race of men was not the first, but the former generation was all destroyed; this second race sprang from Deucalion; the former was a wicked and profligate generation, for which reason this great calamity befell them; the earth gave forth abundance of water, great showers of rain fell, and the rivers increased, and the sea swelled to such a degree, that all things were water, and all men perished: Deucalion alone was left for a second generation, on account of his prudence and piety; and he was preserved in this manner; he built a great ark, and entered into it, with his wife and children, and to him swine, and horses, and lions, and serpents, and all other creatures which the earth maintains, came in pairs: he received them all, and they hurt him not; on the contrary, there was by divine instinct great friendship among them, and they sailed altogether in the same ark, as long as the water prevailed. At the beginning, and in the conclusion, he professes to have received this account from the Grecians, so that he cannot be suspected of borrowing it from Scripture.[11]

The orthodox among the ancient Persians believed in a deluge, and that it was universal, and overwhelmed the whole earth. Similar traditions have prevailed in the east among the Hindoos, Burmans, and Chinese: of these, the tradition of the Chinese is particularly worthy of note, as it not only refers, both directly and indirectly, to the deluge itself, but also to the cause of it. The same tradition of a general flood is also to be traced among the ancient Goths and Druids, as well as among the Mexicans, Peruvians, Brazilians, and Nicaraguans; to whom may be added the very lately discovered inhabitants of Western Caledonia,[12] the Cree Indians, in the polar regions of North America,[13] the Otaheitans before their conversion to Christianity and also[14] the Sandwich Islanders.[15]

From these various evidences it is manifest, that the heathens were well acquainted with all the leading circumstances of the universal deluge; that their traditions (though largely blended with fable) bear a striking resemblance to the narrative of Moses; and that the moral certainty of that great event is established on a basis sufficiently firm to bid defiance to the cavils of scepticism. Instead, therefore, of asserting (as it has recently been asserted, contrary to all the evidence furnished by natural and civil history) that we have no sufficient evidence to induce us to believe that the deluge ever took place,—"let the ingenuity of unbelief *first* account satisfactorily for this universal agreement of the pagan world, and she may then, with a greater degree of plausibility, impeach the truth of the scriptural narrative of the deluge."[16]

Notwithstanding all these testimonies, the Mosaic history of the deluge has been objected to, as an improbable event, contrary to matter of fact.

Objection 1.—The ark (Gen. vi. 15, 16.) could not contain all the animals which are said to have entered it, together with the proper provisions for them during the time of the deluge.

Answer.—On accurate computation, the contrary has been proved; so that what was thought an objection becomes even an evidence for the truth of the Mosaic history. The dimensions of the ark were three hundred cubits in length, fifty in breadth, and thirty in height; and it consisted of three stories or floors. Reckoning the cubit at eighteen inches, Dr. Hales proves the ark to have been of the burthen of 42,413 tons. "A first-rate man-of-war is between 2200 and 2300 tons: and, consequently, the ark had the capacity or stowage of eighteen of such ships, the largest in present use, and might carry 20,000 men, with provisions for six months, besides the weight of 1800 cannons, and of all military stores. *Can we doubt of its being sufficient to contain eight persons, and about two hundred or two hundred and fifty pair of four-footed animals; a number to which, according to M. Buffon, all the various distinct species may be reduced*, together with all the subsistence necessary for a twelvemonth?" To these are to be added all the fowls of the air, and such reptiles and insects as cannot live under water.[17] Other calculations have been made, to show that the ark was of sufficient capacity for all the purposes for which it was designed; but as they are *larger* than that above given, they are here designedly omitted.[18]

Obj. 2. As the same causes must always produce the same effects, it is objected as an absurdity in the Mosaic history (Gen. ix. 13.), to speak of the rainbow as formed *after* the flood, and as the sign of a covenant *then* made; because, as that phenomenon results from the immutable laws of the refraction and reflection of the sun's rays in drops of falling rain, it is certain that the rainbow must have been occasionally exhibited from the beginning of the world.

Answer. But the original does not say that God set the rainbow in the clouds. The word translated, *I do* SET *my bow*

[1] Josephus contra Apion, lib. i. § 19. edit. Hudson.
[2] Joseph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 3.
[3] Abyd. in Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 12. edit. Vigeri.
[4] Cyril contra Jul. lib. i. p. 8. edit. Spanhemii.
[5] Plato de Leg. lib. iii. p. 677. tom. ii. Timæus, p. 23. tom. iii. edit. Serrani.
[6] Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 10. edit. Rhodomani. [7] Ovid. Metamor. lib. i.
[8] Plutarch, de Solertia Animalium, p. 968. tom. ii. edit. Paris, 1624.
[9] Iliad. xi. 28.
[10] Lucian in Timon, p. 59. De Saltatione, p. 930. tom. i. et de Syria Dea, p. 882, 883. tom. ii. edit. Benedicti.
[11] Bishop Newton's Works, vol. i. pp. 188—191.

[12] Harmon's Journal of Voyages and Travels in Western Caledonia, abridged in the Quarterly Review, vol. xxvi. p. 415.
[13] Capt. Franklin's Journey to the Polar Sea, p. 73. London, 1823. 4to. or vol. i. pp. 113, 114. 8vo. edit.
[14] Ellis's Polynesian Researches, vol. i. pp. 62, 63.
[15] Most of the above noticed traditions are given at length in Mr. Faber's Horæ Mosaicæ, vol. i. pp. 93—136. with references to various authorities for each. Mr. Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology (3 vols. 4to. or 6 vols. 8vo.), however, is the completest work on the subject of the deluge, as preserved in the traditions of the ancients; an abstract of his system is given in the Encyclopædias, Britannica, and Perthensis, article *Deluge*. Dr. Hales has concentrated the more important geological facts in his Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. pp. 327—337. But the reader who is desirous of prosecuting this subject, is referred to Mr. Howard's History of the Earth and Mankind, 4to.; Mr. Kirwan's Memoirs, in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vols. v. vi. and viii.; to Mr. Townsend's elaborate work on the Character of Moses as an Historian, 4to.; or to Mr. Parkinson's Organic Remains of a Former World, 4 vols. 4to.; and especially to M. Cuvier's great work on the same subject, of which Professor Jameson has given an interesting abstract at the end of Mr. Kerr's translation of Cuvier's Essay on the Theory of the Earth, pp. 229—267. Some very acute remarks and proofs on the subject of the deluge are also to be found in Dr. Nares's Bampton Lectures, serm. vi. pp. 293. *et seq.*
[16] Faber's Horæ Mosaicæ, vol. i. p. 136.
[17] Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 328.
[18] See Bp. Wilkins's Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language, part ii. c. 5. § 6. pp. 162—168. Calmet's, Robinson's, or Jones's Dictionaries of the Bible, article *Ark*, and Taylor's Scripture Illustrated, Expository Index, p. 13.

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in the cloud, may be (as indeed it ought to be) rendered, with great propriety, *I do* APPOINT *my bow in the cloud, to be a* sign or *token of the covenant between me and the earth;* and a fit sign it certainly was, because the patriarch knew that there never was, nor ever can be, a rainbow, but when there is sunshine as well as rain. "What purpose then was served by the rainbow? The very best purpose, so well expressed by the sacred historian, when he represents God as saying, *This is the token of the covenant, which I will make between me and you, and every living creature that is with you,* FOR PERPETUAL GENERATIONS; for natural and inanimate objects—such as pillars and heaps of stones—were considered as tokens, and even a kind of witnesses, in the contracts of all the civilized nations of remote antiquity. Of this we have several instances in the books of the Old Testament, but surely not one so apposite as that of the rainbow. Noah and his sons undoubtedly knew—either by the science of the antediluvian world, or by the immediate teaching of God—that the rainbow is a physical proof, as long as it is seen, that a general deluge is not to be dreaded: and therefore, if their minds, filled with terror and astonishment at what they had escaped, should ever have become fearfully apprehensive of a future deluge, the sight of the bow would immediately dissipate their fears. The science of Noah and his sons, which taught them the physical connection of the sign and the thing signified, was soon lost, with other truths of greater importance, when their descendants were scattered in small tribes over the face of the whole earth: but the remembrance of the flood, as well as some confused notions of the rainbow being a kind of information from the gods to men, appear to have been preserved by tradition among all nations; and thousands of pious Christians, without knowing any thing of the physical causes of the rainbow, consider it at this day as a token, and even a pledge (as in truth it is), that the earth will not again be destroyed by a deluge."[1]

OBJ. 3. If all mankind sprang from Noah, the second parent of the human race, it is impossible to account for the origin of the *blacks*, if the patriarch and his wife were *white*.

ANSWER. But this difference in colour does not invalidate the narrative of Moses: for it has been ascertained that the influence of climate, and the local circumstances of air, water, food, customs, &c. are sufficient to account for the dissimilarity which is discovered in the appearance of different nations. If *dogs*, taken to the frigid zone, grow shaggy; and if *sheep*, transported to the torrid zone, exchange their wool for hair, why may not the human species gradually partake of the influence of climate? as experience shows that it does.[2]

Man was formed to reside in all climates. "Man," says an eminent naturalist,[3] who was by no means a bigot in favour of the Scripture history, "though *white* in Europe, *black* in Africa,[4] *yellow* in Asia, and *red* in America, is still the same animal, tinged only with the colour of the climate. Where the heat is excessive, as in Guinea and Senegal, the people are perfectly black; where less excessive, as in Abyssinia, the people are less black; where it is more temperate, as in Barbary and Arabia, they are brown; and where mild, as in Europe and Lesser Asia, they are fair." In further corroboration of the influence of climate on the human complexion, we may remark, that there is a colony of Jews, who have been settled at Cochin on the Malabar coast from a very remote period, of which they have lost the memory. Though originally a fair people from Palestine, and from their customs preserving themselves unmixed, they are now become as black as the other Malabarians, who are scarcely a shade lighter than the negroes of Guinea, Benin, or Angola. At Ceylon, also, the Portuguese, who settled there only a few centuries ago, are become *blacker* than the natives: and the Portuguese, who settled near the Mundingoes, about three hundred years since, differ so little from them as to be called *negroes*, which they resent as a high indignity.

In short, to adopt the memorable conclusion of the indefatigable philosopher above cited (who deduced it after a minute inquiry from a great number of the best attested observations):—"From every circumstance, proof may be obtained, that mankind are *not* composed of species essentially different from each other, that, on the contrary, there was originally but one individual species of men, which, after being multiplied and diffused over the whole surface of the earth, underwent various changes, from the influence of climate, from the difference of food and the mode of living, from epidemical disorders, as also from the intermixture, varied *ad infinitum*, of individuals more or less resembling each other; that these alterations were at first less considerable, and confined to individuals; that afterwards, from the continued action of the above causes becoming more general, more sensible, and more fixed, they formed varieties of the species; and that these varieties have been and still are perpetuated from generation to generation, in the same manner as certain disorders and certain maladies pass from parents to their children."[4]

OBJ. 4 The peopling of America and of several islands, in which mischievous terrestrial animals are found, has also been urged as an objection against the universality of the deluge, and consequently against the credibility of the Mosaic history.

ANSWER. Modern geographical discoveries have removed the weight of this objection. The straits which divide North America from Tartary are so narrow as to admit a very easy passage from one continent to the other; and it is not impossible that they might even have been united by an isthmus, which the combined influence of time and the waves has demolished. The resemblance found between the inhabitants of the opposite sides of that passage and their uncivilized state and rude ignorance of the arts, prove them to have had one common origin.[6] So fully convinced was M. Buffon of this fact, long before the last and most important discoveries on the subject,[7] that he declares he has "no doubt, independently of every theological consideration, that the origin of the Americans is the same with our own."[8]

The parts of the new world which are disjoined from the others, and which have been represented by ignorance and infidelity as vast continents, are by the most recent and complete researches reduced to a few inconsiderable islands;[9] whose inhabitants were, in all probability, conveyed to their present settlements from islands[10] adjacent to the continent of Asia, from which continent all the inhabitants of the new world (excepting the Esquimeaux and a few other American tribes that are evidently descended from the Greenlanders) have migrated. Nor can it excite surprise, that we are unacquainted with the *circumstances* of their migration, when we consider that this event probably happened at no great distance from the time when our own ancestors set out from the same regions, to people the western world, by an opposite route.[11]

[1] Bp. Gleig's edition of Stackhouse's History of the Bible, vol. i. p. 204. note.

[2] The testimony of M. De Pages, who himself experienced this change, is particularly worthy of notice. In his travels round the world, during the years 1767—1771, speaking of his passage over the Great Desert, he says,—"The tribes, which frequent the middle of the desert, have locks somewhat crisped, extremely fine, and approaching the woolly hair of the negro. *My own*, during the short period of my travels in those regions, *became more dry and delicate than usual*, and receiving little nourishment, from a checked perspiration, *showed a disposition to assume the same frizzled and woolly appearance:* an entire failure of moisture, and the excessive heat of climate by which it was occasioned, seem to be the principal causes of those symptoms; my blood was become extremely dry, and *my complexion at length differed little from that of a Hindoo or Arab.*"—De Pages' Voyages, cited in Dr. Eveleigh's Bampton Lectures, pp. 276. 292.

[3] Count Buffon.

[4] *Black* is not the colour of the negro when first born. It is a remarkable fact, that the negro infant comes into the world WHITE, only with a yellowish tinge; and that it becomes progressively darker, until the tenth day, when it is perfectly black. Caillié, Voyage à Tembuctoo, tom. i. p. 65. Paris, 1830.

[5] Buffon's Nat. Hist. vol. i. p. 291. (Kenrick's and Murdoch's translation.) Dr. Hales has collected a number of very important observations, confirming the above remarks, and vindicatory of the Mosaic narrative, in his Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. pp. 358—363.—See also Dr. J. M. Good's excellent Lecture on the Varieties of the Human Race, in his Book of Nature, vol. ii. pp. 75—113. But the fullest discussion of the subject is to be found in the elaborate work of the American Professor, Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, entitled, "An Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species," 8vo. London, 1789. An abstract of the arguments adduced in this work may be seen in Dr. Rees's Cyclopædia, vol. ix. article *Complexion*. The descent of mankind from a single pair is clearly proved by Bp. J. B. Sumner, in his Treatise on the Records of the Creation, vol. i. pp. 286—317.

[6] The Esquimeaux resemble their neighbours on the north-west extremity of Europe; and the same resemblance is also found to subsist between the inhabitants of the north-east of Asia, and both the Americans opposite to them, and all the other Americans, except those few tribes, which, together with the Esquimeaux, appear to have descended from the Greenlanders. Robertson's History of America, vol. ii. pp. 45—49.

[7] Those of Captains Cook and King. The latter had an opportunity of seeing, *at the same moment*, the coasts of Asia and America. Cook and King's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 244.

[8] Buffon's Nat Hist. vol. i. p. 229.

[9] New Holland, though very considerable in size, is not at all so in its population. It was, however, known, in part, before the other islands above referred to.

[10] The inhabitants of these islands are supposed to have been all derived from the Malays. See the Introduction to Cook and King's Voyages, vol. pp. lxxi.—lxxiii. 4to and also pp. 116—202.

[11] Dr. Eveleigh's Bampton Lectures, p. 282. Respecting the peopling of North America, the reader may consult the researches of Dr. Robertson in his History of America, vol. ii. pp 25—49. and the Abbe Clavigero, in his History of Mexico, translated by Mr. Cullen, vol. ii. dissertation i. There are also some valuable hints on the origin of the North American Indians in "A Discourse on the Religion of the Indian Tribes of North America, delivered before the New York Historical Society, by Samuel Farmer Jarvis D.D." New York, 1820. 8vo.

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VIII. The first remarkable occurrence after the flood was the attempt to build the *Tower of Babel* (Gen. xi. 1—4.); and this is not omitted in pagan records.

Berosus, the Chaldee historian, mentions it, with the following additional circumstances, that it was erected by giants who waged war against the gods, and were at length dispersed, and that the edifice was beaten down by a great wind. According to Josephus, the building of this tower is also mentioned by Hestiæus, and by one of the ancient sibyls,[1] and also, as Eusebius informs us, by Abydenus and Eupolemus.[2] The tower of Belus, mentioned by Herodotus, is, in all probability, the tower of Babel, repaired by Belus II., king of Babylon, who is frequently confounded by the ancient historians with Belus I., or Nimrod. That it was constructed with burnt bricks and bitumen (as we read in Gen. xi. 3.) is attested by Justin, Quintus Curtius, Vitruvius, and other heathen writers, and also by the relations of modern travellers, who have described its ruins.[3]

IX. The *History of the* DESTRUCTION *of Sodom and Gomorrah*

Is expressly attested by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Solinus, Tacitus, Pliny, and Josephus; whose accounts mainly agree with the Mosaic narrative; and their reports concerning the physical appearance of the Dead Sea are confirmed in all material points by the relations of modern travellers.[4]

X. Berosus, Alexander Polyhistor from Eupolemus and Melo (writers more ancient than himself), Nicolaus Damascenus, Artapanus, and other ancient historians cited by Josephus and Eusebius, make express and honourable mention of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Joseph*, agreeing with the accounts of Moses; and Josephus states that Hecatæus wrote a book concerning Abraham, which was extant in his time, though it is now lost.[5]

XI. That Moses was not a mythological person (as has recently been affirmed, contrary to all history), but a real character and an eminent legislator, we have already shown in a preceding page.[6] To the testimonies there adduced, we may add, that the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, and their miraculous passage of the Red Sea, is attested by Berosus, Artapanus, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Numenius, Justin, and Tacitus. Of these, the testimonies of Artapanus and Diodorus are particularly worthy of notice.

According to Artapanus, the Heliopolitans gave the following account of the passage of the Red Sea:—"The king of Egypt, as soon as the Jews had departed from his country, pursued them with an immense army, bearing along with him the consecrated animals. But Moses having by the divine command struck the waters with his rod, they parted asunder, and afforded a free passage to the Israelites. The Egyptians attempted to follow them, when fire suddenly flashed in their faces, and the sea returning to its usual channel, brought an universal destruction upon their army."[7] A similar tradition, though less minutely particular, is mentioned by Diodorus, as subsisting even at the time when he wrote. He relates, that among the Ichthyophagi, the natives of the spot, a tradition is given, which is preserved from their ancestors, that by a great ebb of the waters, the whole bosom of the gulf became dry, disclosing its weeds, the sea rolling upon the opposite shore. But the bare earth having been rendered visible from the very bottom of the abyss, the tide returning in its strength restored the passage once more to its former condition.[8] Nor is the old tradition of the country even yet extinct. According to a learned and respectable modern traveller, the inhabitants of Corondel and its neighbourhood (on the eastern side of the Red Sea) to this day preserve the remembrance of the deliverance of the Israelites; which event is further confirmed by the Red Sea being called, by the Arabian geographers, the *sea of Kolzum*, that is, of destruction.[9] "The very country, indeed, where the event is said to have happened, bears testimony in some degree to the accuracy of the Mosaical narrative. Still is the scriptural *Etham* denominated *Etti*; the wilderness of *Shur*, the mountain of *Sinai*, and the country of Paran, are still known by the same names;[10] and *Marah*, *Elath*, and *Midian* are still familiar to the ears of the Arabs. The grove of Elim yet remains; and its twelve fountains have neither decreased nor diminished in number since the days of Moses."[11]

XII. Further, the HEATHEN WRITERS BORROWED IMAGES from the accounts communicated in the Scriptures, and attributed to their deities distinctions similar to those which are ascribed to the Divine Majesty, when God manifested himself to the world. Thus, both poets and historians represented the heathen deities to be veiled in clouds, as Jehovah appeared.

Many of their religious institutions were likewise evidently derived from the Mosaic appointments, as that of marriage and the observance of stated days, particularly of the Sabbath, among the Greeks and Romans, and, indeed, among almost all nations. The rite of circumcision, which was appointed by God as a sign of a distinctive covenant with Abraham, and designed to be expressive of spiritual purity,[12] was adopted by several nations not descended from that patriarch, as the Egyptians, Colchians, and others.[13] There are likewise other particulars in which the Greeks and Romans appear to have borrowed customs from the Jews. Thus, Solon, conformably to the Jewish practice, decreed that the time of the sun setting on the mountains should be deemed the last hour of the day. This law was copied into the laws of the twelve tables, and observed by the Romans; whose laws concerning the inheritance and adoption of children, retribution in punishment of corporeal injuries, and other points, seem to have been framed on principles sanctioned by Moses; and traces of resemblance between the Hebrew and Roman codes are still to be discovered in the Institutes of Justinian. The Jewish custom of orphan girls marrying their next of kin also obtained among the heathens. The appropriation of a tenth part of the spoils, of the produce of lands, and of other things, to religious purposes, is mentioned by many pagan writers. Lycurgus distributed the possession of lands by lot, and rendered them inalienable. Those feasts, in which servants were put on an equality with their masters, were apparently borrowed from the Jews, and from the feast of tabernacles: and the reverence which the Jews paid to the state of the moon also influenced the Lacedemonians, who are supposed to have been early connected with the Jews; and who, in consequence of their superstition, having delayed the march of their army till after the new moon, were thus deprived of participating in the honour of the celebrated battle of Marathon, as they did not arrive till the day after it had taken place.[14]

The preceding statements and facts are surely sufficient to satisfy any *candid inquirer*, that the principal facts related in the books of Moses do not depend upon his solitary testimony; but that they are supported by the concurrent voice of all nations. Upon what principle can this coincidence be accounted for, if Moses had not been a real person, and if the events recorded by him had not actually occurred?

XIII. Many other things, which the Old Testament relates to have happened, subsequently to the giving of the law until the Babylonish captivity, are to be found among profane writers. A few of these shall be adduced:—Thus,

[1] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. i. c. 4. (al. c. 5.) § 3.

[2] Eusebius, de Præp. Evang. lib. ix. c. 14.

[3] The testimonies above noticed are given at length by Mr. Faber, Horæ Mosaicæ, vol. i. pp. 146—179. See also Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. i. pp. 360—365. and Mr. Rich's Memoirs on the Ruins of Babylon, 8vo. 1818; and particularly Sir R. K. Porter's Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. vol. ii. pp. 308—322. where these ruins are described as they appeared in November, 1818.

[4] Diod. Sic. lib. xix. c. 98. tom. viii. pp. 418—421. edit. Bipont. Strabo, lib. xvi. pp. 1087, 1088. edit. Oxon. Solinus, c. 36. Tacitus, Hist. lib. v. c. 6. (al. 7.) Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. 16. lib. xxxv. c. 15. Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. iv. c. viii. § 4. Faber, vol. i. pp. 171—174.

[5] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. i. c. 7. Eusebius, Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cc. 17—22. The passages above referred to are given at length in Mr. Faber's Horæ Mosaicæ, vol. i. pp. 174—186.

[6] See pp. 24, 25. *supra*.

[7] Eusebius, Præp. Evang. lib. ix. c. 27. This circumstance (Mr. Faber remarks) of the Egyptians being struck with lightning, as well as being overwhelmed by the waves, is mentioned in Psal. lxxvii. 17., although unnoticed in the Pentateuch.

[8] Diod. Sic. lib. iii. c. 39. (vol. iii. p. 279. edit. Bipont.)

[9] Dr. Shaw's travels in Barbary and the Levant, vol. ii. pp. 99, 100. Edinb. 1808.

[10] Niebuhr's Travels, vol. i. pp. 189. 191.

[11] Faber, vol. i. pp. 189—191. See also Huet's Demonstratio Evangelica, prop. iv. vol. i. pp. 73—153., where very numerous additional collateral testimonies are given to the credibility of the Mosaic writings.

[12] Compare Gen. xvii. 12. Rom. ii. 28, 29. Phil. iii. 3.

[13] A modern opposer of the Bible has *affirmed*, contrary to all history, that the Jews borrowed the rite of circumcision from the Egyptians. From an obscure passage in Herodotus, who wrote several hundred years *after* Moses (and who collected his information from the Egyptian priests, whose extravagant claims to antiquity have long since been refuted), some learned men have *conjectured* that the Hebrews derived it from the Egyptians; but conjectures are not proofs. Indeed, so little dependence can be placed on the historical traditions of the Egyptians, the falsehood of which has been exposed by Sir John Marsham, that it is more than probable that the Egyptians derived it from the Hebrews or Ishmaelites; although, at this distance of time, it is impossible to account for the way in which circumcision became established among the Egyptians. It is, moreover, worthy of remark, that the practice of this rite among the Hebrews differed very considerably from that of the Egyptians. Among the former, it was a *religious* ceremony performed on the *eighth* day after the birth of the male child; but among the latter it was a point of mere decency and cleanliness, and was not performed until the thirteenth year, and then upon persons of both sexes. See Marsham's Chronicus Canon Ægyptiacus, and Spencer, de Legibus Hebræorum.

[14] Bp. Gray's Connection between Sacred and Profane Literature, vol. i. pp. 187—193. Huet. Demonstratio Evangelica, ut supra.

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1. From the story of Moses's rod (Exod. iv. 17.) the heathens invented the fables of the Thyrsus of Bacchus, and the Caduceus of Mercury.

2. The circumstance of *Jephthah's devoting his daughter* gave rise to the story of Iphigenia being sacrificed by her father Agamemnon.

3. The story of Scylla having cut off the purple lock of her father Nisus, king of Megara, and given it to his enemy, Minos (with whom he was then at war), and by that means destroyed both him and his kingdom, was in all probability taken from the history of *Samson's being shaved.*

4. When Herodotus, the father of profane history, tells us, from the priests of Egypt, that their traditions had informed them, that in very remote ages the sun had four times departed from his regular course, having twice set where he ought to have risen, and twice risen where he ought to have set; it is impossible to read this most singular tradition, without recollecting the narrative in the book of Joshua, which relates, "*That the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day;*" and the fact related in the history of Hezekiah, "*that the sun went back ten degrees, on the dial of Ahaz.*" The priests of Egypt professed to explain the revolutions of the Nile, the fertility of their country, and the state of public health, by the influence of the sun; and, therefore, in mentioning the unexampled traditional phenomena alluded to, they adverted to a circumstance, which to them appeared as remarkable as the facts themselves, that those singular deviations of the sun from his course had produced no sensible effects on the state of the river, on the productions of the soil, on the progress of diseases, or on deaths. The circumstances are not mentioned in the same form by Joshua and Herodotus, but they are in substance the same in both the narratives. And, supposing the traditions to have been founded on facts, it can scarcely be doubted that they relate to the same events; especially when we recollect, that where so much was ascribed to the influence of the sun, such remarkable deviations from the course of ordinary experience could not fail to be handed down through many ages.[1]

5. Eupolemus and Dius, as quoted by Eusebius and Grotius, mention many remarkable circumstances of David and Solomon, agreeing with the Old Testament history;[2] and Herodotus has a remarkable passage which evidently refers to the destruction of the Assyrians in the reign of Hezekiah, in which he mentions Sennacherib by name.[3] As we advance further to the Assyrian monarchy, the Scripture accounts agree with the profane ones rectified; and when we descend still lower to the æra of Nabonassar and to the kings of Babylon and Persia, who are posterior to this æra, and are recorded in Ptolemy's canon or series of them, we find the agreement of sacred and profane history much more exact; there being certain criteria in profane history for fixing the facts related in it. And it is remarkable, that not only the direct relations of the historical books, but also the indirect mention of things in the prophecies, correspond with the true chronology; which is an unquestionable evidence for their genuineness and truth.

The history contained in the Old Testament is throughout distinct, methodical, and consistent; while profane history is utterly deficient in the first ages, and full of fictions in the succeeding ages; and becomes clear and precise in the principal facts, *only* about the period when the Old Testament history ends: so that the latter corrects and regulates the former, and renders it intelligible in many instances which must otherwise be given up as utterly inexplicable. How then can we suppose the Old Testament history not to be genuine and true, or a wicked imposture to be made, and not only continue undiscovered, but even to increase to a most audacious height in a nation, that, of all others, kept the most exact accounts of time? It is further worthy of remark, that this same nation, who may not have lost so much as one year from the creation of the world to the Babylonish captivity, as soon as they were deprived of the assistance of the prophets, became the most inaccurate in their methods of keeping time; there being nothing more erroneous than the accounts of Josephus and the modern Jews, from the time of Cyrus to that of Alexander the Great: notwithstanding that all the requisite aids might easily have been borrowed from the neighbouring nations, who now kept regular annals. Whence it appears that the exactness of the sacred history was owing to divine assistance.[4] To the preceding considerations and facts we may add, that the manners of the persons mentioned in the Scriptures are characterized by that simplicity and plainness, which is also ascribed to the first ages of the world by pagan writers, and both of them concur to prove the novelty of the then present race, and consequently the deluge.

XIV. Lastly, the FERTILITY OF THE SOIL OF PALESTINE, which is so frequently mentioned in the Scriptures,

Is confirmed by the unanimous testimony of ancient writers,[5] as well as of most, if not all, the travellers who have visited that country.[6] Its *present* reduced and miserable state, therefore, furnishes no ground for the objection which some modern opposers of revelation have raised against the Bible. Were Palestine to be as well inhabited and as well cultivated as formerly, its produce would exceed all calculation.

Besides these attestations from natural and profane history, we may consider the Jews themselves as bearing testimony to this day, in all countries of the world, to the truth of their ancient history, that is, to the truth of the Old and New Testaments. *Allow* this, and it will be easy to see how they should still persist in their attachment to that religion, those laws, and those predictions which so manifestly condemn them, both in past times and in the present. Suppose, however, that any considerable alterations have been made in their ancient history,—that is, any such alteration as may answer the purposes of infidelity, and their present state will be *inexplicable.*[7]

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§ 2. TESTIMONIES OF PROFANE WRITERS TO THE CREDIBILITY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. *Testimonies of Jewish and Pagan Authors to the account of Princes and Governors mentioned in the New Testament.*—II. *Testimonies to the character of the Jewish Nation, which are either directly mentioned or incidentally alluded to therein.*—III. *Similar Testimonies to the Character of heathen Nations.*—IV. *Testimonies of Jewish Adversaries to the Name and Faith of Christ.*—1. *Of Josephus.*—2. *Of the Talmuds.*—V. *Testimonies of heathen Adversaries to the character of* Jesus Christ.—1. *Pontius Pilate.*—2. *Suetonius.*—3. *Tacitus.*—4. *Pliny the Younger.*—5. *Ælius Lampridius.*—6. *Celsus.*—7. *Porphyry.*—8. *Julian.*—9. *Mohammed.*—*Testimonies of heathen Adversaries to the doctrines, character, innocency of life, and constancy of the* First Christians *in the profession of their faith.*—1. *Tacitus, confirmed by Suetonius, Martial, and Juvenal.*—2. *Pliny the Younger and Trajan.*—3. *Celsus.*—4. *Lucian.*—5. *Epictetus, Marcus, Antoninus, Galen, and Porphyry.*—6. *Julian.*—VI. *Refutation of the objection to the Credibility of the Scripture History, which has been raised from the silence of profane historians to the facts therein recorded.*—*That silence accounted for, by the facts*—1. *That many of their books are lost.*—2. *That others are defective.*—3. *That no profane historians now extant take notice of all occurrences within the period described by them.*—4. *Reasons why they would slight the facts relating to Jesus Christ as fabulous.*—*Result of the preceding facts and arguments.*—*No history in the world is so certain as that related in the Old and New Testament.*

STRIKING as is the evidence for the credibility and truth of the facts and events related in the Old Testament, furnished by natural and civil history, the books of the New Testament are verified in a manner still more illustrious; these books being written, and the facts mentioned in them being transacted, during the times of Augustus, Tiberius, and the succeeding Cæsars. The learned and most exact Dr. Lardner has collected from profane writers a variety of important testimonies to the truth of the New Testament, in the first part of his "Credibility of the Gospel History," and also in his "Jewish and Heathen Testimonies;" from which elaborate works the following particulars are chiefly abridged. The results of his observations may be arranged

[1] Herodotus, Euterpe, pp. 144, 145. edit. Vallæ.

[2] Eusebius, Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cc. 30—34. 39—41. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. viii. c. 2.

[3] Lib. ii. c. 141.

[4] The various proofs of the facts above stated may be seen in Dr. Edwards on Scripture, vol. i. pp. 193—223. Sir H. M. Wellwood's Discourses, pp. 18 19. Hartley on Man. vol. ii. p. 116.

[5] See Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. v. c. 1. § 21. lib. xv. c. 5. §1. De Bell. Jud. lib. iii. c. 3. § 2. and Hecatæus in Josephus, contr. Apion. lib. i. § 22. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. 17. Tacitus, Hist. lib. v. c. 6. Justin, lib. xxxvi. c. and Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xiv. c. 26.

[6] See particularly the testimonies of Maundrell and Dr. Shaw, collected in Dr. Macknight's Harmony, vol. i. discourses vi. and vii. Dr. E. Clarke's Travels, part ii. pp. 520, 521 4to. or vol. iv. pp. 233—285. 8vo. edit. See also vol. ii. part i. chap. ii. sect. ii. § iii. *infra.*

[7] Hartley on Man, vol. ii. p. 117.

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under the following heads; viz. Testimonies of Jewish and Pagan authors to the account of princes and governors mentioned in the New Testament;—Testimonies to the character of the Jewish and heathen nations, which are either directly mentioned, or incidentally alluded to therein;—Testimonies of Jewish adversaries to the name and faith of Christ;—Testimonies of Pagan adversaries to the character of Jesus Christ, and also relative to the doctrines, character, innocency of life, and constancy of the first Christians in the profession of their faith.

I. Testimonies of Jewish and Pagan Authors to the Account of Princes and Governors mentioned in the New Testament.

Josephus and various heathen writers mention Herod, Archelaus, Pontius Pilate, and other persons, whose names occur in the New Testament; and they differ but little from the evangelical historians, concerning their offices and characters.

1. From the New Testament we learn that Jesus was born at Bethlehem of Judæa in the days of Herod the king; and Josephus informs us that a prince of that name reigned over all Judæa for thirty-seven years, even to the reign of Augustus. Concerning this Herod, Matthew (ii. 1—16.) relates that he commanded all the male children in Bethlehem and its immediate vicinity to be put to death; because he had heard, that in that place was born one who was to be the king of the Jews. To us, who are accustomed to the finer feelings of Christianity, this appears almost incredible; but the character of Herod, as portrayed by Josephus, is such a compound of ambition and sanguinary cruelty, as renders the evangelical narrative perfectly credible. Herod left three sons, Archelaus, Herod Antipas, and Philip, among whom his territories were divided. According to Josephus, Herod by his will appointed Archelaus to succeed him in Judæa, with the title of king; and assigned the rest of his dominions to Herod Antipas as tetrarch of Galilee, and to Philip as tetrarch of Trachonitis and the neighbouring countries; and, according to the narrative of Luke (iii. 1.), these two princes were tetrarchs in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar.

2. The will of Herod, however, being only partially confirmed by Augustus, Archelaus was appointed ruler over Judæa and Idumæa with the title of ethnarch, the regal dignity being withheld until he should deserve it. But Archelaus soon assumed the title; and Josephus, who has given us an account of this limitation, calls him the king that succeeded Herod, and has used the verb *reigning* with reference to the duration of his government. It likewise appears from the Jewish historian, that Archelaus was a cruel and tyrannical prince. All these circumstances attest the veracity of the evangelist Matthew, who says (ii. 22.) that when Joseph *heard that Archelaus did* REIGN *in Judæa, in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither, and turned aside into the parts of Galilee*, which were under the jurisdiction of Herod Antipas.

3. Luke relates (Acts xii. 1—3.) that Herod *the king stretched forth his hand to vex certain of the church, and that he killed James, the brother of John, with the sword, and because he saw that it* PLEASED *the Jews, he proceeded further to take Peter also.* The correctness of this statement is also confirmed by Josephus, from whom we learn that this Herod was a grandson of Herod the Great, whom the favour of the emperors Caligula and Claudius had raised to royal dignity, and to whom nearly all the territories that had been possessed by his grandfather were gradually restored. He was also exceedingly zealous for the institutions and customs of the Jews; and this zeal of his accounts for his putting James to death, and causing Peter to be apprehended. The death of this monarch is related by Luke and Josephus with so much harmony, that, if the latter had been a Christian, one would have certainly believed that he intended to write a commentary on that narrative. This haughty monarch had deferred giving an audience to the Tyrian and Sidonian ambassadors, who had solicited peace with him, until a certain day.[1] *And upon a set day*[2] *Herod, arrayed in regal apparel, sat upon his throne,*[3] *and made an oration unto them. And the people gave a shout, saying, "It is the voice of a God, and not of a man."*[4] *And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him,*[5] *because he gave not God the glory.*[6] *And he was eaten of worms,*[7] *and gave up the ghost* (Acts xii. 20—23.) Both historians relate the fact, as to the chief particulars, in the same manner. Luke describes the pride of the king, as well as the nature of his illness, more circumstantially; and omits a superstitious addition which is recorded by Josephus:—a proof that the former surpasses in fidelity, accuracy, and judgment, even this learned historian of the Jews.[8] Herod had three daughters, Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla; the last of whom, according to Josephus and Luke, was married to Felix, who was appointed governor of Judæa on the death of Herod.

4. According to the testimonies of Tacitus and Josephus, this Felix was an oppressive, avaricious, and tyrannical governor, who had persuaded Drusilla to abandon her lawful husband, Azizus, king of the Emesenes, and to live with him. It was not unnatural for such a man to tremble, when Paul *reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come*, and to hope that the Apostle would have given him money to liberate him. (Acts xxiv. 25, 26.)[9]

5. Luke (Acts xviii. 14—16.) gives an honourable character of the temper and manners of Gallio;[10] and this account is confirmed by Gallio's brother, the celebrated philosopher Seneca, who represents him as a man of a sweet and gentle disposition, and of much generosity and virtue.[11] Gallio is styled by the evangelical historian, in our translation, the *deputy*, but in the original Greek, the *proconsul* of Achaia.[12] The accuracy of Luke, in this instance, is very remarkable. In the partition of the provinces of the Roman empire, Macedonia and Achaia were assigned to the people and senate of Rome; but, in the reign of Tiberius, they were at their own request transferred to the emperor. In the reign of Claudius (A. U. C. 797, A. D. 44), they were again restored to the senate, after which time proconsuls were sent into this country. Paul was brought before Gallio, A. D. 52 or 53, consequently he was proconsul of Achaia, as Luke expressly terms him. There is likewise a peculiar propriety in the name of the province of which Gallio was proconsul. The country subject to him was all Greece; but the proper name of the province among the Romans was Achaia, as appears

[1] Josephus (Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 8. § 2.) has not mentioned this particular circumstance; but he informs us, that the termination of the king's life succeeded a festival which had been appointed in honour of the emperor Claudius. Hence we may conceive why Herod deferred to receive the ambassadors from Tyre and Sidon until that particular day, viz. that he might show himself with so much greater pomp to the people.

[2] Josephus determines this day expressly. It was the second day of the shows, which were exhibited at Cæsarea, in honour of the emperor.

[3] Josephus says that he came into the theatre, early in the morning, dressed in a robe or garment made wholly of silver (στολην ενδυσαμενος εξ αργυρου πεποιημενην ΠΑΣΑΝ) of most wonderful workmanship; and that the reflection of the rays of the rising sun from the silver gave him a majestic and awful appearance.

[4] In a short time (says Josephus) his flatterers exclaimed, one from one place and one from another (though not for his good), that "he was a God;" and they entreated him to be propitious to them, saying, "Hitherto we have reverenced thee as a man, but henceforth we acknowledge that thou art exalted above mortal nature."

[5] Josephus has here inserted a superstitious story, that Herod, shortly after, looking up, perceived an owl sitting on a certain cord over his head, which he held to be an evil omen. The *fact* itself he thus relates:—Immediately after, he was seized with pains in his bowels, extremely violent at the very first, and was carried to his palace!!

[6] The very same cause is assigned by Josephus, viz. Because the king had neither reproved his flatterers, nor rejected their impious adulation.

[7] Josephus has not described the disease so circumstantially: he relates that Herod died, worn out by the excruciating pain in his bowels. Luke states that *he was eaten of worms*. These narratives are perfectly consistent. Luke relates the *cause*, Josephus the *effect* of his disease; on the nature of which the reader may consult Dr. Mead's Medica Sacra, c. 5.

[8] Less on the Authenticity of the New Testament, pp. 314, 315.

[9] The proofs of all the above particulars are stated, at length, by Dr. Lardner, in his Credibility of the Gospel History, part i. book i. chap. i.—Works, vol. i. pp. 11—31. 8vo. or vol. i. pp. 9—20. 4to.

[10] From the conduct of Gallio on the occasion described by the evangelist Luke in Acts xviii. 14—16. the terms "Gallionism" and "Gallio like" have been invented, and are not unfrequently though erroneously used, to denote utter indifference to religion. But "that he took not cognisance of the cause which was brought before him proceeded not from his stupidity, indolence, or negligence, but from his *strict* adherence to the Roman laws."...."It is well known, that the affairs of religion were always a principal part of the care of the Roman magistrates and senate; and as they had many laws on that subject, so we frequently read of their execution. The true reason, why Gallio did not interpose in the affair brought before him, was, because the senate and emperors had by various decrees, and particularly the then reigning emperor Claudius, allowed the Jews every where under their dominion to govern themselves according to their own laws in all matters of religion. This being such, he esteemed it not of his cognizance: therefore he says (verse 15.) '*I will be no judge of such* matters:' had you accused this man of injustice, violence, or crimes against the state, I would willingly have heard you; but I am not sent here as a judge of your religious differences: these are to be rectified among yourselves." Biscoe on the Acts, p. 55. Oxford edition, 1829. p. 55.

[11] "Solebam tibi dicere, Gallionem fratrem meum (quem nemo non parum amat, etiam qui amare plus non potest), alia vitia non nosse, hoc etiam (*i. e.* adulationem) odisse.—Nemo enim mortalium uni tam dulcis est, quam hic omnibus.—Hoc quoque loco blanditiis tuis restitit, ut exclamares invenisse te inexpugnabilem virum adversus insidias, quas nemo non in sinum recipit." L. Ann. Seneca, Natural. Quæst. lib. iv. in præf. Op. tom. iv. p. 267. edit. Bipont. The learned John Selden, in a letter to Archbishop Usher, has collected the various passages, which are to be found in the ancient classic authors, relative to Gallio. Seldeni Opera. tom. ii. part ii. cols. 1712 and 1713.

[12] Γαλλιωνος ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ της Αχαιας. Acts xviii. 12.

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from various passages of Roman historians, and especially from the testimony of the Greek geographer Pausanias, which are given at length by Dr. Lardner.[1]

II. Equally striking with the preceding testimonies to the credibility of the New Testament history, is the agreement between the evangelical historians and profane writers, relative to the SECTS, MORALS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE JEWS.

1. Thus it appears from Josephus, that they enjoyed the free exercise of their religion, with the power of accusing and prosecuting, but not of putting any man to death. In consequence of this power, they importuned Pilate to crucify Jesus; and when he commanded them to take him and crucify him, they said, *It is not lawful for us to put any man to death.* (John xviii. 31.)

2. Further, it appears from Philo, Josephus, and other writers, that the Jews were dispersed into many countries, before the destruction of Jerusalem; and Luke tells us, in different parts of the Acts of the Apostles, that Paul preached in the Jewish synagogues at Antioch, Iconium, Thessalonica, Athens, Ephesus, and Rome.

3. The accounts related by the evangelists, of the sects of Pharisees, Saducees, and Herodians, as well as of the depravity of the Jewish nation, in the time of Christ, and of the antipathy that subsisted between the Samaritans and the Jews, are all confirmed by Josephus; and the Roman mode of treating prisoners, and crucifying criminals, as mentioned in the New Testament, is corroborated by the testimonies of Cicero, Plutarch, and other writers, who have incidentally mentioned it.[2] According to Luke's narrative (Acts ix. 36.), the person whom Peter raised from the dead at Joppa was named Tabitha or Doreas; and it appears from Josephus that this name was at that time in common use.[3] The same evangelist relates, that there was a great famine throughout the land of Judea, in the reign of the emperor Claudius (Acts xi. 28, 29.): Josephus also mentions this calamity, which began in the fourth year of that reign, but raged chiefly in the two following years; and says, that many persons died for want of means to procure food.[4]

4. When Paul was taken prisoner, in consequence of an uproar which the Jews at Jerusalem had excited against him, the Roman chiliarch, according to the relation of Luke (Acts xxi. 38.), asked him—*Art thou not that Egyptian, which before these days* (or a short time since) *madest an uproar, and leddest out into the wilderness four thousand men, that were murderers?* Josephus has recorded at length the transaction here incidentally mentioned. During the government of Felix, and consequently at the time alluded to by Luke, an Egyptian, who pretended to be a prophet, led into the wilderness several thousand men, and marched against Jerusalem, promising that the walls should fall down at his command. But Felix marched out of the city with a strong force, and attacked the impostor, who escaped with only a small part of his army. There is a remarkable agreement between the chiliarch or chief captain in the Acts and Josephus. The former says, *Art thou not* THAT EGYPTIAN? Josephus has nowhere mentioned the name of this man, but calls him THE *Egyptian*, and THE EGYPTIAN *false prophet.*[5]

5. In Acts vi. 9. the sacred historian "speaks of a synagogue at Jerusalem belonging to a class of persons whom he calls Λιβερτινοι" (in our version rendered Libertines), "a term which is evidently the same with the Latin *Libertini.* Now, whatever meaning we affix to this word (for it is variously explained)—whether we understand emancipated slaves, or the sons of emancipated slaves,—they must have been the slaves, or the sons of slaves to Roman masters: otherwise the Latin word *Libertini* would not apply to them. That among persons of this description there were many at Rome, who professed the Jewish religion, whether slaves of Jewish origin, or proselytes after manumission, is nothing very extraordinary. But that they should have been so numerous at Jerusalem as to have a synagogue in that city, built for their particular use, appears at least to be more than might be expected. Some commentators, therefore, have supposed that the term in question, instead of denoting emancipated Roman slaves, or the sons of such persons, was an adjective belonging to the name of some city or district: while others, on mere conjecture, have proposed to alter the term itself. But the whole difficulty is removed by a passage in the second book of the "Annals of Tacitus;"[6] from which it appears that the persons whom that historian describes as being *libertini generis*, and infected (as he calls it) with foreign—that is, with Jewish—superstition, were so numerous in the time of the emperor Tiberius, that four thousand of them, who were of age to carry arms, were sent to the island of Sardinia; and that all the rest of them were ordered, either to renounce their religion, or to depart from Italy before a day appointed. This statement of Tacitus is confirmed by Suetonius,[7] who relates that Tiberius disposed of the young men among the Jews, then at Rome (under pretence of their serving in the wars) in provinces of an unhealthy climate; and that he banished from the city all the rest of that nation, or proselytes to that religion, under penalty of being condemned to slavery for life, if they did not comply with his commands. We can now therefore account for the number of Libertini in Judea, at the period of which Luke was speaking, which was about fifteen years after their banishment from Italy.

III. The CHARACTERS AND PURSUITS OF THE HEATHEN NATIONS, which are incidentally introduced into the New Testament, are equally corroborated by the testimonies of profane writers.

1. The diligent investigation and pursuit of wisdom formed the general character of the Greeks.

Thus Paul declares,—*the Greeks seek after wisdom* (1 Cor. i. 22.): and this account of them is amply attested by all the authors of those times, who take notice of their avidity in the cultivation of philosophy and literature. Not to multiply unnecessary evidence, we may remark that there is a passage in Herodotus, which most strongly corroborates Paul's character of them. He says, that the Peloponnesians "affirm, that Anacharsis was sent by the Scythian monarch into Greece, for the express purpose of improving himself in *science*; and they add, that at his return he informed his employer, *that all the people of Greece were occupied in scientific pursuits, except the Lacedemonians.*"[8] To this general character of the Greeks, there are many allusions in the writings of Paul. He informs us, that they regarded the Christian doctrine with sovereign contempt, as *foolishness*, because it was not ornamented with wisdom of words, and with the figures and flowers of a vain and showy rhetoric; and he urges this very circumstance as a signal proof of the divine truth and authority of the Christian religion, that it made a rapid and triumphant progress in the world, and even among this very refined and philosophical people, though totally divested of all those studied decorations with which their several schemes of philosophy were so industriously embellished. Thus he tells the Corinthians that when he first published the Gospel among them, he studied not to ornament it by elegance of diction, or by the display of superior wisdom; for it was his fixed determination to disclaim all knowledge among them, except the knowledge of Jesus Christ and his crucifixion; that he appeared among them in tremour and diffidence, in a plain, artless, and undisguised manner; and that his public discourses did not recommend themselves by any elaborate persuasive arts of human erudition, but were confirmed to them by spiritual gifts and by miracles; so that their conviction of the truth of the Gospel did not stand in learned arguments philosophically expressed, but in the power of God.[9]

2. With regard to the ATHENIANS in particular, St. Paul represents them as very devout, greatly addicted to religious practices, and entirely devoted to the worship of the multiplicity of deities which they had received; and he takes notice that their city was full of idols. (Acts xvii. 22, 23.)

To the correctness of this description of the Athenian character, all antiquity bears testimony; and that they adopted the gods of all nations, and crowded into their capital all the divinities of the then known world. Their streets were encumbered with statues, so that it was said to be easier, at Athens, to find a god than a man.[10] The account given of the Athenians by St. Luke,—that *all the Athenians and strangers which were in their city spent their time in nothing else, but to tell or hear some new thing* (Acts xvii. 21.),—is confirmed by the testimony of Demosthenes,[11] who describes them as loitering about and i

[1] Lardner's Credibility, part i. book i. chap. i. § xii.—Works, vol. i. p. 32. 8vo. or vol. i. p. 20. 4to.

[2] The above noticed particulars are illustrated, *infra*, Vol. II. Dr. Lardner has treated them at full length in his Credibility, part. i. book i. chapters ii.—x. Works, vol. i. pp. 33—237. 8vo.; or vol. i. pp. 20—130. 4to.

[3] Otii Spicilegium ex Josepho ad Novi Testamenti illustrationem, pp. 272, 279. 8vo. Lug. Bat. 1741.

[4] Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. 2. *fine*, and c. 5. § 2.

[5] Lardner's Credibility, part i. book ii. chap. viii. Works, vol. i. pp. [illegible]—419. 8vo.; or vol. i. pp. 225—228. 4to.

[6] Annal. lib. ii. c. 85. Bp. Marsh Lectures, Part VI. p. 70.

[7] In Tiberio, c. 36.

[8] Herodotus, lib. iv. c. 77. tom. i. p. 277. Oxon. 1809.

[9] 1 Cor. ii. 1—5.

[10] Dr Harwood's introduction to the New Test. vol ii. p. 69.

[11] The passage of Demosthenes above alluded to occurs in his fi[illegible] oration against Philip king of Macedon, and is noticed by Longinus (se[illegible] 18.) as a fine specimen of the use of *interrogations* in the sublime.—[illegible]

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quiring in the places of public resort, if there be any news? Iamblichus passes a similar censure upon the Greeks in general.[1]

3. The general character of the CRETANS, noticed in Paul's epistle to Titus, is confirmed by the testimony of antiquity.

The Apostle, writing to Titus, who had been left in Crete to regulate the affairs of the Christian church in that island, complains of many disorderly men there,—*many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers, who subvert whole houses* (or families), *teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake* (Tit. i. 10, 11.); and he quotes the following verse from *one of themselves, a prophet of their own*, viz. Epimenides, who was a Cretan poet, and whose writings were by the ancients termed ΧΡΗΣΜΟΙ, or *oracles*.

Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.[2]

The general import of which passage is, that *the Cretans were a false people; and united in their character the ferocity of the wild beast with the luxury of the domesticated one.* The circumstance of Paul's styling Epimenides a *prophet* is sufficiently explained by the fact of the words *poet* and *prophet* being often used promiscuously by the Greeks and Romans,—probably because their poets pretended to be inspired, and were by some believed to be so. The Apostle adds, that the testimony of Epimenides is but too true,—*this witness is true.* How true the first part of it is, with respect to their deceit and lying, the following facts will attest. From the time of Homer, the island of Crete was regarded as the scene of fiction. Many authors affirm, that as a people, its inhabitants were infamous for their violation of truth; and at length their falsehood became so notorious, that Κρητίζειν, to *cretize*, or imitate the Cretans, was a proverbial expression among the ancients for LYING.

IV. THE TESTIMONIES FURNISHED BY JEWISH ADVERSARIES TO THE NAME AND FAITH OF CHRIST ARE FURTHER CORROBORATIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

1. THUS JOSEPHUS,—in a passage of his Jewish Antiquities, which the opposers of Christianity (unable to resist its force) have, contrary to all evidence, affirmed to be spurious,—bears the following testimony to the character, miracles, and doctrines of Jesus Christ.[3]

After relating a sedition of the Jews against Pontius Pilate, which the latter had quelled, he says,—"Now there was about this time Jesus a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he performed many wonderful works. He was the teacher of such men as received the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him many of the Jews, and also many of the Gentiles. *This was the Christ.* (Ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν)—And when Pilate, at the instigation of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those who had loved him from the first did not cease to adhere to him. For he appeared to them alive again, on the third day; the divine prophets having foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe (or sect) of Christians, so named from him, subsists to this time."

2. The TALMUDS,[4] though blended with much falsehood, and with malicious insinuations against Jesus Christ, refer to his nativity, relate his journey into Egypt, and do not deny that he performed numerous eminent miracles.

But they absurdly ascribe them to his having acquired the right pronunciation of the Shemmaphoresh, or the ineffable name of God, which (they say) he clandestinely stole out of the temple; or they impute it to the magic arts, which he learnt in Egypt (whence they affirm that he brought them, having inserted them in his flesh), and exercised with greater dexterity than any other impostor ever did! They call him Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Mary, the daughter of Eli, whose son he was without the knowledge of her husband. After this, they say, he fled into Egypt, and there learned those magic arts, by which he was enabled to perform all his miracles. Again, they own two witnesses were suborned to swear against him, and declare that he was crucified on the evening of the passover. Mention is also made in these writings of several of his disciples, of Matthew, Thaddæus, and Bauni, the name of him who was afterwards called Nicodemus, and of whom, as a very great, and good, and pious ruler, much is related in these books. In one of them Eliezer tells his friend Akiba, that he met with James, a disciple of Jesus of Nazareth, in Zippor, a town in Galilee; who gave him the interpretation of a passage in the Old Testament, which he had received from Jesus, and with which Eliezer was at that time pleased. That the disciples of Jesus had the power of working miracles, and the gift of healing, in the name of their Master, is confessed by these Jews; who give an instance of it in the grandson of Rabbi Joshua, the son of Levi, who being in great danger, one of the disciples came and would have cured him in the name of Jesus. This power is again acknowledged in the case of the son of Dama, grandson of Ishmael, who was dying of the bite of a serpent, when James, the same who had the conference with Eliezer, came and offered to cure the young man, but the grandfather forbad it, and he died. In a much later work of the Jews (the Toledoth Jesu), and that the most virulent of all the invectives against Jesus, his power of raising from the dead, and healing leprous persons, is repeatedly acknowledged.[5] Further, it appears from the Talmuds, that Christ was put to death on the evening of the passover, and that a crier preceded him for forty days, proclaiming, "This man comes forth to be stoned, because he dealt in sorcery, and persuaded and seduced Israel." But the Talmudical acknowledgments of the miracles, of his preaching, and of his suffering as a malefactor, are blended with most virulent aspersions of his character, of his mother Mary, and also of the Christians.[6] The falsehood of these assertions has been well exposed by Professor Vernet.[7] Concerning the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus, the testimony of the Talmuds is very valuable.

V. Nor are the testimonies of heathen adversaries to Christianity less explicit or less satisfactory than those stated in the preceding pages: these may be arranged under two classes, viz. 1. Testimonies to the life and character of Jesus Christ, and, 2. Testimonies relative to the Christians.

1. TESTIMONIES TO THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF JESUS CHRIST.

(1.) PONTIUS PILATE.—The ancient Romans were particularly careful to preserve the memory of all remarkable events which happened in the city; and this was done either in their *Acts of the Senate* (*Acta Senatûs*), or in the *Daily Acts of the People* (*Acta Diurna Populi*,) which were diligently made and kept at Rome.[8] In like manner, it was customary for the governors of provinces to send to the emperor an account of remarkable transactions that occurred in the places where they resided, which were preserved as the *acts* of their respective governments. In conformity with this usage, Pilate kept memoirs of the Jewish affairs during his procuratorship, which were therefore called *Acta Pilati*. Referring to this usage, Eusebius says—"Our Saviour's resurrection being much talked of throughout Palestine, Pilate informed the emperor of it, as likewise of his miracles, of which he had heard; and that, being raised up after he

it," says the orator,—"Is it your sole ambition to wander through the public places, *each inquiring of the other*, 'WHAT NEWS?' Can any thing be more new, than that a man of Macedon should conquer the Athenians, and give law to Greece?"—[Oratores Græci, a Reiske, tom. i. p. 43.] Towards the close of Demosthenes's oration on Philip's Letter to the Athenians, the orator, speaking of the successes of Philip, has the following passage:—"Now is it that, in the late war, his arms had such superior fortune? This is the cause [for I will speak with undaunted freedom], he takes the field himself; endures its toils and shares its dangers; no favourable incident escapes him. While *we* [for the truth must not be concealed] are confined within our walls in perfect inactivity, delaying, and voting, *and inquiring in the public places, whether there is* ANY THING NEW? Can any thing better deserve the name of *news*, than that a Macedonian should insult Athens?" [Ibid. pp. 186, 187.] The modern Athenians are not less inquisitive than their ancestors. See an instance in Mr. Hughes's Travels in Sicily, &c. vol. ii. p. 268.

[1] *They are*, says this philosopher, greatly addicted to novelty, perpetually running about from one place to another in pursuit of it,—unstable, and without ballast. Iamblichus, De Mysteriis, sect. vii. § 5.

[2] *Epimenides*, apud Fabricii Bibliothec. Græc. lib. i. c. 6. § 2. Harwood's Introduction to the New Test. vol. ii. pp. 70, 71. Dodd's Translation of Callimachus's Hymns, p. 3. note, where it is shown that Paul did *not* cite Callimachus, as some learned men have thought; and some additional testimonies, from classic authors, are produced, for the bad character of the ancient Cretans.

[3] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 3. § 3. That the passage referred to is genuine, see the Appendix to this volume, No. VII. *infra*.

[4] The Talmuds are two in number, and consist of two parts, viz. the *Mishna* and the *Gemara*.—The Mishna is a collection of Jewish traditions, which were committed to writing by Rabbi Jehudah, surnamed *Hakkadosh* or the *Holy*, about the middle of the second century. On this there are extant two commentaries, by the Jews, called *Gemara*, i. e. perfection; viz. that of Jerusalem; which was compiled in the third or fourth century, and that of Babylon, compiled in the sixth century. When the Mishna or text, and the *Gemara* or commentary, accompany each other, they are called the *Talmud*; and accordingly as the Jerusalem or Babylonish commentary accompanies the Mishna, it is called the Jerusalem or Babylonish Talmud. See a full account of them, *infra*, Part II. Book I. Chap. II. Sect. III. § 6. II.

[5] Dr. Gregory Sharpe's Argument in Defence of Christianity taken from the concessions of the most ancient adversaries, pp. 40—63. (London, 1755, 8vo.) In the notes he has given the passages from the Talmudical writers at length, in Hebrew and English.

[6] Dr. Lardner's Jewish Testimonies, chap. v. Works, vol. vii. pp. 138—161. 8vo. or vol. iii. pp. 547—560. 4to.

[7] In his Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne, tom. x. pp. 253—264.

[8] See a further account of these *Acta* in Adams's Roman Antiquities, p. 19

had been put to death, he was already believed by many to be a God."[1] These accounts were never published for general perusal, but were deposited among the archives of the empire, where they served as a fund of information to historians. Hence we find, long before the time of Eusebius, that the primitive Christians, in their disputes with the Gentiles, appealed to these acts of Pilate as to most undoubted testimony. Thus, Justin Martyr, in his first apology for the Christians, which was presented to the emperor Antoninus Pius and the senate of Rome, about the year 140, having mentioned the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, and some of its attendant circumstances, adds,—"*And that these things were so done, you may know from the* ACTS *made in the time of* PONTIUS PILATE." Afterwards, in the same apology, having noticed some of our Lord's miracles, such as healing diseases and raising the dead, he says,—"*And that these things were done by him, you may know from the* ACTS *made in the time of* PONTIUS PILATE."[2]

The learned Tertullian, in his Apology for Christianity, about the year 200, after speaking of our Saviour's crucifixion and resurrection, and his appearance to the disciples, and ascension into heaven in the sight of the same disciples, who were ordained by him to publish the Gospel over the world, thus proceeds:—"*Of all these things relating to Christ*, PILATE *himself*, in his conscience already a Christian, SENT AN ACCOUNT *to Tiberius*, then emperor."[3] The same writer, in the same Apology, thus relates the proceedings of Tiberius on receiving this information:—"There was an ancient decree that no one should be received for a deity, unless he was first approved by the senate. Tiberius, in whose time the Christian name" (or religion) "had its rise, having received from Palestine in Syria, an account of such things as manifested the truth of his" (Christ's) "divinity, proposed to the senate that he should be enrolled among the Roman gods, and gave his own prerogative vote in favour of the motion. But the senate"—(without whose consent no deification could take place)—"rejected it, because the emperor himself had declined the same honour. Nevertheless, the emperor persisted in his opinion, and threatened punishment to the accusers of the Christians. *Search* YOUR OWN COMMENTARIES (or public writings), *you will there find that Nero was the first who raged with the imperial sword against this sect, when rising most at Rome.*"[4] These testimonies of Justin and Tertullian are taken from public apologies for the Christian religion, which were presented either to the emperor and senate of Rome, or to magistrates of public authority and great distinction in the Roman empire. Now it is incredible that such writers would have made such appeals, especially to the very persons in whose custody these documents were, had they not been fully satisfied of their existence and contents.

(2.) SUETONIUS, a Roman historian who flourished in the reign of the emperor Trajan, A. D. 116, refers to Christ, when he says that "Claudius Cæsar expelled the Jews from Rome, because they raised continual tumults at the instigation of Christ,"[5] who (it is well known) was sometimes called Chrestus, and his disciples Chrestians.[6] This event took place A. D. 52, within *twenty* years after the crucifixion.

(3.) TACITUS, the historian, who also flourished under Trajan, A. D. 110, when writing the history of Nero (Claudius's successor), and speaking of the Christians, A. D. 64, says that "the author of that (sect or) name was Christus, who in the reign of Tiberius was punished with death, as a criminal, by the procurator Pontius Pilate."[8] And,

(4.) The younger PLINY, in his celebrated letter to Trajan, written A. D. 107, says that Jesus was worshipped by his followers as God.—"They sing among themselves, alternately, a hymn to Christ as to God."[8]

(5.) The historian ÆLIUS LAMPRIDIUS relates, that the emperor Alexander Severus (who reigned from A. D. 222 to 235), had two private chapels, one more honourable than the other; and that in the former "were the deified emperors, and also some eminently good men, and among them Apollonius, and as a writer of his time says, *Christ*, Abraham, and Orpheus (whom he considered as deities), and the images of his ancestors."[9] The same historian adds, that the emperor "wished to erect a temple to Christ, and to receive him among the gods. But he was forbidden by those who consulted the oracles, they having found that, if that was done, all men would become Christians, and the other temples be forsaken."[10]

(6.) CELSUS, one of the bitterest antagonists of Christianity, who wrote in the latter part of the second century, speaks of the founder of the Christian religion as having lived but a very few years before his time, and mentions the principal facts of the Gospel history relative to Jesus Christ,—declaring that he had copied the account from the writings of the evangelists. He quotes these books (as we have already had occasion to remark),[11] and makes extracts from them as being composed by the disciples and companions of Jesus, and under the names which they now bear. He takes notice particularly of his incarnation; his being born of a virgin; his being worshipped by the magi; his flight into Egypt, and the slaughter of the infants. He speaks of Christ's baptism by John, of the descent of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, and of the voice from heaven, declaring him to be the Son of God; of his being accounted a prophet by his disciples; of his foretelling who should betray him, as well as the circumstances of his death and resurrection. He allows that Christ was considered as a divine person by his disciples, who worshipped him; and notices all the circumstances attending the crucifixion of Christ, and his appearing to his disciples afterwards. He frequently alludes to the Holy Spirit, mentions God under the title of the Most High, and speaks collectively of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. He acknowledges the miracles wrought by Jesus Christ, by which he engaged great multitudes to adhere to him as the Messiah. That these miracles were really performed, he NEVER disputes or denies, but ascribes them to the magic art, which (he says) Christ learned in Egypt.[12]

(7.) PORPHYRY, another learned antagonist of Christianity, who flourished about a century after Celsus, has also borne evidence to the genuineness of the books received by the Christians.[13] He not only allowed that there was such a person as Jesus Christ, but also honoured him as a pious person, who was conveyed into heaven, as being approved by the gods.[14]

(8.) About the middle of the fourth century reigned the

[1] Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. ii. c. 2.

[2] Justin Martyr, Apol. prima, pp. 65. 72. edit. Benedict.

[3] Tertullian, Apologia, c. 21.

[4] Tertullian, Apol. c. 5. To Tertullian's account, Eusebius adds, that Tiberius threatened the accusers of the Christians with the punishment of death: and he considers this interference of the Roman emperor as *providentially* designed to promote the propagation of the Gospel, in its infancy, without molestation; while both he and Chrysostom consider the remarkable refusal of the Roman senate to deify Christ, as equally owing to the control of Divine Providence, in order that the Divinity of Christ might be established, not by human authority, but by the mighty power of God; and that Jesus might not be ranked or associated among the many infamous characters who were deified by the Romans. Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 2. Chrysostom, Homil. 26. in 2 Cor. Op. tom. x. p. 624. A. The originals of all the preceding passages are given by Dr. Lardner, who has investigated the subjects of the acts of Pilate, and his letter to Tiberius, with his accustomed minuteness and accuracy. See Heathen Testimonies, chap. ii. Works, vol. vii. pp. 231—244. 8vo.; or vol. iii. pp. 599—606. 4to. The same subject is also copiously treated by Vernet, in his Traite de la Vérite de la Religion Chrétienne, tom. ix. pp. 283—354.

[5] Judæos, impulsore Chresto, assidue tumultuantes Româ expulit. Suetonius, in Claudio. c. 25. Though the Jews alone are mentioned by the historian, yet, from the nature of the thing, we understand that Christians were comprehended in it; for the first professors of Christianity being of the *Jewish nation* were for some time confounded with the disciples of Moses, and participated in all the hardships that were imposed on them. Accordingly, in Acts xviii. 2. we read of Aquila and Priscilla, two Jewish Christians, who had been banished from Rome by the above-mentioned edict of Claudius. The historian attributes the tumults of the Jews in that city to the instigation of Christ; but the true state of the affair was this:—The admission of the Gentiles into the Christian church without subjecting them to the institutions of Moses, giving great offence to the Judaizing Christians at Rome, they joined their unbelieving brethren in opposing, not only the Gentile converts, but also such of their own nation as espoused their cause. Of all nations, the Jews were the most fierce and obstinate in their religious disputes; and the preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles was particularly offensive to them. In Asia Minor and in Greece they opposed it by main force, as we learn from Acts xvi.—xviii. whence it is highly probable that in this quarrel they proceeded to similar outrages at Rome also. Macknight's Credibility of the Gospel History, p. 300. The decree above noticed, which was issued, not by the *senate*, but by the emperor Claudius himself, continued in force only during his life, if so long; for, in no long time after this, Rome abounded again with Jews.

[6] Perperam *Chrestianus* pronunciatur à vobis. Tertullian, Apol. c. 3. Sed exponenda hujus nominis ratio est, propter ignorantium errorem, qui cum immutatâ literâ *Chrestum* solent dicere. Lactantius, Instit. Divin. lib. iv. c. 7. Lucian, or the author of the dialogue entitled Philopatris, which is ascribed to him, also calls Jesus, *Chrestus*. Lardner, vol. viii. p. 78. 8vo. or vol. iv. p. 154. 4to.

[7] Auctor nominis ejus Christus, qui Tiberio imperante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat. Tacit. Annal. lib. xv. c. 44.

[8] Carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem. Plin. Epist. lib. x. ep. 97. tom. ii. p. 128. edit. Bipont.

[9] Lampridius, in vitâ Severi, c. 29. apud Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores vol. i. p. 278. edit. Bipont.

[10] Ibid. c. 43. vol. i. p. 290.

[11] See pp. 46, 47. *supra*.

[12] Lardner's Heathen Testimonies, chap. xviii. Works, vol. viii. pp. 3[illegible]69. 8vo. or vol. iv. pp. 113—149. 4to.

[13] See p. 47. *supra*.

[14] Lardner's Heathen Testimonies, chap. xxxvii. Works, vol. viii. pp. [illegible]—248. 8vo.; or vol. iv. pp. 209—250. 4to.

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emperor JULIAN. It is a remarkable fact, that this very learned and inveterate enemy of the Christian name and faith could produce *no* counter evidence in refutation of the truth of the evangelical history, though (as we have already seen)[1] he attests the genuineness and early date of the four Gospels; and that he never attempted to deny the reality of Christ's miracles. Jesus, he says, did nothing worthy of fame, unless any one can suppose that curing the lame and the blind, and exorcising demons in the villages of Bethsaida, are some of the greatest works. He acknowledges that Jesus had a sovereign power over impure spirits; that he walked on the surface of the deep, and expelled demons. He endeavours to depreciate these wonderful works, but in vain. The consequence is undeniable; such works are good proofs of a divine mission.[2]

(9.) Lastly, to omit the very numerous intervening testimonies that might be adduced, MOHAMMED (who lived in the latter end of the fifth and the former part of the sixth century), though he assumed the honour of delivering to mankind a new revelation, expressly acknowledged the authority of the Gospels. He speaks of Jesus Christ and of his mother by their names, and calls him the Word of God. He says, that he was miraculously born of a virgin; acknowledges the truth of his miracles and prophecies; and speaks of his death and ascension, of his apostles, of the unbelief of the Jews, of Zecharias the father of John the Baptist, and of the Baptist himself, describing his character in a manner perfectly conformable to the Gospels.[3]

2. TESTIMONIES OF HEATHEN ADVERSARIES TO THE LIVES AND CHARACTERS OF THE FIRST CHRISTIANS.

(1.) The first persecution of the Christians was raised by the emperor Nero, A. D. 65, that is, about thirty years after the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. Concerning this persecution, we have the testimonies of two Roman historians, Tacitus and Suetonius.

TACITUS was contemporary with the apostles. Relating the great fire at Rome, in the tenth year of Nero's reign, he says, that the people imputed that calamity to the emperor, who (they imagined) had set fire to the city, that he might have the glory of rebuilding it more magnificently, and of calling it after his own name; but that Nero charged the crime on the Christians, and, in order to give the more plausible colour to this calumny, he put great numbers of them to death in the most cruel manner. With the view of conciliating the people, he expended great sums in adorning the city, he bestowed largesses on those who had suffered by the fire, and offered many expiatory sacrifices to appease the gods. The historian's words are:—"But neither human assistance, nor the largesses of the emperor, nor all the atonements offered to the gods, availed: the infamy of that horrible transaction still adhered to him. To suppress, if possible, this common rumour, Nero procured others to be accused, and punished with exquisite tortures a race of men detested for their evil practices, who were commonly known by the name of Christians. The author of that sect (or name) was Christus, who in the reign of Tiberius was punished with death, as a criminal, by the procurator Pontius Pilate. But this pestilent superstition, though checked for awhile, broke out afresh, not only in Judæa, where the evil first originated, but even in the city (of Rome), the common sink into which every thing filthy and abominable flows from all quarters of the world. At first those only were apprehended who confessed themselves of that sect; afterwards a *vast multitude* discovered by them; all of whom were condemned, not so much for the crime of burning the city, as for their enmity to mankind. Their executions were so contrived as to expose them to derision and contempt. Some were covered over with the skins of wild beasts, that they might be torn to pieces by dogs; some were crucified; while others, having been daubed over with combustible materials, were set up as lights in the night-time, and thus burnt to death. For these spectacles Nero gave his own gardens, and, at the same time, exhibited there the diversions of the circus; sometimes standing in the crowd as a spectator, in the habit of a charioteer, and at other times driving a chariot himself; until at length these men, though really criminal and deserving exemplary punishment, began to be commiserated, as people who were destroyed, not out of regard to the public welfare, but only to gratify the cruelty of one man."[4]

The testimony which SUETONIUS bears to this persecution is in the following words:—"The Christians likewise were severely punished,—a sort of people addicted to a new and mischievous superstition."[5]

The preceding accounts of the persecution of the Christians by Nero are further confirmed by Martial, the epigrammatist (who lived at the close of the first century), and by Juvenal, the satirist (who flourished during the reigns of Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, and Adrian), both of whom alluded to the Neronian persecution, and especially to the pitched coat in which the Christians were burnt.

Martial has an epigram, of which the following is a literal translation:—"You have, perhaps, lately seen acted on the theatre, Mucius, who thrust his hand into the fire: if you think such a person patient, valiant, stout, you are a senseless dotard. For it is a much greater thing, when threatened *with the troublesome coat*, to say, 'I do not sacrifice,' than to obey the command, 'Burn the hand.'"[6] This troublesome coat or shirt of the Christians was made like a sack, of paper or coarse linen cloth, either besmeared with pitch, wax, or sulphur, and similar combustible materials, or dipped in them: it was then put upon the Christians; and, in order that they might be kept upright,—the better to resemble a flaming torch,—their chins were severally fastened to stakes fixed in the ground.[7]

In his first satire, Juvenal has the following allusion:—

> Now dare
> To glance at Tigellinus, and you glare
> In that pitch'd shirt in which such crowds expire,
> Chain'd to the bloody stake, and wrapp'd in fire.[8]

Or, more literally, "Describe a great villain, such as was Tigellinus" (a corrupt minister under Nero), "and you shall suffer the same punishment with those, who stand burning in their own flames and smoke, their head being held up by a stake fixed to a chain, till they make a long stream" (of blood and fluid sulphur) "on the ground."[9]

The above-cited testimony of Tacitus, corroborated as it is by contemporary writers, is a very important confirmation of the evangelical history. In it the historian asserts, 1. That Jesus Christ was put to death as a malefactor by Pontius Pilate, procurator under Tiberius; 2. That from Christ the people called Christians derived their name and sentiments; 3. That this religion or superstition (as he terms it) had its rise in Judea, where it also spread, notwithstanding the ignominious death of its founder, and the opposition which his followers afterwards experienced from the people of that country; 4. That it was propagated from Judæa into other parts of the world as far as Rome; where in the tenth or eleventh year of Nero, and before that time, the Christians were very numerous;[10] and, 5. That the professors of this religion were reproached and hated, and underwent many and grievous sufferings.[11]

[1] See p. 47. *supra*.

[2] Lardner's Heath. Test. chap. xliv. Works, vol. viii. pp. 355—423. 8vo.; or vol. iv. pp. 311—348. 4to.

[3] See the Koran, chapter 3, 4, 5, 6. 19. Dr. Macknight has collected and inserted the passages at length in his Credibility of the Gospel History, pp. 300, 301.

[4] Tacitus, Annal. lib. xv. c. 44. Lardner's Heathen Testimonies, chap. v. Works, vol. vii. pp. 251—259. 8vo.; or vol. iii. pp. 610—614. 4to.

[5] Suetonius in Nerone, c. xvi. Lardner, chap. viii. Works, vol. vii. pp 265—272. 8vo.; or vol. iii. pp. 618—622. 4to.

[6] In matutina nuper spectatus arena
Mucius, imposuit qui sua membra focis,
Si patiens fortisque tibi durusque videtur,
Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes.
Nam cum dictatur, *tunicâ præsente molestâ*,
"Ure manum," plus est dicere: "Non facio."
Martial, lib. x. epigr. 25.

[7] Lardner, chap. vi. Works, vol. vii. pp. 260—262. 8vo.; or vol. iii. pp. 614 616. 4to.

[8] Mr. Gifford's translation, p. 27. The original passage is thus:—

Pone Tigellinum, tædâ lucebis in illâ,
Quâ stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant,
Et latum mediâ sulcum deducit arenâ.—
Juven. Sat. lib. i. 155—157.

[9] Lardner, ch. vii. Works, vol. vii. pp. 262—265. 8vo.; or vol. iii. pp. 614—618. 4to.

[10] The expression of Tacitus, is *ingens multitudo*, a *vast multitude*, which Voltaire, with his accustomed disregard of truth, has represented as only a few poor wretches, who were sacrificed to public vengeance. Essay on History, vol. i. ch. v. p. 60. Nugent's translation. Dr. Macknight has completely exposed the falsehood of that profligate writer, in his Credibility of the Gospel History, pp. 300—302. Mr. Gibbon's false translation and misrepresentations of the passage of Tacitus above cited are ably exposed in the appendix to Bishop Watson's Apology for the Bible, addressed to the historian.

[11] On the above-cited passage of Tacitus, Gibbon has the following remark:—"*The most sceptical criticism is obliged to respect the* TRUTH *of this extraordinary fact* (the persecution of the Christians under Nero), AND THE INTEGRITY OF THIS CELEBRATED PASSAGE OF TACITUS. *The* FORMER (its truth) *is confirmed by the diligent and accurate Suetonius, who mentions the punishment which Nero inflicted upon the Christians. The* LATTER (its integrity and genuineness) *may be* PROVED *by the consent of the*

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(2.) The next testimony to be adduced is that of Caius Plinius Cæcilius Secundus, better known by the name of the *younger* PLINY. He was born A. D. 61 or 62; and, after holding various distinguished offices, was sent to the provinces of Pontus and Bithynia, by the emperor Trajan, A. D. 106—108, as his lieutenant, and proprætor, with proconsular power. The persecution of the Christians under that emperor had commenced A. D. 100; and in that remote country there were at this time prodigious numbers of Christians, against whom Pliny, by the emperor's edict, was obliged to use all manner of severity. Being, however, a person of good sense and moderation, he judged it prudent not to proceed to the extreme rigour of the law, until he had represented the case to Trajan, and had received his commands concerning it. He therefore wrote him the following epistle,[1] A. D. 107 (which is too important to be abridged), and in the same year received the emperor's rescript:—

"Pliny, to the emperor Trajan, wisheth health and happiness:—

"It is my constant custom, sir, to refer myself to you, in all matters concerning which I have any doubt. For who can better direct me where I hesitate, or instruct me where I am ignorant? I have never been present at any trials of Christians; so that I know not well what is the subject-matter of punishment or of inquiry, or what strictness ought to be used in either. Nor have I been a little perplexed to determine whether any difference ought to be made upon account of age, or whether the young and tender, and the full grown and robust, ought to be treated all alike; whether repentance should entitle to pardon, or whether all who have once been Christians ought to be punished, though they are now no longer so; whether the name itself, although no crimes be detected, or crimes only belonging to the name, ought to be punished. Concerning all these things I am in doubt.

"In the mean time I have taken this course with all who have been brought before me, and have been accused as Christians. I have put the question to them, Whether they were Christians. Upon their confessing to me that they were, I repeated the question a second and a third time, threatening also to punish them with death. Such as still persisted, I ordered away to be punished; for it was no doubt with me, whatever might be the nature of their opinion, that contumacy and inflexible obstinacy ought to be punished. There were others of the same infatuation, whom, because they are Roman citizens, I have noted down to be sent to the city.

"In a short time, the crime spreading itself, even whilst under persecution, as is usual in such cases, divers sorts of people came in my way. An information was presented to me, without mentioning the author, containing the names of many persons, who, upon examination, denied that they were Christians, or had ever been so; who repeated after me an invocation of the gods, and with wine and frankincense made supplication to your image, which, for that purpose, I had caused to be brought and set before them, together with the statues of the deities. Moreover, they reviled the name of Christ, none of which things, as is said, they who are really Christians can by any means be compelled to do. These, therefore, I thought proper to discharge. Others were named by an informer, who at first confessed themselves Christians, and afterwards denied it; the rest said they had been Christians, but had left them—some three years ago, some longer, and one or more, above twenty years. They all worshipped your image, and the statues of the gods; these also reviled Christ. *They affirmed that the whole of their fault or error lay in this, that they were wont to meet together, on a stated day, before it was light, and sing among themselves, alternately, a hymn to Christ as God; and to bind themselves by a solemn oath* (sacramento), *not to the commission of any wickedness, but not to be guilty of theft, or robbery, or adultery, never to falsify their word, nor to deny a pledge committed to them, when called upon to return it. When these things were performed, it was their custom to separate, and then to come together again to a meal, which they ate in common, without any disorder; but this they had forborne since the publication of my edict, by which, according to your commands, I prohibited assemblies.*

"After receiving this account, I judged it the more necessary to examine, and that by torture, two maid-servants, which were called ministers. But I have discovered nothing beside an evil and excessive superstition. Suspending therefore all judicial proceedings, I have recourse to you for advice; for it has appeared unto me a matter highly deserving consideration, especially *upon account of the great number of persons who are in danger of suffering; for many of all ages, and every rank, of both sexes likewise, are accused, and will be accused. Nor has the contagion of this superstition seized cities only, but the lesser towns also, and the open country.* Nevertheless, it seems to me that it may be restrained and corrected. It is certain that the temples, which were almost forsaken, begin to be more frequented; and the sacred solemnities, after a long intermission, are revived. Victims likewise are every where brought up, whereas for some time there were few purchasers. Whence it is easy to imagine what numbers of men might be reclaimed, if pardon were granted to those who shall repent."

To the preceding letter, the emperor Trajan sent the following reply:—

"Trajan to Pliny, wisheth health and happiness:—

"You have taken the right method, my Pliny, in your proceedings with those who have been brought before you as Christians; for it is impossible to establish any one rule that shall hold universally. They are not to be sought for. If any are brought before you, and are convicted, they ought to be punished. However, he that denies his being a Christian, and makes it evident in fact, that is, by supplicating to our gods, though he be suspected to have been so formerly, let him be pardoned upon repentance. But in no case, of any crime whatever, may a bill of information be received, without being signed by him who presents it; for that would be a dangerous precedent, and unworthy of my government."

The preceding letter and rescript furnish numerous important testimonies to the state of Christianity, and to the purity of Christian principles. We learn from it, in the FIRST place, the great progress of the Christian religion in a short space of time. Christianity was neither known nor heard of in the world before the reign of Tiberius. Eighty years had not elapsed since the crucifixion of Jesus, when Pliny wrote this letter, nor seventy years since the disciples of Jesus began to make any mention of him to the Gentiles; and yet there were at this time great numbers of men whom Pliny repeatedly terms Christians, in that part of Asia where he presided, at a great distance from Judæa. Christians there were every where, throughout the whole extent of his province, in cities, in villages, and in the open country. Among them were persons of all ages, of every rank and condition, and of both sexes; and some of them also were citizens of Rome. The prevalence of Christianity appears likewise from the universal decay of pagan worship: the temples were deserted, and the sacrifices discontinued. Beasts, brought to market for victims, had few purchasers. So many were accused, and were in danger of suffering on account of the prevalence of this opinion, as gave the president no small concern. Further, it is evident that there were not only many at this time who bore the Christian name, but that such people had been there for many years: some, for several years; and one or more, who had been brought before Pliny, had professed Christianity, and had renounced it more than twenty years. All which circumstances prove that Christianity had been planted there for many years before his arrival. Such an increase, indeed, could only be the work of time.—SECONDLY, Pliny's letter bears a noble testimony to the fortitude of the Christians in suffering, and to their steady perseverance in the faith of Jesus Christ; and it also communicates several interesting particulars relative to their religious belief and worship. More particularly, 1. They disowned all the gods of the heathens, and would not worship the images of the emperors or of their gods. The people who embraced this religion forsook the heathen temples and altars, and offered no sacrifices there. 2. They

most ancient manuscripts; by the inimitable character of Tacitus; by his reputation, which guarded his text from the interpolations of pious fraud; and by the purport of his narration." (Decline and Fall, vol. ii. pp. 407, 408.) Such is the observation of the elegant and learned historian, whose hatred of Christianity has led him, in other parts of his work, to misrepresent both it and the Christians: yet, in defiance of all historical and critical testimony, a modern opposer of revelation has affirmed, that "the texts which are to be found in the works of Tacitus are too much suspected of interpolations to be adduced as an authority!" The effrontery of this assertion is only surpassed by the wilful ignorance which it exhibits, especially as the writer alluded to reprinted Gibbon's misrepresentations of Christians and Christianity, in a cheap form, in order to deceive and mislead the unwary.—The reader, who is desirous of prosecuting this subject further, will find the historical testimonies of Tacitus and Suetonius completely vindicated in pp. 352. *et seq.* of Mr. W. A. Hails's "Remarks on Volney's Ruins" (London, 1825. 8vo.); a learned and ably written treatise, in which the sophistry and false assertions of that most insidious and dangerous of infidel writers is fully and satisfactorily refuted.

[1] Pliny, Epist. lib. x. ep. 97. tom. ii. pp. 127—129. edit. Bipont. It is reprinted by Dr. Lardner, whose translation we have given, and who has illustrated both the epistle of the philosopher and the emperor Trajan's rescript with numerous valuable observations. Heathen Testimonies, chap. iii. Works, vol. vii. pp. 287—344. 8vo.; or vol. iv. pp. 10—43. 4to.

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assembled together on a stated day, which we know from the collateral testimony of Christian writers was the Lord's day or Sunday, on which day Christians celebrate the weekly festival of Christ's resurrection. 3. When they were assembled, Pliny says that they sang a hymn to Christ as God; and also engaged themselves, "by an oath, not to commit theft, or robbery, or adultery, never to falsify their word, nor to deny a pledge committed to them." This account is highly to the honour of the first Christians. They paid divine worship to their God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, and devoted themselves to the practice of moral virtue.—LASTLY, both the epistle of Pliny, and the letter or rescript of Trajan, attest the innocence and virtue of the first Christians. From the former it is evident that no crime, besides that of their religion, was proved against any of those who were brought before Pliny. Even their accusers and prosecutors alleged nothing else against them, but that they were Christians: he examined apostates; he put to the torture two young women who were ministers or deaconesses, and yet he discovered nothing but what was quite harmless. The only charge against them is an absurd superstition, and obstinacy in adhering to it. Trajan's rescript affords equally strong proof of the innocence of these men. He knew not of any offence of which they were guilty, excepting only that they did not supplicate the heathen deities. The honesty and innocency of these men oblige us to pay great regard to their belief and profession of the Christian religion. If they were sober and discreet before they embraced it, we may be sure that there *then* were such evidences of its truth as approved themselves to serious persons. If they are supposed to have formerly been vicious and irregular, here is a strong proof of the truth and goodness of Christianity, inasmuch as it had so great an influence on the minds of men, at a time when they might easily know whether it was well grounded or not. In either case, it is an honour to these principles, that those who embraced them maintained such innocence in their lives, that their enemies, even after the strictest inquiries, could discover nothing criminal against them.

(3.) A. D. 176. CELSUS ridicules the Christians for their worship of Christ, and attests the gradual increase of their numbers. He also acknowledges that there were modest, temperate, and intelligent persons among them,[1] and bears witness to their constancy in the faith of Christ. At the very time when he wrote against them, they were suffering a grievous persecution, but were enabled to withstand both his sharp-pointed pen, and also the sword of the magistrate.[2]

(4.) LUCIAN, the contemporary of Celsus, was a bitter enemy of the Christians. In his account of the death of the philosopher Peregrinus, he bears authentic testimony to the principal facts and principles of Christianity; that its founder was crucified in Palestine, and worshipped by the Christians, who entertained peculiarly strong hopes of immortal life, and great contempt for this world and its enjoyments; and that they courageously endured many afflictions on account of their principles, and sometimes surrendered themselves to sufferings. Honesty and probity prevailed so much among them, that they trusted each other without security. Their Master had earnestly recommended to all his followers mutual love, by which also they were much distinguished. In his piece, entitled Alexander or Pseudomantis, he says, that they were well known in the world by the name of Christians; that they were at that time numerous in Pontus, Paphlagonia, and the neighbouring countries; and, finally, that they were formidable to cheats and impostors. And in the dialogue entitled Philopatris (which, if not written by Lucian himself, to whom it is usually ascribed, was composed not long after his time), there are numerous allusions to the writings, principles, and practices of Christians, all of which are ridiculed, and especially their belief of the doctrine of the Trinity.[3]

(5.) The fortitude and constancy of the Christians under persecution is referred to by EPICTETUS (A. D. 109), under the name of Galilæans.[4] The emperor MARCUS ANTONINUS (A. D. 161) mentions the Christians as examples of an obstinate contempt of death.[5] And GALEN (A. D. 200) acknowledges the constancy of Christians in their principles.[6] PORPHYRY (A. D. 270) acknowledges that they were then very numerous in the Roman empire, and unwillingly admits the miracles wrought by the apostles, which, however, he ascribes to the magic art; and he endeavoured to expose them to popular reproach by insinuating that they were the causes of the calamities that befell the Roman empire.[7]

(6.) Lastly the emperor JULIAN (A. D. 361), though he endeavours to lessen the number of the early believers in Jesus, yet is constrained to acknowledge that there were multitudes of such men in Greece and Italy before John wrote his Gospel, and that they were not confined to the lower classes; men of character—such as Cornelius, a Roman centurion, at Cæsarea, and Sergius Paulus, proconsul of Cyprus—being converted to the faith of Jesus before the end of Claudius's reign (who ascended the imperial throne A. D. 41, and died A. D. 54); and he frequently speaks, with much indignation, of Peter and Paul, those two great apostles of Jesus, and successful preachers of his Gospel. So that, upon the whole, the apostate emperor Julian has undesignedly borne testimony to the truth of many things recorded in the New Testament. He *aimed* to overthrow the Christian religion, but has CONFIRMED it: his arguments against it are perfectly harmless, and insufficient to unsettle the weakest Christian; for he has not made one objection of moment against the Christian religion, as contained in the genuine and authentic books of the New Testament.[8]

VI. Thus do all the inveterate enemies of Christianity—from its first origin to its complete establishment in the then known world, in the fourth century of the Christian æra—unite in giving an honourable testimony to the character of Christ, the reality of his miracles, to the genuineness, authenticity, and credibility of the writings of the New Testament, and to the wide and rapid progress of the Christian religion, as well as to the unity of the objects of the Christian faith and worship, the blameless lives of the Christians, and their unshaken constancy in adhering to their holy profession, regardless of the most sanguinary and exquisite torments that could be inflicted on them. It is true that, concerning many important articles of Scripture history, the Greek and Latin writers now extant are totally silent; and hence some have attempted to raise an argument against the credibility of this history. But the silence of the writers in question may be satisfactorily accounted for, by their great ignorance of such facts as occurred very long before their own time, and by the peculiar contempt entertained for both Jews and Christians, arising from the diversity of their customs and institutions. To these general considerations we may add, particularly with reference to the silence of profane historians relative to the remarkable events in the life of Christ:—

1. That *many books of those remote ages are* LOST, *in which it is very possible that some mention might have been made of these facts.*

Hence it has happened that many occurrences which are related in the evangelical history, are not to be found in the writings of the heathens. Of these writings, indeed, we have now but few remaining in comparison of their original number; and those which are extant, are only fragments of preceding histories. Thus, the mighty works performed by Jesus Christ, and the monuments of the great achievements that took place in the age when he was born, are now missing or lost. All the history of Dion Cassius, from the consulships of Antistius and Balbus to the consulships of Messala and Cinna (that is, for the space of ten years—five years before and five years after the birth of Christ) is totally lost, as also is Livy's history of the same period. In vain, therefore, does any one expect to find the remarkable passages concerning the birth of Christ in these writers; and much more vain is it to look for these things in those writers whose histories are altogether missing at this day. To instance only the census or enrolment ordered by Augustus, and mentioned by Luke (ii. 1, 2.), the silence of historians concerning which has been a favourite topic with objectors:[9]—there can be no doubt but that some one of the Roman historians did record that transaction (for the Romans have seduloously recorded every

[1] Vide Origen, contra Celsum, lib. i. p. 22. edit. Cantab. 1677.

[2] Lardner's Heathen Testimonies, ch. xviii. sections 5—8. Works, vol. viii. pp. 35—60. 8vo.; or vol. iv. pp. 130—138. 4to.

[3] Ibid. chap. xix. Works, vol. viii. pp. 69—81. 8vo.; or vol. iv. pp. 149—155. 4to.

[4] Ibid. chap. x. Works, vol. vii. pp. 344—357. 8vo.; or vol. iv. pp. 43—51. 4to.

[5] Ibid. chap. xv. § 2. Works, vol. vii. pp. 398—406. 8vo.; or vol. iv. pp. 73—78. 4to.

[6] Lardner's Heathen Testimonies, chap. xxi. Works, vol. viii. pp. 90, 91 8vo.; or vol. iv. p. 161. 4to.

[7] Ibid. chap. xxxvii. Works, vol. viii. pp. 229—236. 8vo.; or vol. iv. pp. 231—238. 4to.

[8] Ibid. chap. xlvi. Works, vol. viii. pp. 384—411. 8vo.; or vol. iv. pp. 332—342. 4to. Herwerden, de Imperatore Juliano pp. 114—132. Lugd. Bat. 1827. 8vo.

[9] On the subject of this census, see *infra*, part ii. book [illegible] sect. vii.

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thing that was connected with the grandeur and riches of their empire); though their writings are now lost, either by negligence—by fire—by the irruption of the barbarous nations into Italy—or by age and length of time. It is evident that some *one* historian *did mention* the census above alluded to; otherwise, whence did Suidas derive information of the *fact*—that Augustus sent TWENTY SELECT MEN, of acknowledged character for virtue and integrity, into ALL the provinces of the empire, to take a census both of men and of property, and commanded that a just proportion of the latter should be brought into the imperial treasury? And *this*, Suidas adds, *was the* FIRST *census*.[1]

2. *Some of the Roman historians, whose works have come down to our time, are* DEFECTIVE.

This is particularly the case with Livy and Tacitus, from whom we cannot expect any narrative of events that have reference to the birth of Christ, or to any great occurrence that took place about that time. For Livy wrote only to the commencement of Augustus's reign, which was *before* the time of Christ; consequently he could not record so memorable an event as that of a census throughout the Roman empire, which did not take place until the *thirtieth* year of Augustus's reign. And no notice *could* be taken of that transaction by Tacitus, because he does not go so far back as Augustus. His *Annals* begin with the reign of Tiberius, and continue to the death of Nero: his books of *History* begin where the Annals terminate, and conclude with Vespasian's expedition against the Jews. For the knowledge of the transactions intervening between the close of Livy and the commencement of Tacitus, we are indebted to Velleius Paterculus, Florus, Plutarch, Dion Cassius, Justin, and others, who lived *long after* the time of Augustus, and who compiled their histories from such materials as they could command. Florus, in particular, is only an abbreviator of Livy, from whom little consequently can be expected. Though Velleius Paterculus advances a little further, yet he is merely an epitomiser; and as Justin, who flourished in the reign of the emperor Antoninus Pius, only abridged the history of Trogus Pompeius, which he did not continue, we cannot, therefore, expect any information from him relative to the birth of Christ. Appian has altogether omitted Judæa in the description which he has left us of the Roman empire. These facts will account for the silence of the generality of the pagan writers concerning the events related in the Gospel history: while the express, authentic, and genuine statement of Tacitus, already given,[2] furnishes an indisputable testimony to the fact, that Jesus Christ lived and was crucified during the reign of Tiberius, and thus completely refutes the absurd and ignorant assertion—(an assertion, indeed, so truly absurd as to be unworthy of notice, were it not that its effrontery may impose on the unwary)—which has been lately made, viz. that it is not now known at what year between A. D. 60 and 100 the name of Christ was first heard of in Europe, and in that part of Asia which is contiguous to Europe and the Mediterranean Sea; and that it is evident from all existing testimony that it was not before the year 60 !!!

3. *Of the few remaining historians, who wrote about the ages in question, most were engaged on other subjects; to which it is to be added, that no profane historians, whether Jews or Heathens, take notice of* ALL *occurrences.*

Thus the obscurity of the sun at Julius Cæsar's death, which is said to have lasted a whole year, is not noticed by any Roman author except the poets Ovid and Virgil, and the philosopher Pliny: yet ten historians or more, in the *following* century, wrote lives of Cæsar, and gave an account of his assassination and of several things that occurred after it. A similar prodigy is reported by Cedrenus to have happened in the reign of the emperor Justinian; but between that time and Cedrenus, there were nearly twenty considerable writers, who mentioned no such thing. Neither Tacitus, Justin, nor Strabo, who have particularly spoken of the Jews, have noticed the existence of the Jewish sect of the Essenes: nay, even Josephus, the Jewish historian, is totally silent concerning them in his two books against Apion, though he has mentioned them in his other writings. Yet, will any one pretend that there were no Essenes, either before or in the time of Christ?—Again, neither Herodotus, nor Thucydides, nor any other Greek writers of that time, have taken any notice of Rome, though the conquests of the Roman people were then extended far and wide, and the Romans were become great and formidable. Suetonius wrote the lives of the first twelve Roman emperors: yet if we compare his relations with the events recorded by other historians, we shall find that he has omitted many important transactions that were obvious. Now, to apply this to our present purpose:—it is true that none of the heathen historians of imperial Rome have spoken of the celebrated census in the time of Augustus, which is mentioned by Luke (ii. 1, 2.): yet it does not follow that it did not actually take effect, since we see it is not unusual for historians to pass by some persons and things, which are very remarkable and deserve to be recorded. If, then, some matters, which are mentioned by the evangelists, are not noticed in other historics, we cannot, with any reason, conclude from them, that the evangelists have recorded that which is false. No such thing can be inferred: for, even among pagan writers, there are many peculiar historical passages related by some of them, concerning which the rest are totally silent. Tacitus, and Valerius Maximus, for instance, have narrations which are not to be found in any other Roman historians, and yet they are not suspected of falsehood. Why, then, may we not credit those things which are recorded in the New Testament, although no Gentile historians make any the slightest mention of them? Nay, the evangelical historians themselves do not all relate the same things; though all of them have mentioned some passages, yet there are others which are noticed only by one or two of the evangelists; and there are some things or persons concerning which they are wholly silent, but which are as remarkable as some of those which they have committed to writing. Thus, the Gospels speak of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and also of the Galilæans and Herodians; and yet they take no notice whatever of the Essenes by name, though they were at that time a considerable sect among the Jews. It is no reasonable objection, therefore, to the New Testament, that some things occur in it which are not to be found in very approved authors. No history, whether sacred or profane, relates every thing. The evangelists themselves do not pretend to do this: we cannot, therefore, expect to find *all* the actions of Christ recorded in their writings, for one of them, who wrote last of all, thus expresses himself at the close of his gospel:—*And there are many other things which Jesus did; the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written.* (John xxi. 25.)

4. *Several of the facts, relating to Christ and his miracles coming from Jews, would be slighted as fabulous by the Gentile writers*, especially considering, on the one hand, how common prodigies and magical stories were in that day; and on the other hand, how superstitious and credulous the Jews were reputed to be.

The scene of Christ's actions lay at a great distance from Greece and Italy, and authentic accounts of his miracles could not soon be transmitted thither: the learned Greeks and Romans, therefore, would regard the first reports of them as idle or incredible tales. Besides, it was foreign to the purpose of any author who wrote the life of a Roman emperor, or the history of a celebrated war, or the annals of a particular state, to describe minutely a religious sect, begun in Judæa by one who was rejected as a deceiver in his own country. Or, if his subject led such a writer to mention the Christian religion, its doctrines, miracles, and disciples, he would naturally speak of them in such a manner as he himself felt affected towards them; and in what sovereign contempt the first Christians were held, by the generality of profane writers, many of the passages adduced from their works, in the preceding pages, sufficiently attest. Lastly, the Christian scheme of doctrines and moral duties was so contrary to the received tenets and maxims of the heathen, that it cannot excite surprise that many of them cared but little to inquire into evidences and facts relating to it. Many, however, who *did* inquire, doubtless became Christians; their testimony, therefore, is not to be reckoned here.

One single example will illustrate the three last observations. The preternatural darkness of three hours which prevailed in the land of Judæa at the time of Christ's crucifixion, and which has been recorded by three of the evangelists, is unnoticed by any profane historian: from which circumstance Mr. Gibbon has taken occasion to insinuate that the evidence of the evangelists is not sufficient to establish the truth of facts, unless it is supported by the concurrent testimony of pagan contemporary writers. Speaking of that darkness, he expresses his surprise that this miraculous event "*passed without notice in an age of science and history.* It happened," he adds, "during the lifetime of Seneca and the elder Pliny, who *must have experienced the immediate effects, or received the earliest intelligence of the prodigy.* Each of these

[1] Suidæ Lexicon, voce Απογραφη, tom. i. p. 271. edit. Kuster.
[2] See pp. 82, 83. *supra.*

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philosophers, in a laborious work, has recorded *all the great phenomena of nature, earthquakes, meteors, comets, and eclipses, which his indefatigable industry could collect.* Both the one and the other have omitted to mention the greatest phenomenon, to which the mortal eye has been witness since the creation of the globe. *A distinct chapter of Pliny is devoted to eclipses of an extraordinary nature and unusual duration:* but he contents himself with describing the singular defect of light which followed the murder of Cæsar, when, during the greatest part of the year, the orb of the sun appeared pale and without splendour."[1] The sentences printed in italic are those in which the sceptical historian has had recourse to those misrepresentations which unhappily pervade too many of his splendid pages. On this passage we remark,

FIRST, That the eclipse being confined to Judæa, its *immediate effects* could not *necessarily* have been experienced by Seneca or Pliny, neither of whom could have been on the spot in the reign of Tiberius, when the eclipse took place; nor can it be proved, that they had immediate information from all parts of the globe as soon as any extraordinary phenomenon had taken place.

SECONDLY, Neither Pliny nor Seneca have left any works that correspond to the historian's pompous description. Seneca does *not* treat on eclipses at all, in the passage referred to;[2] he speaks indeed of *earthquakes*, but only in a very cursory manner, and does not instance more than four or five, because his object was evidently not to write a history of them, but to investigate their symptoms, causes, and prognostics. The same remark applies to Pliny with respect to earthquakes. They are mentioned only to introduce philosophical observations. The historian, therefore, has but very feeble props to support his assertion. We may reasonably imagine, that if Seneca and Pliny have recorded all the great phenomena of nature, they must of course have explored the Grecian and Roman histories, which were immediately open to their inquiries. Now, let us try an experiment as to what they have derived from those sources with respect to eclipses. Do they mention the total eclipse of the sun, when the celebrated plague happened at Athens, in the first year of the Peloponnesian war? Do they mention the solar eclipse on the day when the foundations of Rome were laid? Do they mention the eclipse foretold by Thales, by which a peace was effected between the Medes and the Lydians? It would be too tedious and useless to ask for many others, which might be mentioned without any fear of our questions being answered in the affirmative.

THIRDLY, The *distinct chapter* of Pliny, in which, according to the historian's lofty representation, we should expect to find the subject of eclipses exhausted by its full and elaborate detail, consists of only *eighteen words*, the purport of which is, that "eclipses of the sun are sometimes of extraordinary duration; such as that which took place on the death of Cæsar, and during the war with Antony, when the sun appeared pale for nearly a year."[3]

LASTLY, This miraculous preternatural darkness did *not* pass without notice. Omitting the supposed attestation of it by Phlegon (a pagan chronologist who wrote during the reign of the emperor Hadrian,[4] and whose testimony is cited by Tertullian, Origen, and Eusebius), and also the supposed mention of it by Thallus (who lived in the second century), which is cited by Julius Africanus,[5] a writer of great eminence and probity, who lived at the beginning of the third century;—we may remark that there are two other testimonies not founded on the statements of Phlegon and Thallus, which *unequivocally* confirm the evangelical history of the darkness at the crucifixion, viz. those of Tertullian and Celsus. In his Apology for the Christians, which was addressed to their heathen adversaries, Tertullian expressly says, "*At the moment of Christ's death, the light departed from the sun, and the land was darkened at noonday;* WHICH WONDER IS RELATED IN YOUR OWN ANNALS, AND IS PRESERVED IN YOUR ARCHIVES TO THIS DAY."[6] If the account of this extraordinary darkness had not been registered, Tertullian would have exposed both himself to the charge of asserting a falsehood (which charge was *never* brought against him), and also his religion to the ridicule of his enemies. It is further particularly worthy of remark, that the darkness and earthquake at the crucifixion are both explicitly recognised and mentioned as FACTS by that acute adversary of Christianity, Celsus; who would not have made such an admission, if he could have possibly denied them.[7]

In addition to the preceding observations, we may state that many good and solid reasons may be assigned why profane writers have *not* made mention of the darkness at the crucifixion, which, it is now generally admitted, was confined to the land of Judæa. The most obvious is, that they might have no sufficient information of it. The provinces of the Roman empire were very extensive, and we find, in general, that the attention of writers was chiefly confined to those which were nearest to the metropolis. The ancient historians and biographers are remarkably concise, and seldom stop to mention occurrences, which, although they may have happened during the times of which they write, have no relation whatever to their main subject. This was their general rule, and there is no reason for which it should be violated merely to indulge the caprice of the captious, or satisfy the scruples of the petulant. There is no more reason in the nature of the thing itself why the testimony of profane writers should be called for to support the sacred than the sacred should be called for to support the profane. We may then retort the argument, and in our turn ask the historian, and those who have lately circulated his false account of the progress of Christianity, how they can credit the accounts given by Paterculus, Pliny the elder, Valerius Maximus, and Seneca, when Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John take not the least notice of them? But let it be supposed that the Roman writers had received information of the fact in question, it is most probable that they would have considered it as a natural occurrence, being accustomed to earthquakes and darkness for whole days together, in consequence of the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius. Or, supposing that they had believed it to be a preternatural darkness, would it have been consistent with their principles as heathens to have mentioned it? They must plainly have foreseen what great advantage would have been given to Christianity by it. Their readers would naturally have been led to inquire into the character of the extraordinary person, at whose death the laws of nature were infringed, and this inquiry, as it would have opened a more complete view of the new dispensation, must have led to their conversion. Hence we collect a very satisfactory reason for their silence. Supposing that they knew the fact, and from motives of policy suppressed it, their silence furnishes as strong a proof of its truth, as their express testimony could possibly have done.

Upon the whole, we may venture boldly to assert, that even if this fact be destitute of support from profane writers, it is a deficiency which may easily be dispensed with. We believe many things upon the evidence of one credible witness. But in the case before us, we have no less than *three*, whose knowledge of the fact was *never* denied, whose veracity is indisputable, and integrity not to be impeached. So plainly are the characters of truth marked upon their writings, that every person of common discernment must see them, and he who is not satisfied as to the certainty of what they relate, must give up all pretensions to a sound judgment, and be abandoned to the incurable obstinacy of his own forlorn scepticism.[8]

An example taken from English history will confirm and illustrate the preceding observations. No one in our days, who has read the whole history of the popish plot in Charles the Second's time, with any candour and attention, believes it. The incoherence, and every way incredible circumstances of the whole deposition, together with the infamous characters of the witnesses, preclude an assent. Yet, a circumstance to this day unaccounted for—the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey—happened to give it an air of probability. Yet he would be thought injudicious to the last degree, who should thence be inclined to favour the evidence of Titus Oates. The case before us is opposite, indeed, but parallel. Christianity stands supported by evidences of the most unexceptionable nature; yet the circumstance of Seneca's and Pliny's silence concerning the eclipse or preternatural darkness (admit it only for argument's sake) is unaccountable. The evidence of the Gospel is, however, by no means shaken, nor will be shaken, till it can be proved that we must be able to account for every thing in an event, before we admit the testimony of the event itself.

In short, there is no history in the world more certain and

[1] Decline and Fall, vol. ii. p. 379.
[2] Nat. Quæst. lib. vi. c. 1. Op. tom. iv. pp. 309—312. edit. Bipont.
[3] Fiunt prodigiosæ, et longiores solis defectus: qualis occiso dictatore Cæsare, et Antoniano bello, totius pæne anni pallore continuo. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. c. 30. tom. i. p. 148. edit. Bipont.
[4] See Lardner's Works, vol. vii. pp. 370—387. 8vo.; or vol. iv. pp. 58—67 fin.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Tertullian, Apol. c. 21.
[7] See Origen contr. Celsum, lib. ii. § 55. p. 94.
[8] Kett's Bampton Lectures, Notes and Authorities, pp. xxiv—xxvii.

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indubitable than that contained in the Christian Scriptures, which is supported by the concurring testimony,—not to say of so many men, but of so many different nations, divided, indeed, among themselves in other particulars, but all uniting to confirm the truth of the facts related in the Gospels. And, therefore, even though the Christian institution had perished with the apostles, and there were not in the world at this day so much as one Christian, we should have the most unquestionable evidence that the persons and actions recorded in the Gospels, and attested by the concurring voice of all nations, really existed in the country of Judæa during the reign of Tiberius, as the evangelists have assured us.[1]

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§ 3. COLLATERAL TESTIMONIES TO THE TRUTH OF THE FACTS RECORDED IN THE SCRIPTURES FROM COINS, MEDALS, AND ANCIENT MARBLES.

I. *The Mosaic narrative of the deluge confirmed by the Apamean medal.*—II. *Various Passages of Scripture confirmed by Egyptian Hieroglyphics.*—III. *The account of Pharaoh-Necho's war against the Jews (2 Chron.* xxxv. 20—24.*) confirmed by Herodotus, and by an ancient Egyptian tomb discovered and explored by M. Belzoni.*—IV. *Acts* xiii. 7. *confirmed by a medal proving that Cyprus was at that time under the government of a proconsul.*—V. *Acts* xvi. 11, 12. *confirmed by a coin of Macedonia Prima.*—VI. *Acts* xvi. 14. *confirmed by an inscription.*—VII. *Acts* xvii. 23. *confirmed by inscriptions.*—VIII. *Acts* xix. 35. *confirmed by a medal of the city of Ephesus.*—IX. *The Triumphal Arch of Titus, at Rome.*—*Application of this sort of evidence.*

THERE remains yet one more class of collateral testimonies to the credibility of the facts recorded in the Bible, which is not less important and decisive than the series of evidence of profane historians given in the preceding pages. These testimonies are furnished by ancient coins, medals, and inscriptions on marbles; which have survived the wreck of time, and are extant to this day. These remains of antiquity are allowed to be among the most important proofs of ancient history in general; and they afford satisfactory confirmation of many particulars related in the Scriptures. The most remarkable of these we now proceed to submit to the consideration of the reader.

I. The MOSAIC NARRATIVE OF THE DELUGE

Is confirmed by a coin struck at Apamea in the reign of Philip the elder. On the reverse of this medal is represented a kind of square chest, floating upon the waters: a man and woman are advancing out of it to dry land, while two other persons remain within. Above it flutters a dove, bearing an olive branch; and another bird, possibly a raven, is perched upon its roof. In one of the front panels of the chest is the word NOE in ancient Greek characters.[2]

II. Various passages in the Old Testament are confirmed by the successful researches of Dr. Young, Mr. Salt, M. Champollion, M. Coquerel, and other eminent scholars, in deciphering the hitherto illegible hieroglyphics, which are still extant on ancient Egyptian monuments. To adduce a few instances out of many which might be offered:—

1. Several ages before the time of Sesostris, the shepherd kings, whom every circumstance proves to have been of Scythian origin, invaded and conquered almost the whole of Egypt, about the year 2082 before the Christian æra, and in the time of the patriarch Abraham. The princes of the eighteenth dynasty (the Theban), whose chief was Thoutmosis I., the first sovereign after the shepherd kings, erected the most ancient edifices of Thebes and Egypt. Thoutmosis was adored as a god, under the name of Amenothph, because he had delivered Egypt from the shepherds; the recollection of whose tyranny was odious to the Egyptians and to the kings of that dynasty, to which the Pharaoh, mentioned in the latter part of the Book of Genesis, belongs. In Gen. xlvi. 34. Joseph tells his brethren that *Every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians.* This hatred of theirs against *shepherds* is confirmed in a very singular manner by a very ancient mummy now at Paris, beneath the buskins of both whose feet is painted a *shepherd, bound with cords.*[3]

3. The two first Pharaohs mentioned in the Bible, one of whom was contemporary with Abraham (Gen. xii. 15.), and the other with Joseph (Gen. xxxvii. 36.), were both of the Theban or Diospolitan dynasty. In the arrangements of their court we may recognise the style and Egyptian customs which were re-established after the expulsion of the shepherd kings. In Exod. i. 11. 14. mention is made of the vast structures, in the building of which the Egyptians imbittered the lives of the Israelites *with hard bondage;* and it was precisely the sovereigns of that dynasty, who distinguished themselves by the erection of gigantic monuments. The granite columns and apartments of the palace at Karnac, several temples in Nubia, the great sphinx of the pyramids, and the colossal obelisk of St. John of Lateran, attest the power of Thoutmosis III. the Moeris of the Greeks. Amenophis II. erected the colossal statue which attracted the superstitious curiosity of the Romans. Ramses (or Rameses) II. caused the superb obelisks at Luxor to be erected. M. Champollion read the names of all these sovereigns on the inscriptions of monuments. The Pharaoh, under whose reign Moses was born, was Ramses IV. surnamed Mei-Amoun, that is, the Friend of Ammon; who left numerous edifices built by the children of Israel, whom he so cruelly oppressed. He caused the vast palace of Medinet-Abou to be erected, as well as the temple situated towards the southern gate of Karnac. The sarcophagus of this monarch is preserved in the Louvre at Paris. This contemporary of Moses must have swayed the Egyptian sceptre more than forty years, since the Hebrew legislator passed forty years at his court, and a long time afterwards, it is said that the king of Egypt died. Now, it appears from Manetho (as quoted by Josephus)[4] that this identical Ramses Mei-Amoun reigned sixty-six years and two months. Are not these unexpected agreements between sacred and profane history evident proofs of truth? Who then has falsified the ancient lists of Egyptian dynasties, the lists written on papyrus, and the ruins of Egypt, to make them agree so well with a few sentences uttered by a Christian, named Stephen (Acts vii. 18. *et seq.*,) and with a few lines written by a Jew named Moses?[5] Lastly, the Pharaoh, who witnessed the ten plagues inflicted on the Egyptians, was Ramses V., surnamed Amenophis, the last sovereign of the eighteenth dynasty, and the father of Sesostris. His name is legible on several parts of the palace of Karnac, which was decorated by him.

3. M. Champollion has shown that the proper names of both sexes in ancient Egypt are almost always composed of the names of gods or goddesses. In Gen. xli. 45. we read that Pharaoh gave to Joseph in marriage "*the daughter of Potipherah, priest of On.*" (Potipherah is constantly written *Putiphar* in the Coptic version of the Scriptures.) On is Heliopolis, the city of the sun, so termed by the Greeks. *Petephré*, in Egyptian, means *that which belongs to ré*, or the sun. M. Champollion has demonstrated that *shré* or *ré* denotes the *sun*, in the Egyptian language. Thus the hieroglyphic text completely confirms the book of Genesis.[6]

4. In 1 Kings xi. 40. we read that *Jeroboam arose and fled into Egypt, unto Shishak king of Egypt;* and in 1 Kings xiv. 25. and 2 Chron. xii. 2., that, *in the fifth year of king Rehoboam. Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem.* The head or chief of the twenty-second dynasty (the Bubastite) is by Manetho called *Sesonschis* or *Sesonchosis;* and on one of the colonnades which decorate the first court of the great temple (or palace, as it has also been called) of Karnac, there are two royal legends or inscriptions, on one of which M. Champollion read, in phonetic (or vocal hieroglyphic) characters, the words,—*Amon-mai-Sheshonk;* the well beloved of Amon (or the sun) Sheshonk. If we bear in mind the peculiar genius of the ancient oriental languages, which, neglecting the vowels as least important, adhere only to the skeletons of words, that is to say to the consonants, it is impossible not to be struck with the identity of the Egyptian name Sheshonk with the letters of the Hebrew word שישק SHISHAK or SHESHAK, and to recognise in him

[1] Edwards, on the Authority, &c. of Scripture, vol. i. pp. 400—420. Macknight's Truth of the Gospel, pp. 305, 306. 343.

[2] Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology, vol. iii. pp. 46, 47. 8vo. edit. In the fifth volume, pp. 289—313. he has satisfactorily vindicated the genuineness of the Apamean medal. Seven or eight of these medals are known to be extant, the genuineness of which is acknowledged by Eckhel, the most profound of all modern numismatologists. See his Doctrina Nummorum Veterum, tom. iii. pp. 132. 140.

[3] Revue Protestante, Juillet, 1827. p. 12.

[4] Josephus against Apion, book i. c. 15.

[5] Revue Prot. Juillet, 1827. p. 14. Coquerel, Biographie Sacrée, tom. iii p. 361.

[6] Rev. Prot. Juillet, p. 18. A. L. C. Coquerel, Lettre sur le Système Hieroglyphique de M. Champollion, considéré dans ses Rapports avec l'Ecriture Sainte, p. 30. Amsterdam. 1825. 8vo.

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Pharaoh who is named Shishak by the sacred historian.[1] In the same temple or palace, M. Champollion also beheld Sesonchis dragging at the feet of the Theban Trinity (Amon, Mouth, and Kons) the chiefs of more than thirty conquered nations, among whom he found written in letters at full length IOUDAHMALEK, *the king of Judah, or of the Jews.*[2] It is further worthy of remark that the dates read by this accomplished antiquary are expressed precisely in the same manner as we read in the Bible;—*In the fifth year, on the fifth day of the month, &c.* This similitude of phraseology is very striking.[3]

5. Lastly, in 2 Kings xix. 9. and Isa. xxxvii. 9. we read that the king of Assyria heard tidings of *Tirhaka, king of Ethiopia*; who is most probably the Pharaoh mentioned in Isa. xxxvi. 6. The hieroglyphic name *Tarak*, the *Taracus* of the Greeks (the third king of the twenty-fifth dynasty of Manetho, who terms him an Ethiopian), was read by M. Champollion on many monuments; and Mr. Salt, without any intercourse with him, having observed that the Egyptians wrote the names of their Greek sovereigns in hieroglyphic characters, as well as those of the Roman emperors, conceived the ingenious idea of inquiring whether they might not have followed the same practice with regard to the inscriptions of the Ethiopian monarchs who preceded those two dynasties. His researches were crowned with success; and he discovered in phonetic characters the name TIRAKA, in two places on an inscription from behind a small propylæon or portico at Medinet-Abou, and in two other inscriptions from Birkel in Ethiopia. This *Tiraka* or *Tirhaka*, therefore, is the king of Ethiopia mentioned in the Scriptures as having *come out to fight* against Sennacherib king of Assyria.[4]

III. The account of the WAR, CARRIED ON BY PHARAOH-NECHO AGAINST THE JEWS and Babylonians (which is related in the second book of Chronicles), is confirmed by the testimony of the Greek historian Herodotus, and especially by the recent discoveries of the late enterprising traveller, M. Belzoni, among the tombs of the Egyptian sovereigns. The following is the narrative of the sacred historian, in 2 Chron. xxxv. 20—24.

After all this, when Josiah had prepared the temple, Necho, king of Egypt, came up to fight against Charchemish, by Euphrates: and Josiah went out against him. But he sent ambassadors to him, saying, What have I to do with thee, thou king of Judah? I come not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war; for God commanded me to make haste; forbear thee from meddling with God, who is with me, that he destroy thee not. Nevertheless Josiah would not turn his face from him, but disguised himself, that he might fight with him, and hearkened not unto the words of Necho from the mouth of God, and came to fight in the valley of Megiddo. And the archers shot at king Josiah; and the king said to his servants, Have me away, for I am sore wounded. His servants therefore took him out of that chariot, and put him in the second chariot that he had; and they brought him to Jerusalem and he died, and was buried in one of the sepulchres of his fathers. And all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah. And again in xxxvi. 1—4. *Then the people of the land took Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, and made him king in his father's stead in Jerusalem; Jehoahaz was twenty-and-three years old when he began to reign, and he reigned three months in Jerusalem. And the king of Egypt put him down at Jerusalem, and condemned the land in an hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold. And the king of Egypt made Eliakim his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem, and turned his name to Jehoiakim.* AND NECHO TOOK JEHOAHAZ HIS BROTHER, AND CARRIED HIM INTO EGYPT.

These passages prove the power and conquests of Pharaoh-Necho; and if we turn to Herodotus we shall find a wonderful agreement with many of the particulars. *Now Necos was the son of Psammeticus, and reigned over Egypt; it was he who began the canals, &c. and he employed himself in warlike pursuits, building galleys, both on the Mediterranean and on the Red Sea, the traces of his dock-yards still existing; and these he used when he had occasion for them.* AND NECOS JOINED BATTLE WITH THE SYRIANS IN MAGDOLUS, AND CONQUERED THEM, AND AFTER THE BATTLE HE TOOK CADYTIS, A LARGE CITY OF SYRIA. *And having reigned in the whole sixteen years, he died, and left the throne to his son Psammis.*[5] The historian, who was better acquainted with Egypt than with Judæa, has here put *Magdolus*, a city of Lower Egypt, for *Megiddo*, a city of Judæa, and has further confounded the Hebrews with the Syrians. *Cadytis* is again mentioned by Herodotus,[6] as "*belonging to the Syrians of* PALESTINE," and "*as a city not less than Sardes;*" so that there is no doubt that he intended Jerusalem. "Here Κάδυτις is evidently taken from the Syriac *Kadutha* signifying 'the Holy,' from the Hebrew קדושה (KADUSHAH), which is found inscribed on ancient Jewish shekels in the Samaritan character; in modern Hebrew characters, thus, ירושלים ה קדושה (JERUSALEM HA-KADUSHAH), Jerusalem the Holy;"[7] the historian affixing a Greek termination, and calling the metropolis of Palestine *Cadytis*.

We now come to the researches of M. Belzoni in the tomb of Psammethis or Psammis, the son of Pharaoh-Necho.

In one of the numerous apartments of this venerable monument of ancient art, there is a sculptured group describing the march of a military and triumphal procession with three different sets of prisoners, who are evidently Jews, Ethiopians, and Persians. The procession begins with four red men with white kirtles followed by a hawk-headed divinity: these are Egyptians apparently released from captivity, and returning home under the protection of the national deity. Then follow four white men in striped and fringed kirtles, with black beards, and with a simple white fillet round their black hair; these are obviously Jews, and might be taken for the portraits of those who, at this day, walk the streets of London. After them come three white men with smaller beards and curled whiskers, with double-spreading plumes on their heads, tattooed, and wearing robes or mantles spotted like the skins of wild beasts; these are Persians or Chaldæans. Lastly come four negroes with large circular ear-rings, and white petticoats supported by a belt over the shoulder; these are Ethiopians.[8]

Among the hieroglyphics contained in M. Belzoni's drawings of this tomb, the late Dr. Young, who was pre-eminently distinguished for his successful researches in archæology, succeeded in discovering the names of Psammis, and of *Nichao* (the *Necho*

[1] M. Champollion has engraved this royal legend in his Précis du Système Hieroglyphique des anciens Egyptiens. Planches, et explication (Paris, 1824. 8vo.), Plate, No. 116, and description, pp. 12, 13.

[2] Champollion, Septième Lettre, p. 35.

[3] Coquerel, Biographie Sacrée, tom. iv. p. 221. Lettre, p. 30. Rev. Prot. p. 8. Greppo, Essai sur le Système Hierolgyphique de M. Champollion le Jeune, pp. 171, 172. Paris, 1829.

[4] Salt's Essay on Dr. Young's and M. Champollion's Phonetic System of Antiquities, pp. 29—31. 70. Revue Protestante, Juillet, 1827. p. 19.

[5] Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 159. vol. i. p. 168. edit. Oxon. 1809. Rennell's Geography of Herodotus explained, p. 245.

[6] Ibid. lib. iii. c. 5. vol. i. p. 179.

[7] Dr. Hale's Sacred Chronology, vol. i. p. 425. (second edition); Bp. Walton's Biblia Polyglotta, tom. i. Apparatus de Sicilorum Formis, pp. 36. 38. Dr. Prideaux—having referred to Herodotus's account of Pharaoh-Necho's expedition, and capture of Κάδυτις, or Cadytis, and also to the historian's concise description of it—says, "By which description this Cadytis could be none other than Jerusalem. For that it is situated in the mountains of Palestine, and there was then no other city in those parts which could be equalled to Sardis but that only; and it is certain from Scripture that after this battle Necho did take Jerusalem; for he was there when he made Jehoiakim king. There is, I confess, no mention of this name either in the Scriptures or Josephus. But that it was, however, called so in the time of Herodotus by the Syrians and Arabians, doth appear from this, that it is called by them and all the eastern nations by no other name but one of the same original, and the same signification, even to this day. For Jerusalem is a name now altogether as strange to them as Cadytis is to us. They all call it by the name *Al-Kuds*, which signifies the same that Cadytis doth, that is, *Holy*: for from the time that Solomon built the temple at Jerusalem, and it was thereby made to all Israel the common place of their religious worship, this epithet of the Holy was commonly given unto it. And therefore we find it thenceforth called in the sacred writings of the Old Testament *Air Hakkodesh*, that is, the *City of Holiness* or the Holy City (Neh. xi. 1. 18. Isa. xlviii. 2. lii. 1. Dan. ix. 24.); and so also in several places of the New Testament. And this same title they give it in their coins. For the inscription of their shekels (many of which are still extant) was *Jerusalem Kedushah*, that is, Jerusalem the Holy; and this coin going current among the neighboring nations, especially after the Babylonish captivity had made a dispersion of that people over all the East, it carried this name with them, and they from thence called this city by both names, *Jerusalem Kedushah*, and at length, for shortness' sake, *Kedushah* only, and the Syrians (who in their dialect usually turned the Hebrew *sh* into *th*) *Kedutha*. And the Syriac, in the time of Herodotus, being the only language that was then spoken in Palestine (the Hebrew having no more been used there or any where else, as a vulgar language, after the Babylonish captivity), he found it when he travelled through that country to be called there, in the Syriac dialect, *Kedutha*, from whence, by giving it a Greek termination, he made it in the Greek language Κάδυτις or Cadytis in his history, which he wrote about the time that Nehemiah ended his twelve years' government at Jerusalem. And for the same reason, that it was called *Kedusha* or *Kedutha* in Syria and Palestine, the Arabs in their language called it *Bait Almokdes*, that is, the *Holy Buildings*, or the Holy City, and often with another adjective of the same root and the same signification, *Bait Alkuds*, and at length simply *Alkuds*, that is, the *Holy*, by which name it is now called by the Turks, Arabs, and all other nations of the Mahometan religion in those parts." (Prideaux's Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, sub anno 610. vol. i. pp. 80, 81. ninth edition, 1725.)

[8] See M. Belzoni's "Narrative of the Operations and recent Discoveries within the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs, and Excavations in Egypt and Nubia," &c. pp. 242, 243. (4to. London, 1820); and also Nos. 4, 5, and 6, of his folio Atlas of Plates illustrative of his Researches. The subjects of these plates were also exhibited in the very interesting model of the Egyptian tomb, exhibited by M. Belzoni, in 1821—22.

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of the Scriptures and *Necos* of Herodotus).[1] And M. Champollion, jun. who read the name of this prince on several statutes, subsequently ascertained that he was Pharaoh-Necho II. the sixth king of the twenty-sixth dynasty.[2]

IV. Acts xiii. 7. is confirmed by a coin, proving that the island of Cyprus was at that time under the government of a proconsul.

In the passage referred to, the evangelist Luke, relating the transactions of Paul in Cyprus, gives to Sergius Paulus, the Roman governor of that island, the Greek title of ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΣ, which was applied only to those governors of provinces who were invested with *proconsular* dignity. "And on the supposition that Cyprus was not a province of this description, it has been inferred, that the title given to Sergius Paulus in the Acts of the Apostles was a title that did not properly belong to him. A passage indeed has been quoted from Dion Cassius,[3] who, speaking of the governors of Cyprus, and some other Roman provinces, applies to them the same title which is applied to Sergius Paulus. But as Dion Cassius is speaking of several Roman provinces at the same time, one of which was certainly governed by a proconsul, it has been supposed, that for the sake of brevity he used one term for all of them, whether it applied to all of them or not. That Cyprus, however, ought not to be excepted, and that the title which he employed, as well as St. Luke, really *did* belong to the Roman governors of Cyprus, appears from the inscription on a coin belonging to Cyprus itself, and struck in the very age in which Sergius Paulus was governor of that island. It was struck in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, whose head and name are on the face of it; and in the reign of Claudius Cæsar St. Paul visited Cyprus. It was a coin belonging to the people of that island, as appears from the word ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ on the reverse; and, though not struck while Sergius Paulus himself was governor, it was struck, as appears from the inscription on the reverse, in the time of Proclus, who was *next* to Sergius Paulus in the government of that island. And on this coin the same title, ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΣ, is given to Proclus, which is given by St. Luke to Sergius Paulus."[4] That Cyprus was a proconsulate is also evident from an ancient inscription, of Caligula's reign (the predecessor of Claudius), in which Aquilius Scaura is called the proconsul of Cyprus.[5]

V. In Acts xvi. 11, 12. Luke says,—"*We came ..... to Philippi, which is the chief of that part of Macedonia, and a colony.*" This passage, which has greatly exercised the ingenuity of critics and commentators, may, more correctly, be thus rendered:—*Philippi, a city of the first part of Macedonia*, or of *Macedonia Prima.*

This is an instance of minute accuracy, which shows that the author of the Acts of the Apostles actually lived and wrote at that time. The province of Macedonia, it is well known, had undergone various changes, and had been divided into various portions, and particularly four, while under the Roman government. There are extant many medals of the first province, or *Macedonia Prima*, mostly of silver, with the inscription ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ, or, *the first* part *of Macedonia*, which confirm the accuracy of Luke, and at the same time show his attention to the minutest particulars.[6] It is further worthy of remark, that the historian terms Philippi *a colony*. By using the term κολωνια (which was originally a Latin word, *colonia*), instead of the corresponding Greek word αποικια, he plainly intimates that it was a Roman colony, which the twenty-first verse certainly proves it to have been. And though the critics were for a long time puzzled to find any express mention of it as such, yet some coins have been discovered, in which it is recorded under this character, particularly one, which explicitly states that Julius Cæsar himself bestowed the dignity and privileges of a colony on the city of Philippi, which were afterwards confirmed and augmented by Augustus. This medal corroborates the character given to the city by Luke, and proves that it had been a colony for many years, though no author or historian but himself, whose writings have reached us, has mentioned it under that character.[7]

VI. In Acts xvi. 14. we read that Lydia, a dealer in purple from Thyatira, had settled at Philippi.

Now it is remarkable that, among the ruins of Thyatira, there is an inscription extant, which was originally made by the corporation of dyers (it concludes with the words ΟΙ ΒΑΦΕΙΣ,—*the dyers*), in honour of Antonius Claudius Alphenus, a distinguished man in the reign of Caracalla.[8] Hence we learn that the art and trade of dying purple were carried on in that city.

VII. In Acts xvii. 23. Paul tells the Athenians that, as he passed through their city and beheld the objects of their worship, he *found an altar with this inscription*, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD (ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩ ΘΕΩ).

No altar with this inscription has come down to our times; but we know, from the express testimony of Lucian, that there was *such an inscription at Athens*. And the occasion of this altar being erected, in common with many others bearing the same inscription, is thus related by Diogenes Laertius:—The Athenians, being afflicted with a pestilence, invited Epimenides to lustrate their city. The method adopted by him was, to carry several sheep to the Areopagus; whence they were left to wander as they pleased, under the observation of persons sent to attend them. As each sheep lay down, it was sacrificed on the spot *to the propitious God*. By this ceremony, it is said, the city was relieved; but, as it was still unknown what deity was propitious, an altar was erected *to the unknown God* on every spot where a sheep had been sacrificed.[9]

On the architrave of a Doric portico at Athens, which was standing when that city was visited about sixty years since by Dr. Chandler and Mr. Stuart (the latter of whom has given an engraving of the portal), is a Greek inscription to the following purport:—"The people" [of Athens have erected this fabric] "with the donations to Minerva Archegetia" [or the Conductress] "by the god Caius Julius Cæsar and his son the god Augustus, when Nicias was archon."

Over the middle of the pediment was a statue of Lucius Cæsar, with this inscription:—"The people" [honour] "Lucius Cæsar, the son of the emperor Augustus Cæsar, the son of the god."

There was also a statue to Julia, the daughter of Augustus, and the mother of Lucius, thus inscribed:—"The Senate of the Areopagus and the Senate of the Six Hundred" [dedicate this statue to] "the goddess Julia, Augusta, Providence."

These public memorials supply an additional proof of the correctness of Paul's observations on the Athenians, that they were too much addicted to the adoption of objects for worship and devotion. They were not, indeed, singular in worshipping the reigning emperor; but flattery could not be carried higher than to characterize his descendants as deities, and one of them (who was most infamous for her profligacy) as no less a deity than Providence itself.[10]

VIII. In Acts xix. 35. the Γραμματευς, recorder, chancellor, or town-clerk of Ephesus,—in order to quell the tumult which had been raised there by Demetrius and his workmen, who gained their livelihood by making silver shrines or models of the temple of Diana in that city,—says to the Ephesians, *What man is there that knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper of the great goddess Diana?*

The original word, ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΝ, is very emphatic, and properly signifies a person dedicated to the service of some god or goddess, whose peculiar office it was to attend the temple and see that it was kept clean; that, at the proper seasons, it was beautified and adorned; and that nothing necessary to the splendour of his or her worship was at any time wanting.

[1] See the Atlas of Engravings to Belzoni's travels, plates 1 to 5.

[2] Greppo, Essai, p. 156. Champollion, Aperçu des Résultats Historiques, p. 13.

[3] Hist. Rom. lib. 54. p. 523. ed. Hanoviæ, 1600.

[4] Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part v. pp. 85, 86. An engraving of the above-noticed coin may be seen in Havercamp's edition of the Thesaurus Morellianus, in the plate belonging to p. 106.

[5] Gruteri Corpus Inscriptionum, tom. i. part ii. p. cccix. no. 3. edit. Grævii. Amst. 1707.

[6] Of this medal there are engravings in the fragments annexed to Calmet's Dictionary, no. cclxxiii. plate i. no. 6. and in Taylor's Geographical Index to the Holy Scriptures, article Macedonia, plate no. 7. In no. 8. of the same plate is a medal of the second Macedonia, or *Macedonia Secunda*. There is no medal published of the third Macedonia, but one of the *fourth* Macedonia has been engraved by Wielhamer, in his *Animadversiones in Nummos*, &c. p. 44. no. 11. Vienna, 1738. They have been described by Eckhel (Doctrina Numm. Vet. tom. ii. p. 64), Raschie (Lexicon Rei Nummariæ, tom. iii. col. 39—41.), and Mionnet. (Description de Médailles Antiques, tom. i. pp. 456, 457.) Mr. Combe has described seven of Macedonia Prima in his "Nummorum Veterum Populorum et Urbium qui in Museo Gulielmi Hunter asservantur, Descriptio," p. 179. No coins of Macedonia Tertia have yet been discovered.

[7] Spanheim, De Usu et Præstantia Numismatum, dissert. ii. pp. 105, 106. Fragments to Calmet, no. cclxxiii. plate i. no. 5.

[8] Sir George Wheeler has given the entire inscription in his Journey into Greece, book iii. p. 233. (Lond. 1672); and his companion, Dr. Spon, has given the same inscription, illustrated with philological notes, in his Miscellanea Eruditæ Antiquitatis, pp. 112, 113.

[9] Diogenes Laertius, in Epimenide, l. i. c. 10. § 3. (tom. i. pp. 117—119. ed. Longolii.)

[10] Dr. Chandler's Travels in Greece, pp. 104, 105. Taylor's Geographical Index to the Bible, article Athens.

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Originally, indeed, this word signified nothing more than a sweeper of the temple, and answered nearly to our *sacristan*, or, perhaps, *churchwarden*: in process of time the care of the temple was intrusted to this person, and at length the ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΙ, or *Neokoroi*, became persons of great consequence, and were those who offered sacrifices for the life of the emperor. Whole cities took this appellation,[1] and Ephesus had this prerogative above the other cities in Asia Minor; though some of them, as Smyrna, Laodicea, and Pergamus, disputed the primacy with her. There are extant, in various cabinets, numerous medals, in which the appellation of ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣ is given to the city of Ephesus in particular, with the several inscriptions of ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ, Β and ΔΙΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ, Γ or ΤΡΙΣ and Δ or ΤΕΤΡΑΚΙΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ; intimating that the Ephesians had borne the office of Neokoroi to the temples erected in honour of the Roman emperors for the *first*, *second*, *third*, and *fourth* times. Of the medals referred to, a catalogue has been given by M. Rasche, to whose learned work the reader is referred.[2] Not to multiply unnecessary examples,—in the valuable cabinet of the British Museum there is a rare bronze medal of the emperor Caracalla, whose head is on the obverse; and on the reverse, of which the following is an accurate representation,

there are *four* temples; the uppermost of which (on the left hand) is the the temple of the Ephesian Diana, whose figure appears in the centre. Opposite to it is the temple of Æsculapius; and the two other temples, beneath, are those of Geta and Caracalla. The inscription ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΑCΙΑC ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ Δ̄ ΝΕΩΚ. intimates that the Ephesians, the chief [people or citizens] of Asia, had for the fourth time been Neokoroi in honour of those emperors. Such is the nature of the coincidence furnished by this medal (even if there were no others extant), that it is sufficient of itself to establish the authenticity of the work, in which the coincidence is found. Besides the testimony furnished by this medal (which has never before been engraved), there is extant at Ephesus an ancient Greek inscription, on a slab of white marble, which not only confirms the general history related in Acts xix., but even approaches to several sentiments and phrases which occur in that chapter.[3]

IX. Lastly, the triumphal arch erected at Rome by the senate and Roman people in honour of the emperor Titus, (which structure is still subsisting, though greatly damaged by the ravages of time), is an undeniable evidence to the truth of the historic accounts, which describe the dissolution of the Jewish state and government, and also relate the conquest of Jerusalem. This edifice likewise corroborates the description of certain vessels used by the Jews in their religious worship, which is contained in the Old Testament. In this arch are still distinctly to be seen the golden candlestick, the table of shewbread, with a cup upon it, and the trumpets which were used to proclaim the year of Jubilee. Representations of these are given in the second volume of this work.[4]

Further, there are extant numerous MEDALS of Judæa vanquished, struck by order of the Roman general Titus (who was afterwards emperor), in order to commemorate the conquest of Judæa and the subversion of the Jewish state and polity. On the following representation of the reverse of one of these (which is engraved from the original medal, preserved in the cabinet of the British Museum),

the conquered country appears as a desolate female sitting under a tree. It affords an extraordinary fulfilment of Isaiah's prediction, delivered at least *eight hundred* years before —"*She being desolate* SHALL SIT *upon the ground*" (iii. 26.)— as well as a striking illustration of the Lamentations of Jeremiah (i. 1.):—"*How doth the city* SIT solitary, that was *full of people! How is she become as a widow! she that was great among the nations, princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary!*"

It would not have been difficult to adduce numerous additional testimonies from medals and inscriptions, which have been collected and described by various learned modern travellers, who have explored Greece and Asia Minor; but the length to which this chapter has already unavoidably extended forbids the production of further evidences of this kind.— Stronger testimonies than these it is impossible to bring for the credibility of any fact recorded in history, even of the important transactions which have taken place in our own days on the continent of Europe, and to which the British nation has been a party. Yet, notwithstanding this cloud of witnesses, it has lately been affirmed that the facts related in the scriptures of the New Testament never happened; that Jesus Christ was a mythological character,[5] and that the four Gospels are mere fabrications and romances. With as much truth

[1] Philip Rubenius has written a learned Diatribe de Urbibus Neocoris, which the reader will find in Grævius's Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum, tom. xi. pp. 1360—1365.

[2] Rasche, Lexicon Rei Nummariæ, vol. ii. columns 650—662. 666—670.

[3] The following is Dr. Chandler's translation of it:—"To the Ephesian Diana, inasmuch as it is notorious that, not only among the Ephesians, but also every where among the Greek nations, temples are consecrated to her, and sacred portions; and that she is set up, and has an altar dedicated to her, on account of her plain manifestations of herself; and that, besides the greatest tokens of the veneration paid her, a month is called after her name; for us Artemision, by the Macedonians and other Greek nations, and in their cities, Artemision; in which general assemblies and Hieromenia are celebrated, but not in the holy city, the nurse of its own, the Ephesian goddess:—the people of Ephesus deeming it proper, that the whole month called by her name be sacred and set apart to the goddess, have determined by this decree, that the observation of it by them be altered. Therefore it is enacted, that in the whole month Artemision the days be holy, and that nothing be attended to on them, but the yearly feastings, and the Artemisia, Panegyris, and the Hieromenia; the entire month being sacred to the goddess; for, from this improvement in her worship, our city shall receive additional lustre, and be permanent in its prosperity for ever." The person who obtained this decree appointed games for the month, augmented the prizes of the contenders, and erected statues of those who concurred. His name is not preserved, but he was probably a Roman, as his surnames, who provided this record, was named Lucius Phænius Faustus. The fast of Diana was resorted to yearly by the Ionians, with their families. Dr. Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor, p. 134. The original Greek inscription is printed in Dr. C.'s Inscriptiones Antiqæ, p. 13. no. xxxvi.

[4] See the Vignettes in Vol. II. Part III. Chap I. Sect. II. The best engravings of the arch of Titus are to be found in Hadrian Reland's treatise. De Spoliis Templi Hierosolymitani, in Arcu Titiane Romæ conspicuis. Ultrajecti, 1716. 8vo. Tolerably well executed copies of Reland's plates may be seen in Schulze's Compendium Archæologiæ Hebraicæ, tab. i. ii. iii. p. viii.—x. Dresdæ, 1793, 8vo. and also in the Fragments annexed to Calmet's Dictionary, no. ccliii. pp. 14—17. The destruction of Jerusalem is also *said* to be commemorated by an ancient inscription to the honour of Titus, who, by his father's directions and counsels, had subdued the Jewish nation, and destroyed Jerusalem, which had never been destroyed by any princes or people before. This assertion, however, is contrary to historical truth; for Pompey had conquered the Holy City. The following is the inscription alluded to:—

IMP. TITO. CÆSARI. DIVI. VESPASIANI. F.
VESPASIANO. AUG. PONTIFICI. MAXIMO.
TRIB. POT. X. IMP. XVII. COS. VIII. P. P.
PRINCIPI. SUO S. P. Q. R.
QUOD. PRÆCEPTIS. PATRIS. CONSILISQUE. ET.
AUSPICIIS. GENTEM. JUDÆORUM. DOMUIT. ET.
URBEM. HIEROSOLYMAM. OMNIBUS. ANTE. SE.
DUCIBUS. REGIBUS. GENTIBUSQUE. AUT. FRUSTRA.
PETITAM. AUT. OMNINO. INTENTATAM. DELEVIT.

It is, however, proper to remark, that some doubts have been entertained concerning the genuineness of this inscription. The diligent antiquary, Gruter (from whom we have copied it), acknowledges that it is not known where this inscription stood; and that Scaliger is of opinion, that it was the invention of Onufrio Panvinio. See Gruteri Inscriptiones Antiquæ, tom. i. p. ccxliv. no. 6. and Gronovius's Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum, tom. iii. p. 111.

[5] The assertion of the writer above alluded to was taken, without acknowledgment, from Volney, who first made it at the close of his "Ruins of Empires," and who was refuted by the late Rev. Peter Roberts, in a learned volume, entitled "Christianity Vindicated, in a Series of Letters addressed to Mr. Volney, in answer to his Book called 'Ruins.'" 8vo. London, 1800. This is only one instance, out of many, that might be adduced, of the total destitution of candour in the opposers of revelation, who continue to re-assert the long-since refuted falsehoods of former infidels, as if they had never before been answered.

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may it be said that the man, whose ambition not many years since disturbed the peace of Europe (and whose memory continues to be fondly cherished by millions in France), is a mythological person who never had any real existence. For the events of his career are recorded in a variety of documents, purporting to be issued by the different governments of Europe, which have been quoted or alluded to by various daily and periodical journals, as well as by contemporary historians, who profess to record the transactions of the last twenty-five years; and they are also perpetuated by structures[1] and medals,[2] which have been executed in order to commemorate particular victories or other transactions.

CHAPTER IV.

ALL THE BOOKS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS ARE OF DIVINE AUTHORITY, AND THEIR AUTHORS ARE DIVINELY INSPIRED.

SECTION I.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

Inspiration defined.—II. *Reasonable and necessary.*—III. *Impossibility of the Scriptures being the contrivance or invention of man.—Extent of Inspiration.*—IV. *Criteria of Inspiration.*

I. THE preceding *facts* have shown that the writers of the Old and New Testaments were men of the utmost integrity, and faithful historians, whose relations are entitled to the fullest and most implicit credit. But since an honest man may possibly mistake, not indeed in facts which he affirms to be true upon his own knowledge, but in inferences from those facts, in precepts and doctrines, or in delivering the sentiments of others, if we can urge nothing more in behalf of these writers, their authority will be only human. Something further is requisite, besides a pious life and a mind purified from passion and prejudice, in order to qualify them to be teachers of a revelation from God, namely, a DIVINE INSPIRATION, or the imparting such a degree of divine assistance, influence, or guidance, as should enable the authors of the Scriptures to communicate religious knowledge to others, without error or mistake, whether the subjects of such communications were things then immediately revealed to those who declared them, or things with which they were before acquainted.

II. That the Scriptures were actually dictated by inspiration, may be inferred both from the REASONABLENESS and from the NECESSITY of the thing.

1. "It is REASONABLE that the sentiments and doctrines, developed in the Scriptures, should be suggested to the minds of the writers by the Supreme Being himself. They relate principally to matters, concerning which the communicating of information to men is worthy of God; and the more important the information communicated, the more it is calculated to impress mankind, to preserve from moral error, to stimulate to holiness, to guide to happiness; the more reasonable is it to expect that God should make the communication free from every admixture of risk of error. Indeed, the notion of inspiration enters essentially into our ideas of a revelation from God; so that, to deny inspiration is tantamount to affirming that there is no revelation; and to doubt the possibility of inspiration, is to call in question the existence of God. And why should inspiration be denied? Is man out of the reach of him who created him? Has he, who gave to man his intellect, no means of enlarging or illuminating that intellect? And is it beyond his power to illuminate and inform, in an especial manner, the intellects of some chosen individuals; or contrary to his wisdom to preserve them from error, when they communicate to others, either orally or by writing, the knowledge he imparted to them, not merely for their own benefit, but for that of the world at large, in all generations?

2. "But, further, inspiration is NECESSARY. The necessity of revelation has already been shown, from the concurrent testimony of facts, experience, and history in every age, of which we have any authentic accounts;[3] and the same reasoning and facts establish the necessity of inspiration: for,

(1.) "The *subjects* of Scripture render inspiration necessary; for some past facts recorded in the Bible could not possibly have been known if God had not revealed them.

(2.) "Many things are there recorded as future, that is, are predicted, which God alone could foreknow and foretell, which, notwithstanding, came to pass, and which, therefore, were foretold under divine inspiration.

(3.) "Other things again are far above human capacity, and could never have been discovered by men; these, therefore, must have been delivered by divine inspiration.

(4.) "The authoritative language of Scripture, too, argues the necessity of inspiration, admitting the veracity of the writers. They propose things, not as matters for consideration, but for adoption: they do not leave us the alternative of receiving or rejecting: they do not present us with their own thoughts, but exclaim, *Thus saith the Lord*, and on that ground demand our assent. They must, therefore, of necessity, speak and write as they were inspired by the Holy Spirit, or be impostors;"[4] and the last supposition is precluded by the facts and reasonings which have been stated in the preceding pages.

III. As the writers of the Scriptures profess to have their doctrine from God, so it could not be the invention of men.

1. *It could* NOT *be the contrivance of* wicked *men.*

Had *they* invented a religion, they would unquestionably have made it more favourable to their own inclinations, passions, and appetites: they would not have fettered themselves, or laid themselves under such restraints as are imposed by the Bible, neither would they have denounced such tremendous judgments against the evil ways which they prefer and love: they would not have consulted so entirely the honour of God, and the reputation of piety, virtue, and goodness, as the Scriptures do; but they would have adapted the whole agreeably to their own evil nature, wishes, and desires. Indeed, if we could suppose them to be capable of this (which yet is to make them act contrary to nature), we cannot imagine that they should sacrifice all their worldly interests and prospects, and even their lives, for the sake of the Bible. Did ever bad men act such a part, contrive the greatest good, suffer and die to advance it?

2. *Equally evident is it, that the Bible could* NOT *be the contrivance of* good *men.*

The supposition involves them in a guilt perfectly inconsistent with their character. They speak in the name of God, and they profess to have received their doctrine from him. Now if it was otherwise, and they were conscious of a forgery, they must be the grossest impostors in the world, which is so directly contrary to all virtue and honesty, that it can never be imputed to any man who truly deserves the name of good. Consequently, the Bible must be the word of God, INSPIRED by him,[5] and thus given to man.

[1] Such is the Waterloo Bridge over the river Thames, which is *said* to commemorate the victory of Waterloo, obtained by British prowess, in 1815, over the forces of Bonaparte. Such also is the triumphal column, erected in the place Vendôme, at Paris, to commemorate the victories of the French army in Germany, in 1805, and which, according to a Latin inscription engraved thereon, is composed of the brass cannon conquered from the enemy during a campaign of three months.

[2] Of this description are the "Waterloo Medals," distributed by order of parliament, and at the expense of the British nation, to the illustrious general and the brave officers and soldiers who were engaged in the memorable battle of Waterloo; and also the beautiful series of medals struck under the direction of Mr. Mudie, to commemorate the achievements of the British army; to which may be added the series of French medals, usually called the Napoleon medals, executed for the purpose of commemorating the achievements of the French armies.

[3] See pp. 15—22. *supra.*

[4] Dr. O. Gregory's Letters on the Evidences of the Christian Religion vol. i. pp. 264. 266.

[5] When we say that the Scripture is the inspired word of God, we do not mean that it was all spoken by him, or that it was written by him, or that

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IV. Since the Jewish and Christian Scriptures profess to be given by inspiration of God, and have been recognised as such in every age[1] (which in itself is no mean presumptive argument that they are divinely inspired writings), and since also there have been many impostors in the world who have pretended to be divinely inspired, it is necessary that the authors of the dispensations contained in the Bible should produce satisfactory evidences of their divine mission. What then are the evidences of inspiration with which every rational creature ought to be perfectly satisfied? This important question admits of a clear and decisive answer; for, as the existence of any power is demonstrated by its operations, so the possession of *supernatural knowledge* is established by the performance of *supernatural works*, or miracles; or as an acquaintance with any language is manifested by speaking it with propriety and ease, so the gift of inspiration is unquestionably displayed by the foretelling of future events with precision. *Miracles* and *Prophecy*, therefore, are the two grand criteria on which most stress is laid in the Scriptures. Prophecies are the language of inspiration, and miracles are the operation of that divine agency by which the prophet is influenced. The testimony of our senses is not a more satisfactory evidence of the existence of external objects, than miracles and prophecy are of the existence of inspiration; and though both these modes of evidence are calculated, as well for us who live in remoter times, as for those who lived in the earliest, yet the evidence from miracles seems more particularly addressed to *them*, as that from prophecy is to *us*. To them, miracles would appear the best proof of the truth of a revelation, as they are addressed to the senses of the rude and the refined, and establish the truth of a religious system at once, without subtle disquisitions, for which comparatively few persons possess leisure, talents, or inclination. Miracles convince the mind at once; while prophecy does not give immediate conviction, but the *means* of conviction to such as in due time shall compare predictions with events. The ancients, who beheld the miracles, had reason to believe that the prophecies would be accomplished; just as the moderns, who see them fulfilled, have, besides other arguments, a strong presumption that miracles were performed. The arguments from miracles, depending on written testimony, will at all times be equally forcible, while that from prophecy (which has been termed a standing miracle) is *increasing* in strength through every age; and the more prophecies are fulfilled, the more testimonies there are, and confirmations of the truth and certainty of divine revelation; and in this respect we have eminently the advantage over those who lived in the days of Moses and the prophets, of Christ and his apostles. They had this growing evidence in part, but to us this amazing web is still more unfolded, and more of its wonderful texture is displayed. They indeed heard the discourses of Moses and the prophets, of Christ and his apostles, and they beheld their miracles: but we have this advantage over them, that several things, which were then only foretold are now fulfilled; and what were to them only matters of *faith*, are become matters of FACT and CERTAINTY to *us*.[2]

The evidence furnished by miracles and prophecy is so abundantly sufficient to prove that the Bible is the word of God, that we might safely rest its divine authority on these proofs. There are, however, other internal evidences, which, though not so obviously striking as miracles and prophecy, come home to the consciences and judgments of *every* person, whether learned or illiterate, and which leave infidels in every situation without excuse. These internal evidences are, the sublime doctrine and excellent moral precepts revealed in the Scripture; the wonderful harmony and intimate connection subsisting between all the parts of Scripture; the miraculous preservation of the Scriptures; their tendency to promote the present and eternal happiness of mankind, as evinced by the blessed effects which are invariably produced by a cordial reception of the Bible; and the peculiar advantages possessed by the Christian Revelation over all other religions.

SECTION II.

THE MIRACLES, RELATED IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS, ARE PROOFS THAT THE SCRIPTURES WERE GIVEN BY INSPIRATION OF GOD.

I. *A Miracle defined.*—II. *Nature of the evidence from Miracles.*—III. *Their Design.*—IV. *Credibility of Miracles, vindicated and proved.*—V. *Refutation of the objection that the evidence for the credibility of Miracles decreases with the lapse of years, and the contrary proved.*—VI. *Criteria for ascertaining true Miracles.*—VII. *Application of these criteria,* 1. *To the Miracles of Moses and of Joshua, and,* 2. *To those of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, the number, variety, design, and greatness of which, as well as the persons by whom and before whom, and the manner in which they were performed, are fully considered, together with the effects produced by them.—The Miracles of Christ and his Apostles were never denied.*—VIII. *An Examination of some of the principal Miracles related in the New Testament, particularly,* 1. *The Conversion of Water into Wine by Christ.*—2. *The Feeding of Five Thousand.*—3. *The Healing of the Paralytic.*—4. *Giving Sight to the man who was born blind.*—5. *The Healing of a man, lame from his birth, by Peter and John.*—6. *Raising from the dead the daughter of Jairus.*—7. *The Widow's Son at Nain.*—8. *And Lazarus.*—IX. *The* RESURRECTION *of Jesus Christ, viz.* 1. *Christ's Prophetic Declarations concerning his Death and Resurrection.*—2. *The Evidence of Adversaries of the Christian name and faith to this fact.*—3. *The Character of the Apostles by whom it was attested, and the Miracles wrought by them; all which demonstrate the reality and truth of Christ's resurrection.*—X. *General Summary of the Argument furnished by Miracles.*—XI. *Comparison of them with pretended pagan and popish Miracles, particularly those,* 1. *Of Aristeas the Proconnesian.*—2. *Of Pythagoras.*—3. *Of Alexander of Pontus.*—4. *Of Vespasian.*—5. *Of Apollonius of Tyana.*—6. *Pretended miracle at Saragossa.*—7. *Pretended miracles of the Abbé de Paris.*—*The Reality of the Christian Miracles demonstrated.*

I. A MIRACLE defined.

A miracle is *an effect or event, contrary to the established constitution or course of things,* or *a sensible suspension or controlment of, or deviation from, the known laws of nature, wrought either by the immediate act, or by the assistance, or by the permission of God, and accompanied with a previous notice or declaration that it is performed according to the purpose and by the power of God, for the proof or evidence of some particular doctrine, or in attestation of the authority or divine mission of some particular person.*

Nature is the assemblage of created beings. These beings act upon each other, or by each other, agreeably to certain rules formed by Infinite Wisdom, to which God has been pleased to conform his own agency. These rules are called by philosophers the *laws of nature*, and in the Scriptures, the *ordinances of heaven and earth*.[1] Effects which are produced by the regular operation of these laws, or which are conformable to the established course of events, are said to be *natural;* and every palpable suspension or controlment of, or deviation from, these laws, or rather from the progress of things according to these laws—which is accompanied with a previous notice or declaration that it is performed according to the purpose and by the power of God—is a *miracle*. "Thus the production of grain by vegetation is according to a law of nature; were it to fall like rain from the clouds, there would be a miracle. Or, it is a law of nature that the dead return not to life; were a dead person to become alive again, there would be a miracle. It is thus carefully to be distinguished, although the distinction be not often observed, from events of extraordinary magnificence or unusual occurrence. A miracle, indeed, must be unusual; but events may be both unusual and magnificent which are not miraculous. The appearance of a comet is unusual, and a violent

every thing that is contained therein is the word of God. But a distinction is to be made between those *precepts*, which inculcate justice, mercy, and holiness of life, and the *historical parts*, which show the consequences of a life in opposition to those principles. The first are properly *sacred*, because they not only lead a man to happiness even in this life, but also give him an evidence of things not seen in the life to come; and thus are called the *word of God*, as those moral virtues can only have their origin from the fountain of all goodness. The last, that is, the historical parts, though some are the words of good men,—wicked men,—or the speeches of Satan (on which account they cannot be termed the word or words of God), have a similar tendency; as they show, on the one hand, the malice, pride, and blasphemy of the spirit of wickedness, and on the other hand, that spirit of divine philanthropy, which, throughout the whole Bible, breathes nothing but "peace on earth, good will towards men." The nature and extent of inspiration are fully considered, *infra*, in No. II. of the Appendix to this volume.

[2] For the testimony of the Jews, in the time of Christ, it is sufficient to refer to the New Testament, and to Josephus against Apion, book i. §8. (See the passage in p. 30. *supra*.) For the belief of the modern Jews, see their confession of faith, which has been in use ever since the 13th century, in Bing's Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. pp. 245, 246. Dr. Whitby has collected the testimony of Christians during the first three centuries, in the General Preface to his Commentary, pp. xvii.—xx.

[1] Bp. Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies, vol. i. pp. 3, 4. ninth edition.

[1] Jer. xxxiii. 25. xxxi. 35. Job xxxviii. 12.

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thunder storm is magnificent; but in neither the one nor the other is there a suspension or alteration of any of nature's laws. All the various appearances, indeed, which material or mental phenomena may, according to those laws, assume, we are, perhaps, far from knowing. But it is one thing to assume an appearance, which, although a variety, is obviously, from its analogy, resolvable into a general law, and another, to suspend or reverse the law; and it is by this total alteration, of what from ample experience and induction, even we, with all our ignorance, can safely pronounce to be a law of nature, that a miracle must be distinguished from every other phenomenon. We ascertain these laws by an experience so extensive and uniform, that it produces a certainty of expectation, scarcely inferior to the certainty accompanying the testimony of our senses: this undoubted permanency being the foundation of all those rules of conduct in the affairs of life, which are the same in all generations, and implied in all the most brilliant discoveries, and profound calculations, in the science of physics."[1] It is further essential to a miracle, that it be accompanied with a previous notice or declaration that it is performed according to the purpose and by the power of God, for the proof or evidence of some particular doctrine, or in attestation of the authority or divine mission of some particular person. "This intimation is necessary, that it may not seem to happen in the ordinary course of things; and it must be beyond the reach of human calculation and power, that it may neither appear to be the effect of foresight and science, as an eclipse, nor the contrivance of human ingenuity and expertness, as the feats of jugglers."

II. Nature of the EVIDENCE arising from miracles.

It is commonly objected that a miracle is beyond our comprehension, and is therefore contrary to reason.

ANSWER.—This is by no means the case. The possibility of miracles, such as we have described them to be, is *not* contrary to reason, and consequently their credibility is capable of a rational proof; and though we cannot give a mechanical account of the manner how they are done, because they are done by the unusual interposition of an invisible agent, superior both in wisdom and power to ourselves, we must not therefore deny the fact which our own senses testify to be done. Every thing we see is, in one sense, a miracle: it is beyond our comprehension. We put a twig into the ground, and in a few years find that it becomes a tree; but how it draws its nourishment from the earth, and how it increases, we know not. We look around us, and see the forest sometimes shaken by storms, at other times just yielding to the breeze; in one part of the year in full leaf, in another, naked and desolate. We all know that the seasons have an effect on these things, and philosophers will conjecture at a few immediate causes; but in what manner these causes act, and how they put nature in motion, the wisest of them know not. When the storm is up, why does it not continue to rage? When the air is calm, what rouses the storm? We know not, but must, after our deepest researches into first causes, rest satisfied with resolving all into the power of God. Yet, notwithstanding we cannot comprehend the most common of these appearances, they make no impression on us, because they *are* common, because they happen according to a stated course, and are seen every day. If they were out of the common course of nature, though in themselves not more difficult to comprehend, they would still appear more wonderful to us, and more immediately the work of God. Thus, when we see a child grow into a man, and, when the breath has left the body, turn to corruption, we are not in the least surprised, because we see it every day; but were we to see a man restored from sickness to health by a word, or raised to life from the dead by a mere command, though these things are not really more unaccountable, yet we call the uncommon event a miracle, merely because it *is* uncommon. We acknowledge, however, that both are produced by God, because it is evident that no other power can produce them.

Such, then, is the nature of the evidence which arises from miracles; and we have no more reason to disbelieve them, when well attested and not repugnant to the goodness or justice of God, only because they were performed several ages ago, than we have to disbelieve the more ordinary occurrences of Providence which passed before our own time, because the same occurrences *may* never happen again during our lives. The ordinary course of nature proves the being and providence of God; these extraordinary acts of power prove the divine commission of that person who performs them.

[1] Dr. Cook's Inquiry into the Books of the New Testament, p. 337. Edinburgh, 1821. 8vo.

"No event can be justly deemed miraculous merely because it is strange, or even to us unaccountable; for it may be nothing more than the regular effect of some physical cause operating according to an established though unknown law of nature. In this country earthquakes happen but rarely, and at no stated periods of time; and for monstrous births perhaps no *particular* and satisfactory account can be given; yet an earthquake is as regular an effect of the established laws of nature as the bursting of a bomb-shell, or the movements of a steam engine; and no man doubts, but that, under particular circumstances unknown to him, the monster is nature's genuine issue. It is therefore necessary, before we can pronounce an event to be a true miracle, that the circumstances under which it was produced be known, and that the common course of nature be in some degree understood; for in all those cases in which we are totally ignorant of nature, it is impossible to determine what is, or what is not, a deviation from her course. Miracles, therefore, are not, as some have represented them, appeals to our ignorance. They suppose some antecedent knowledge of the course of nature, without which no proper judgment can be formed concerning them; though with it their reality may be so apparent as to leave no room for doubt or disputation. Thus, were a physician to give instantly sight to a blind man, by anointing his eyes with a chemical preparation, which we had never before seen, and to the nature and qualities of which we were absolute strangers, the cure would to us undoubtedly be *wonderful;* but we could not pronounce it *miraculous*, because it might be the physical effect of the operation of the unguent on the eye. But were he to give sight to his patient merely by commanding him to receive it, or by anointing his eyes with spittle, we should with the utmost confidence pronounce the cure to be a miracle; because we know perfectly that neither the human voice, nor human spittle, has, by the established constitution of things, any such power over the diseases of the eye. No one is now ignorant, that persons apparently dead are often restored to their families and friends, by being treated, during suspended animation, in the manner recommended by the *Humane Society*. To the vulgar, and sometimes even to men of science, these resuscitations appear very *wonderful;* but as they are known to be effected by physical agency, they can never be considered as *miraculous* deviations from the laws of nature, though they may suggest to different minds very different notions of the state of death. On the other hand, no one could doubt of his having witnessed a real miracle, who had seen a person, that had been four days dead, come alive out of the grave at the *call* of another, or who had even beheld a person, exhibiting all the common *evidences* of death, instantly resuscitated merely by being *desired* to live."[2]

Since miracles are effects contrary to the established constitution of things, we are certain that they will never be performed on trivial occasions; for the laws, in conformity to which created beings act, being a consequence of the nature of those beings, and of the relations which they bear to each other, are invariable. It is by them God governs the world: he alone established them: he alone can suspend them; and from the course of things thus established by Infinite Wisdom, no deviation can be made but by God himself, or by some person to whom he has delegated his power.

III. DESIGN of Miracles.

A miracle becomes a proof of the character or mission of him by whom it was wrought, by being *professedly* wrought for the confirmation of either. A miracle is the testimony of God. From the perfect veracity of him, who is the Supreme Being, it irresistibly results that he never can give, nor rationally be supposed to give, his testimony to any thing but truth. When, therefore, a miracle is wrought in confirmation of any thing, or as evidence of any thing, we know that that thing is true, because God has given to it his testimony. The miracles of Moses and of Christ were wrought to prove that their mission and doctrine were from God; therefore they certainly were from God.

1. To this it has been OBJECTED,[3] first, that believers in the Bible argue in a circle, and they prove the doctrine by the miracle, and the miracle by the doctrine; and, secondly, that miracles are asserted by the Scriptures themselves to have been wrought in confirmation of falsehood.

ANSWER.—(1.) The triumph of the adversaries of Christian

[2] Bp. Gleig's edition of Stackhouse's History of the Bible, vol. iii. p. 241.
[3] By Rousseau and others, whose objections have been re-echoed by more recent opposers of revelation.

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ity would indeed be complete, if we asserted that a doctrine can be proved to be reasonable and worthy of God, *only* by miracles, and should then make use of the doctrine to prove that the miracles come from God. But this is not the case. Miracles alone cannot directly prove the truth or falsehood, the reasonableness or absurdity, of any doctrine. As miracles are appeals to our senses, so are doctrines to our reason. They are properly credentials and testimonials, which, when a man can produce openly and fairly, if he teaches nothing absurd,—much more if his doctrines and precepts appear to be good and beneficial,—he ought to be obeyed.

(2.) The opposers of revelation are greatly mistaken when they assert that Christians argue in a circle, in proving the doctrines first by miracles, and then the miracles again by the doctrines; and the mistake lies in this,—that men do not distinguish between the doctrines which we *prove* by miracles, and the doctrines by which we *try* miracles, for they are not the same doctrines. The great doctrines of natural religion have for their evidence the works of nature, and want not the support of miracles. God never wrought miracles to prove the difference between good and evil; and if any man were asked how he proves temperance or chastity to be duties, or murder or adultery to be sins, he would not recur to miracles for an argument. Though these and similar duties are enforced in the Gospel, they were always truths and duties before the coming of Christ; and we are in possession of them, without the help of miracles or revelation. And these are the doctrines by which we try the miracles. But when any new doctrine is published to the world, of which nature has given no notice, it is of necessity that such new doctrines should be established by new proofs. Now the doctrines which are to be proved by miracles, are the new revealed doctrines of Christianity, which neither were nor could be known to the reason of man:—such are the doctrines of salvation and redemption by Christ, of sanctification and regeneration by the Spirit of God; and who ever brought these doctrines to prove the truth or divine original of the miracles?

2. It has also been objected that miracles are asserted, by the Scriptures themselves, to have been wrought in confirmation of falsehood;—as, for example, by the magicians in Egypt, the witch of Endor, and by Satan in the time of Christ's temptation.

ANSWER.—(1.) If the magicians of Egypt did work miracles, they were wrought by the permission of God, with a view to make the final triumph of his own cause, in the hands of Moses, more the object of public attention, and more striking to the view of mankind. This was done, when the magicians themselves were put to silence, and forced to confess that the works of Moses were accomplished by *the finger of God.* (Exod. viii. 19.) But the truth is, the magicians did NOT perform any miracles. All that they did [as the narrative of Moses expressly states] was to busy themselves in their enchantments: by which, every man now knows, that, although the weak and credulous may be deceived, miracles cannot possibly be accomplished.

(2.) The witch of Endor neither wrought nor expected to work any miracle. (1 Sam. xxviii. 7—25.) This is clearly evident from her astonishment and alarm at the appearance of Samuel. Saul, who expected a miracle, beheld Samuel without any peculiar surprise: she, who expected *none*, with amazement and terror. Indeed, it does not appear from the narrative, neither is it to be supposed, that this woman had power to call up Samuel, whom Saul wished to consult. But, before the sorceress could prepare her enchantments for the purpose of soothing and flattering Saul, the prophet Samuel, commissioned by God, appeared, to her astonishment and consternation, and denounced the judgment of death upon Saul. We are certain that, in this case, Samuel was sent by God himself; because the message he delivered respected a future event, and it is the prerogative of God alone to declare what shall happen.[2]

(3.) Satan is said by the evangelists to have taken Jesus Christ up into an exceeding high mountain, and to have shown him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, in a moment of time (Matt. iv. 8. Luke iv. 5.); which transaction a late scoffing antagonist of the Scriptures has termed "the most extraordinary of all the things called miracles." But the truth is, that this transaction is *not* one of the "things called miracles:" it is not mentioned as effected by supernatural means, or without Christ's free consent. Neither were all the kingdoms of the *world* exhibited to him. The Greek word κοσμος, here translated *world*, very frequently signifies land or country, and ought to have been thus rendered in the passage just cited;[3] the meaning being no other, than that Satan showed to Jesus Christ all the four tetrarchies or kingdoms comprised in the land of Judæa. In this transaction it will not be pretended that there was any thing miraculous.

The proper effect, therefore, of miracles is to mark *clearly* the divine interposition; and the Scriptures intimate this to be their design; for both Moses and the prophets, and Jesus Christ and his apostles, appealed to them in proof of their divine mission. Hence we draw this consequence, that he who performs a miracle performs it in the name of God, and on his behalf; that is to say, in proof of a divine mission.

IV. CREDIBILITY of Miracles vindicated and proved.

Whatever miracles are wrought, they are *matters of fact*, and are capable of being proved by proper evidence, as other facts are. To those who beheld the miracles wrought by Moses and Jesus Christ, as well as by his apostles, the seeing of those miracles performed was sufficient evidence of the divine inspiration of Moses and Jesus Christ. The witnesses, however, must be supposed to be acquainted with the course of nature, so as to be able to judge that the event in question was contrary to it. With respect to the miracles recorded in the Scriptures, this cannot be doubted: for no man of ordinary understanding could be incapable of ascertaining that the event was contrary to the course of nature, when the Israelites passed through the Red Sea, and afterwards over the river Jordan, the waters being stayed in their current on either side; when diseases were healed by a word; when sight was imparted to the blind, hearing to the deaf, and the powers of speech to the dumb, merely at command, and without the use of any other means: especially when a corpse, that had begun to putrefy, was restored to life by the speaking of a word. But to *other men*, miracles, like other events, admit of the evidence of testimony. Now, as we cannot doubt the competency of witnesses to ascertain facts, their credibility is the only point to be considered; and this must be determined upon the principles on which the credibility of testimony, in general, depends. As this topic has been dexterously seized by the advocates of infidelity, in order to decry the credibility of the miracles recorded in the Bible, the following hints on the value of human testimony may be found useful in enabling the student to investigate and explain them.

For estimating the value of *single evidences* the two following plain rules have been laid down:—

1. "Any thing capable of being proved by mere testimony, is credible in proportion to the opportunity which the witness had of being well informed concerning it himself, and his freedom from any bias that might make him wish to impose upon others.

If the person who gives us information appears to be a competent judge of it, and to have been in a situation in which he had the best opportunity of being rightly informed, and if there be no appearance of its being his interest to deceive us, we give our assent; but we hesitate in proportion to the doubts we entertain on either of these heads.

2. The *more* persons there are who relate the same transaction, of which they are equally credible witnesses, the stronger is the evidence for it. But, the more persons there are, through whose hands the *same narration* is conveyed to us, the weaker is the evidence.

In this latter case, the witnesses are called *dependent* ones; but in the former, they are said to be *independent*. Whatever imperfection there may be in any one of a number of independent witnesses, it is in part removed by the testimony of others; but every imperfection is increased in proportion to the number of dependent witnesses, through whose hands the same story is transmitted."

3. The proper mark or criterion of a story being related by a number of independent witnesses of full credit, is their complete agreement in the principal arguments, and their disagreement with respect to things of less consequence, or at least variety, or diversity, in their manner of relating the same story.

[1] Dr. Dwight's System of Theology, vol. ii. p. 508. That the Egyptian magicians did *not* work miracles, has been proved at considerable length by Dr. Farmer, in his Dissertation on Miracles. Chapter iv. Sect. i. Dr. Graves has given the chief part of Dr. Farmer's Observations, with some additional remarks, in his Lectures on the Four last Books of the Pentateuch, vol. i. Appendix, Sect. ii.

[2] On this subject the reader will find a well-written and satisfactory communication in the London Christian Instructor for 1818. Vol. i. pp. [illegible]—[illegible].

[3] That the above is the proper rendering of οικουμενη, is fully proved by Dr. Lardner. Works, vol. i. pp. 241. 255, 256. 8vo.; or vol. i. pp. 132. 139 140. 4to.

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"The reason of this is, that to things of principal importance they will all equally attend, and therefore they will have their minds equally impressed with the ideas of them; but that to things of less consequence they will not give the same attention, and therefore they will be apt to conceive differently concerning them.

"If a number of persons agree very minutely with respect to all the facts of any narrative, general and particular, and also in the order and manner of their narration, it will amount to a proof that they have agreed together to tell the same story; and in this they will be supposed to have been influenced by some motive not favourable to the value of their testimony; and besides, having learned circumstances one of another, they cannot be considered as independent of one another. All the histories which have been written by persons in every respect equally credible, agree in the main things, but they are as certainly found to differ with regard to things of less consequence. We likewise distinguish with respect to the *nature of the fact* to which our assent is required; for we expect more numerous, more express, and, in all points, more unexceptionable evidence, according to the degree of its previous improbability, arising from its want of analogy to other facts already known: and in this there is a gradation from things which are antecedently highly probable, and therefore require but little positive evidence, to things which are utterly incredible, being so contrary to what we already know of the course of nature and the author of it, that no evidence could convince us of it."

For instance, "if my servant should tell me that, as he was passing through a certain place, he saw a friend of mine, who (he knew) had business in that neighbourhood, and the character of my servant was such, that I had never known him to tell me a wanton lie, I should readily believe him; and, if I had any thing to do in the case, I should, without hesitation, act upon the supposition that what he told me was true. But, if the same servant should say that, coming through the same place, he saw another of my friends, whom I knew to have been dead, I should not believe him, though the thing in itself was not naturally impossible; and if ten or a dozen persons of our common acquaintance, persons of knowledge and curiosity, should, independently of one another, seriously inform me that they were present themselves, and had no doubt of the fact, I might believe it."[1] It follows, however, from this observation, that miracles require a much stronger testimony than common facts; and such testimony, it will be seen in the following pages, they really have.

The greatest part of our knowledge, whether scientific or historical, has no other foundation than testimony. How many facts in chemistry, in physics, or other departments of science, do we receive without having seen them, only because they are attested to us; though they may seem contrary not only to our personal experience, but also to common experience? For instance, I am informed that the fresh-water polype, when cut into pieces, is re-produced in each piece; that the pieces of this insect, when put end to end, intergraft and unite together; that this same insect may be turned inside out like a glove; and that it lives, grows, and multiplies, in this new state, as well as in its natural state. These are strange facts, and yet I admit them upon credible testimony.[2] Again, a man who has never been out of Great Britain is, by testimony alone, as fully convinced of the existence of foreign countries as he is of the existence of the country in which he lives. No person, who has read history, has any more doubt of there being such a city as Rome or Paris, or that there formerly existed such persons as Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar, than he has of the truth of the proposition that two and two make four, or that queen Elizabeth some time since reigned in this island, or that William the Fourth is, at present, sovereign of the British empire. The truth of these events is conveyed to us by the general and concurrent testimony of history, by which it is so firmly established, that, were a set of learned men now to arise, and, without being able to produce any ancient contradictory statements, to endeavour by specious reasonings to destroy our belief of it, it would argue the greatest folly and weakness to be moved by them. The truth of other facts is substantiated in the same manner, and upon such evidence almost the whole business and intercourse of human life is conducted. But, however applicable this reasoning may be to the ordinary affairs of human life, it has been laid down by some persons as a maxim, that no human testimony is sufficient to prove a miracle. This assertion was first made by a late celebrated philosopher, whose notions have been adopted by all later deists, and whose argument in substance is this:—"Experience, which in some things is variable, in others is uniform, is our *only* guide in reasoning concerning matters of fact. Variable experience gives rise to probability only: an uniform experience amounts to proof. Our belief of any fact, from the testimony of eye-witnesses, is derived from no other principle than our experience of the veracity of human testimony. If the fact attested be miraculous, there arises a contest of two opposite experiences, or proof against proof. Now, a miracle is a violation of the laws of nature: and as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the fact, is as complete as any argument from experience can possibly be imagined; and if so, it is an undeniable consequence, that it cannot be surmounted by any proof whatever derived from human testimony."[3]

Now, to this reasoning, or the most prominent and essential parts of it, several decisive answers have been or may be given. A few of these may properly find a place here.

(1.) "Dr. Campbell, in his celebrated 'Dissertation on Miracles,' shows the fallacy of Mr. Hume's argument thus:—'The evidence arising from human testimony is *not* derived *solely* from experience: on the contrary, testimony has a natural influence on belief, antecedent to experience.

'The early and unlimited assent given to testimony by children, gradually contracts as they advance in life: it is therefore more consonant to truth to say, that our *diffidence* in testimony is the result of experience, than that our *faith* in it has this foundation. Besides, the uniformity of experience in favour of any fact is not a proof against its being reversed in a particular instance. The evidence arising from the single testimony of a man of known veracity will go further to establish a belief of its being actually reversed. If his testimony be confirmed by a few others of the same character, we *cannot* withhold our assent to the truth of it. Now, though the operations of nature are governed by human laws, and though we have not the testimony of our senses in favour of any *violation* of them; still, if in particular instances we have the testimony of thousands of our fellow-creatures, and those, too, men of strict integrity, swayed by no motives of ambition or interest, and governed by the principles of common sense, that they were actually witnesses of these violations, the constitution of our nature obliges us to believe them.'

(2.) "Mr. Hume's reasoning is founded upon too limited a view of the laws and course of nature.

"If we consider things duly, we shall find that lifeless matter is utterly incapable of obeying any laws, or of being endued with any powers; and, therefore, what is usually called *the course of nature*, can be nothing else than the arbitrary will and pleasure of God, acting continually upon matter, according to certain rules of uniformity, still bearing a relation to contingencies. So that it is as easy for the Supreme Being to alter what men think the course of nature, as to preserve it. Those effects, which are produced in the world regularly and indesinently, and which are usually termed the works of nature, prove the constant providence of the Deity; those, on the contrary, which, upon any extraordinary occasion, are produced in such a manner as it is manifest could not have been either by human power, or by what is called chance, prove undeniably the immediate interposition of the Deity on that special occasion. God, it must be recollected, is the governor of the *moral* as well as of the *physical* world; and since the moral well-being of the universe is of more consequence than its physical order and regularity, it follows, obviously, that the laws, conformably with which the material world seems generally to be regulated, are subservient, and may occasionally yield to the laws by which the moral world is governed. Although, therefore, a miracle is contrary to the *usual course* of nature (and would indeed lose its beneficial effect if it were not so), it cannot thence be inferred that it is 'a violation of the *laws* of nature,' allowing the term to include a regard to *moral* tendencies. The laws by which a wise and holy God governs the world cannot, unless he is pleased to reveal them, be learnt in any other way than from *testimony*; since, on this supposition, nothing but testimony can bring us acquainted with the whole series of his dispensations, and this kind of knowledge is absolutely necessary previously to our con

[1] Dr. Priestley's Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion, vol. i. pp. 274–278. On the subject of the credibility of testimony Mr. Gambier's Moral Evidence may be very advantageously consulted.

[2] The curious reader will find accounts of numerous experiments on these extraordinary animals in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, vols. xlii. xliii. xliv. and xlv.

[3] Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. i. art. *Abridgment*.

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rectly inferring those laws. Testimony, therefore, must be admitted as constituting the principal means of discovering the real laws by which the universe has been regulated; that testimony assures us that the *apparent* course of nature has often been interrupted to produce important moral effects; and we must not at random disregard such testimony, because, in estimating its credibility, we ought to look almost infinitely more at the moral, than at the physical circumstances connected with any particular event."[1]

(3.) The futility of Mr. Hume's sophism may also be shown, even upon its own avowed principles.

If the secret of compounding gunpowder had perished by the accidental death of its discoverer, immediately after its extraordinary powers had been exhibited before a hundred competent witnesses, on the principles of the sophism now before us, the fact of its extraordinary powers must immediately be rejected as a manifest falsehood. For, that a small black powder should possess such powers, contradicts the universal experience of mankind. The attestation, therefore, of the hundred witnesses plainly contradicts the universal experience of mankind. But it is more probable that these hundred witnesses should be liars, than that the universal experience of mankind should be contravened. Therefore, the pretended black powder possessed no such extraordinary powers, as those which these false witnesses would fain ascribe to it.

(4.) This sophism (for argument it can scarcely be called) "proves too much, and therefore proves nothing."

It proves too much; for, if I am to reject the strongest testimony to miracles, because testimony has often deceived me, whilst nature's order has never been found to fail, then I ought to reject a miracle, even if I should see it with my own eyes, and if all my senses should attest it; for all my senses have sometimes given false reports, whilst nature has never gone astray; and, therefore, be the circumstances ever so decisive or inconsistent with deception, still I must not believe what I see, and hear, and touch; what my senses, exercised according to the most deliberate judgment, declare to be true. All this the argument requires, and it proves too much: for disbelief in the case supposed is out of our power, and is instinctively pronounced absurd; and, what is more, it would subvert that very order of nature on which the argument rests: for this order of nature is learned only by the exercise of my senses and judgment; and if these fail me in the most unexceptionable circumstances, then their testimony to nature is of little worth."[2]

V. Refutation of the objection, that the evidence for the credibility of miracles decreases with the lapse of years.

It is further objected by the disciples of Mr. Hume, that "whatever may be conceded to those who received miracles as true from the testimony of *concurrent* witnesses, those who lived a thousand years after the event can have no reason to believe it; and that if we admit that concurrent testimony may augment, still *successive* testimony diminishes, and that so rapidly as to command no assent after a few centuries at most."

ANSWER.—This objection is specious, but very far from being correct. It is not, indeed, denied, "that there may be cases in which credibility vanishes with time; but no testimony is really in the nature of things rendered less credible by any other cause, than the loss or want of some of those conditions which first made it rationally credible. A testimony continues *equally* credible, so long as it is transmitted with all those circumstances and conditions which first procured it a certain degree of credit amongst men, proportionate to the intrinsic value of those conditions. Let it be supposed that the persons who transmit the testimony are able, honest, and diligent in all the requisite inquiries as to what they transmit, and how should the credibility due to their testimony be weakened, but by the omission of circumstances? which omission is contrary to the hypothesis. No calculation of the decrease of the credibility of testimony, in which a man bears witness respecting realities, and not the fictions of his own brain, can ever proceed upon any other principle than that of the characters and qualifications of the witnesses: and, therefore, as far as the credibility of any matter of fact depends upon pure testimony, those who live at the remotest distance of time may have the same evidence of the truth of it, as those persons who lived nearest to the time in which the thing was said to be done; that identical time being of course excluded.

"In what possible manner, for example, can the evidence on which *we* believe the facts related in the Gospels be less than that on which those facts were accredited by Christians in the second or third centuries? They possessed the standard writings of the evangelists; so do we: what those books then contained, they now contain; and the invention of printing seems likely, under the care of Providence, to preserve them genuine to the end of time. This admirable invention has so far secured all considerable monuments of antiquity, that no ordinary calamities of wars, dissolutions of governments, &c. can destroy any material evidence now in existence, or render it less probable to those who shall live in a thousand years' time, than it is to us. With regard to the facts of the Christian religion, indeed, it is notorious that our evidence in favour of them has *increased* instead of diminishing since the era of printing, the reformation of religion, and the restoration of letters; and, as even the *recent* inquiries of learned men have produced fresh evidence, there is every reason to hope it will continue to increase. Indeed, it is only with regard to the facts related in the Bible, that men ever talk of the daily diminution of credibility. Who complains of a decay of evidence in relation to the actions of Alexander, Hannibal, Pompey, or Cæsar? How many fewer of the events recorded by Plutarch, or Polybius, or Livy, are believed now (on account of a diminution of evidence), than were believed by Mr. Addison, or Lord Clarendon, or Geoffrey Chaucer? It might be contended, with some show of probability, that we know *more* of those ancients than the persons now mentioned; but that is widely different from accrediting *less*. We never hear persons wishing they had lived ages earlier, that they might have had better proofs that Cyrus was the conqueror of Babylon, that Darius was beaten in several battles by Alexander, that Titus destroyed Jerusalem, that Hannibal was entirely routed by Scipio, or Pompey by Julius Cæsar: though we sometimes find men of ardent and enterprising minds exclaiming—'O that I had lived and been present when such and such splendid events occurred: how lively an interest should I have taken in such scenes, how much concern in their termination!' And, indeed, it is the frequent hearing of like exclamations that causes men to confound weight of testimony with warmth or depth of feeling; and to lose sight of the essential difference between real evidence, or the true basis for belief of history, and the sensible impression or influence which such history may make upon the mind. We believe as firmly that Lucretius killed himself in the delirium of a fever, as that Lucretia stabbed herself in consequence of the wrongs she had received from Tarquin's son; yet we feel a much more lively interest in the latter event than in the former. The fate of Carthage, or the result of the contest between Anthony and Octavius respecting the empire of the world, would doubtless be much more deeply felt, and much more warmly conversed about, within two centuries of the circumstances, than they ever are now; yet those who then conversed about them had just as much reason to doubt their occurrence as we have; that is, just none at all. And the like reasoning will apply to all the circumstances recorded in authentic history. So that, having established the genuineness and authenticity of the books of Scripture on evidence far superior to that on which other historic books are received, it is the most idle and ridicu-

[1] Dr. O. Gregory's Letters on the Evidences, &c. of the Christian Revelation, vol. i. pp. 176, 177. This argument is pursued to a considerable extent by Professor Vince, in his Sermons on the Credibility of Miracles, 8vo.; and with much acuteness by Dr. Dwight, in his System of Theology, vol. i. pp. 498—505. See also Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part vi. lect. 30. pp. 72—91. and Dr. Cook's Inquiry into the Books of the New Testament, pp. 336—352. The sceptical theory of Hume concerning testimony has been exposed with singular ability by Dr. Whately, in his "Historic Doubts" relative to the late Napoleon Bonaparte, who has applied it to the history of that extraordinary man, to which he has shown that it applies with so much greater force than it does to the Jewish or Christian narrative, as to induce the disciple of Hume to this dilemma, viz. either to abandon his theory altogether, or to apply it first where it is most applicable; and upon those grounds, on which he impugns the Christian Scriptures, to acknowledge the accounts of Bonaparte, with which the world was so long amazed and terrified, to have been a mere forgery—the amusement of wits—or the laughter of politicians.

The reader, who is desirous of *fully* investigating the subject of miracles, will find it very ably treated in Drs. Campbell's and Adams's Treatises, in reply to the sophistry of Hume; in Dr. Hey's Norrisian Lectures, vol. i. pp. 157—222.; in Dr. Price's Four Dissertations on Providence, &c. diss. iv. pp. 391. *et seq.* (4th edit.); in the Criterion of the late Dr. Douglas, Bp. of Salisbury; and in Dr. Elrington's Sermons on Miracles, at the Donnellan Lectures for 1795, 8vo. Dublin, 1796. See also Bp. Gleig's Dissertation on Miracles (in the third volume of his edition of Stackhouse's History of the Bible, pp. 289. *et seq.*), in which the recent endeavours in a celebrated literary journal to support the sceptical notions of Hume and his followers are most ably exposed; as they also are in the Rev. J. Somerville's "Remarks on an Article in the Edinburgh Review, in which the Doctrine of Hume on Miracles is maintained." 8vo. Edinburgh, 1815. The fifth and sixth volumes of Professor Vernet's Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne also discuss the subject of miracles at considerable length, and present with mild and learned replies to the objections of the opposers of revelation.

[2] Dr. Channing's Discourse on the Evidences of Revealed Religion, p. 46.

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tous thing imaginable, to affect to disbelieve any of the facts therein recorded on account of the remoteness of the times in which they occurred."[1]

Thus, the historical evidences of the genuineness, truth, and divine authority of the Scriptures are so far from growing less and less by the lapse of ages (as some antagonists of revelation have insinuated), that, on the contrary, they are progressively increasing with increasing years: for so many new evidences and coincidences have been discovered in favour of the Jewish and Christian histories, as abundantly to make up for any evidences that may have been lost in former ages; and, as this improvement of the historical evidences is progressively increasing, there is every reason to believe that they will daily become more and more irresistible to all *candid* and serious inquirers.[2]

VI. But, however satisfactory the preceding general abstract evidences may be, it is not necessary to rest the defence of miracles against the objections of infidels wholly upon them. The miracles related in the Bible are accompanied by such evidences as it will be found difficult to adduce in support of any other historic fact, and such as cannot be brought to substantiate any pretended fact whatever.

Since, as we already have had occasion to observe,[3] the proper effect of a miracle is *clearly* to mark the divine interposition, it must therefore have characters proper to indicate such interposition; and these CRITERIA are six in number

1. It is required, then, in the first place, that a fact or event, which is stated to be miraculous, should have an important end, worthy of its author.
2. It must be instantaneously and publicly performed.
3. It must be sensible and easy to be observed: in other words, the fact or event must be such, that the senses of mankind can clearly and fully judge of it.
4. It must be independent of second causes.
5. Not only public monuments must be kept up, but some outward actions must be constantly performed in memory of the fact thus publicly wrought.
6. And such monuments must be set up, and such actions and observances be instituted, at the very time when those events took place, and afterwards be continued without interruption.[4]

1. The first character of a miracle is, AN IMPORTANT END, AND WORTHY OF ITS AUTHOR. For what probability is there, that the Almighty should specially interpose, and suspend the laws by which he governs this world, without any necessity, for a frivolous reason, inconsistent with his wisdom, and unworthy of his greatness? Every miracle, then, must have a useful end, and one to which second causes are *inadequate*;—as, to authorize a prophet, or to establish a revelation. An end so wise and so benevolent is well worthy of the Supreme Being.

This character of a true miracle is found in *all* the miracles recorded as being performed by Moses and Jesus Christ. None of them are represented as having been wrought on trivial occasions. The writers who mention them were eye-witnesses of the facts, which facts they affirm to have been performed publicly, in attestation of the truth of their respective dispensations. They are indeed so incorporated with these dispensations, that the miracles cannot be separated from the doctrines; and if the miracles were not really performed, the doctrines cannot be true. Further, the miracles of Moses and Jesus Christ were wrought in support of revelations, which opposed all the religious systems, prejudices, and superstitions of the age. This circumstance alone sets them, in point of authority, infinitely above the pagan prodigies recorded by ancient writers, as well as the pretended miracles of the Romish church; many of which may be shown to be mere natural events, while others are represented as having been performed in secret, on the most *trivial* occasions, and long before the time of the writers by whom they are related; and such of them as at first view appear to be best attested, are evidently tricks contrived for interested purposes, to flatter power, or to promote the prevailing superstitions, and the erroneous doctrines which that church has imposed upon her members, as articles of faith, that must be believed on pain of damnation.

2. A second criterion of a miracle is, that IT BE INSTANTANEOUSLY AND PUBLICLY PERFORMED, AND BEFORE CREDIBLE WITNESSES.—A business, huddled up in a cloister before a few interested monks, is not properly attested. But when an action is performed before the public eye, as the miracles of Moses and those of Christ were, or before witnesses who have totally exculpated themselves of having any end but that of truth, we have all the attestation we can reasonably desire.

(1.) It must be INSTANTANEOUSLY performed.

A miracle does not present the shades and gradations observable in nature. Nature proceeds not by fits and starts, but is gradual and progressive in its operations; does not create, but unfolds; nourishes, and causes to sprout and grow; sets to work second causes, which act only by little and little, and do not produce their effect until the end of a certain period. From this rule the divine agency is entirely free. God *said*, "Let there be light, and there *was* light."

(2.) Further, PUBLICITY or notoriety is requisite.

Not that a miracle performed in the sight of a few witnesses is the less a miracle on that account. It is enough that there is a sufficient number of spectators worthy of credit. The notoriety of this or that particular miracle may be more or less restrained by circumstances; and we cannot reject a miracle, properly established, under the pretence that it has not had all the notoriety which we might have imagined to be necessary. How great soever may be the number of witnesses, we can always conceive a greater. But there is a degree of notoriety which satisfies reason; and if it were not so, testimonial proof could never be complete.

To this criterion of a miracle, it has been OBJECTED, that Jesus enjoined secrecy on some of the persons on whom he had wrought miraculous cures, and hence it has been insinuated that they could not bear the test of examination.

ANSWER.—A little attention will show that this objection is unfounded. "Distinguish the times, and the Scriptures will agree."[5] This observation is of particular importance in showing that the contradictions, which the opposers of revelation have asserted to exist in the relations of Christ's miracles, are utterly unfounded; and also in showing the reason why he commanded *some* of the persons whom he had healed, not to divulge their miraculous cures to any man, while he performed others with the greatest publicity.

Jesus Christ having delighted and instructed the multitude with his discourses, the fame of them, and of his mighty works, so struck the people, that the crowd which assembled around him increased every day. In the universal expectation of the Messiah that then prevailed, there was reason to fear lest the Jews, under the impulse of blind but ardent zeal, should have declared him their king, or lest some seditious spirit should take advantage of their favourable disposition towards him, to create some disturbance among that people. This indeed is evident from the Gospel, which informs us that the Jews had laid a scheme *to take him away by force, and make him a king*. (John vi. 15.) But Jesus did not choose to give umbrage to the Roman government. Though he was to be condemned to death, it was not necessary he should be so as a rebel to Cæsar. That fine testimony was to be borne to his innocence,—*I find no fault in this man.* (Luke xxiii. 4.) Determined to seal with his blood the truth of his religion, he first proved his divine mission, multiplied the witnesses of his miracles, confirmed the faith of the apostles, gave them instructions, and destroyed the prepossession that the Messiah was to be a temporal king, surrounded with the pomp of worldly grandeur. But all this was not the work of a few days. A rapid instruction, joined to a multitude of miracles crowded into a short space of time, would not have left traces deep enough in the minds of men. Infinite Wisdom, therefore, permitted not our Saviour to kindle the hatred of his enemies too soon, nor to deliver himself into their hands *before his hour was come*. He was in the mean time to work miracles, and to give them the necessary authenticity; but their greater or less notoriety depended upon times, places, and persons. By making these distinctions, we shall discern in our Divine Saviour a wisdom as constant in its aim, as admirable

[1] Dr. O. Gregory's Letters on the Evidences, &c. of the Christian Revelation, vol. i. pp. 196. 199. On this subject see Mr. Benson's Hulsean Lectures for 1820, pp. 78—98.

[2] The reader who is desirous of seeing the argument (which is here necessarily treated with brevity) fully discussed, is referred to the Hulsean Prize Essay, for 1831, by the Rev. George Langshaw, B. A. (Cambridge, 1832. 8vo.), entitled "The Evidences of the Truth of the Christian Religion are not weakened by Time."

[3] See p. 95. *supra*.

[4] These criteria for judging of miracles, with their illustrations, are chiefly abridged from Mr. Leslie's Short and Easy Method with the Deists, and Professor Claparede's "Considerations upon the Miracles of the Gospel," in answer to Rousseau, translated and published in 8vo. London, 1758.

[5] Distinguite tempora, et concordabunt Scripturæ. Augustin de Verb. Domini, serm. 16.

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the appropriation of means to the variety of circumstances. He acted less openly in Judæa: Jerusalem especially required from him great circumspection. He was there under the eye of Pilate, the sanhedrim, and the priests: and the eagerness of the people to follow him might have readily furnished them with a pretence to accuse him as seditious. In the seventh chapter of the Gospel of John we learn, that *Jesus retired into Galilee, not choosing to remain in Judæa, because that the Jews sought to kill him.* (John vii. 1.) Out of Judæa he was more at liberty. We must not therefore wonder at his saying to the demoniac of Gadara, *Return to thine own house, and shew how great things God hath done unto thee.* (Luke viii. 39.) Gadara was a city where there were many heathens: a disturbance among the people there was not so much to be feared. Jesus acted also more openly in Galilee. We read in the fourth chapter of Matthew, that he there performed miracles in a very public manner. Such was the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves; and yet, as soon as he saw that the people were on the point of taking him away to make him a king, *he retired to a mountain.* (John vi. 15.) He had regard therefore to the different disposition of men's minds. This was sometimes so favourable to him, that, choosing to distribute into different places the light of his doctrine, he prescribed silence to those whom he cured; that he might not be too long detained in the same place by the multitude, who, being informed of a new miracle, would have importuned him without ceasing. Thus, when he had raised up Jairus's daughter, he forbade the parents to publish it.

That our Lord chose to distribute equally the light of his doctrine is evident from the Gospel. We learn (Mark i. 38. Luke iv. 43.) that when he had wrought several miracles in Capernaum, he says, *Let us go into the next towns, that I may preach there also; for therefore came I forth.* The people *staying him, that he should not depart from them, he said unto them, I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also.*

But this distinction of times will furnish us with the most light in perusing the narrative of our Saviour's miracles. At his entrance upon his ministry Jesus Christ used the utmost caution, not choosing to be detained at the commencement of his course. It was at the entrance upon his ministry that he healed the leper spoken of in Mark i. 40—45. Accordingly, the evangelists adds, that he recommended to the leper to keep silence respecting his cure. (ver. 44.) Presently after, he performed his miracles more openly; but took the wise precaution of qualifying their splendour. It was with this view that he declared his kingdom was not of this world. Luke informs us that the people were amazed at the mighty power of God. But while they wondered at all things which Jesus did, he said to his disciples, *Let these sayings sink down into your ears; for the Son of man shall be delivered into the hands of men.* (Luke ix. 44.) The further he advanced in his course, the more eclat and notoriety did he give to his miracles. On the approach of his last passover, he hesitated not to celebrate it at Bethany, at Jerusalem, and in sight of his enemies. We learn from Matthew (xxi. 14. with John xii. 37.), that *the blind and the lame came unto him in the temple, and that he cured them in the presence of the chief priests.* When he had laid the foundations of his religion, the reserve which he had formerly used was no longer necessary: it would have shown more weakness than prudence.

The preceding remarks will serve to remove the apparent contradictions arising from the different degrees of notoriety which Jesus Christ gave to his miracles. As he read men's hearts, the different dispositions which he there discovered led him to diversify his measures. He tempered the splendour of his miracles, when any event might result from that splendour injurious to his religion. The infinite Wisdom which enlightened him, discovered to him, in this respect, combinations which would have escaped a mortal sight. When, therefore, he appears to vary his process, it is not that he changes his plan, but he avoids the obstacles which might injure it.[1]

3. A miracle must, in the third place, BE SENSIBLE AND EASY TO BE OBSERVED: in other words, the facts purporting to be miraculous must be of such a nature, that the senses of mankind can certainly perceive that both the event is real, and its origin supernatural.[2]

It must turn upon laws which are generally known, and not upon such as are scarcely or not at all known nor upon subjects too remote from us, or which require the *experienced* eye of an observer in order to be perceived. A supernatural motion in the ring or satellites of Saturn could not therefore be a miracle for the generality of the earth's inhabitants; it would at most be only so to astronomers. A miracle, being calculated to establish the divine interposition, ought to be more within the reach of men: signs from earth, therefore, will be preferable to signs from heaven.—If a man display a phial full of blood which *sometimes* congeals and *sometimes* liquefies, he has no right to our credit, unless he submit his phial to the examination of our senses. But when the waters of the Nile are turned into blood; when millions are fed with manna; when a man is raised from the dead; when four or five thousand people are fed by a pittance:—in such cases there can be no deception; our senses, which are the only competent judges, have the means of judging.

4. A miracle ought to be INDEPENDENT OF SECOND CAUSES, or performed without any natural instrument.

If any external action or foreign circumstances *accompany* it (as was commonly the case), this action or circumstance has no natural connection with the effect produced. This it is which particularly distinguishes miracles from natural events. The latter have a natural cause; and that cause is proportionate to the effects which result from it. Thus every body, that is in motion, moves in proportion to the force that impels it. But the immediate special interposition of God excludes that of physical agents; in every miracle, the proportion between causes and effects no longer subsists. Medicine has remedies proper for curing diseases: these remedies bear a certain relation to the nature of the malady which they are to remove or destroy: but no such relation is discoverable in miracles. It is by natural means that the understanding is enlightened and instructed in those things of which it was previously ignorant. I speak a language that is foreign to me; I devoted time and labour to the acquisition of it, and employed the assistance of a master: but if, independently of such aids, my mind be instantaneously enriched with all the words of a language before unknown to me, the effect has not its cause in nature. The event is supernatural. The application of this remark to the apostles, at the day of Pentecost, is too obvious to be insisted upon.

It has been OBJECTED to this criterion of a miracle, that Jesus Christ, in three of his miracles, made use of an external application; which, if it were necessary to the cure, looks like the application of some hidden means of art. If it were unnecessary, such process is arraigned as being improper in the mode, and even ridiculous.

ANSWER. The three miracles in question are those of the man who had been born blind (John ix. 1—7.), the blind man in the vicinity of Bethsaida (Mark viii. 23—26.), and the deaf man near the sea of Galilee. (Mark vii. 32—37.) In the first of these, "he spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay," and commanded him to go and wash in the pool of Siloam; the man went thither, and washed, and returned seeing. In the second case, "he took the blind man by the hand and led him out of the town, and when he had spit on his eyes, and put his hands upon him, he asked him if he saw aught? and he looked up, and said, I see men as trees walking. After that he put his hands again upon his eyes, and made him look up, and he was restored, and he saw every man clearly; and he sent him away to his own house, saying, Neither go into the town, nor tell it to any in the town." Nearly similar was our Saviour's treatment of the deaf man who had an impediment in his speech, into whose ears he put his fingers, and "spit and touched his tongue; and looking up to heaven, he sighed, and saith unto him, Ephphatha, that is,—Be opened! and straightway his ears were opened, and the string of his tongue was loosed, and he spake plain."

"These three are the only instances where a *deliberate ex-*

[1] Claparede's Considerations upon the Miracles of the Gospel, in answer to Rousseau, part i. c. 7.

[2] "There are two things," says Archbishop Tillotson, "necessary to a miracle:—that there should be a supernatural effect wrought, and that this effect be evident to sense, so that, though a supernatural effect be wrought, yet if it be not evident to sense, it is, to all the ends and purposes of a miracle, as if it were not, and can be no testimony or proof of any thing, because it stands in need of another miracle, to give testimony to it, and to prove that it was wrought. And neither in Scripture, nor in profane authors, nor in common use of speech, is any thing called a miracle, but what falls under the notice of our senses; a miracle being nothing else but a supernatural effect evident to sense, the great end and design whereof is to be a sensible proof and conviction to us of something that we do not see. For want of this, transubstantiation is no miracle; a sign or miracle is always a thing sensible, otherwise it could be no sign. Now, that such a *change* as is pretended in transubstantiation should really be wrought, and yet there should be no sign of it, is a thing very wonderful, but not to sense, for our senses perceive no change. And that a thing should remain to all appearance just as it was, hath nothing at all of wonder in it. We wonder, indeed, when we see a strange thing done, but no man wonders when he sees nothing done." Sermons, vol. ii. p. 440. 8vo. London, 1820.

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ternal application is related to have been used, and in all these cases the reason for using it seems to have been *one and the same, namely, to convey to the individuals, on whom the miracles were performed, a clear assurance that Jesus was the person at whose command, and by whose agency, the cure was wrought, and to enable them to state to others the grounds of this assurance fully and circumstantially.* For this purpose our Saviour used such a mode of application as was best calculated to make an impression on the senses these men possessed, unimpaired, antecedent to the miracle, and such as led them to observe that he was about to interpose, in order to perfect those organs which were defective. A little attention will show that every circumstance in the different modes of application had this tendency.

"A blind man can know another only by the voice or the touch. The blind man near Bethsaida our Lord led out of the town remote from the crowd, that he might be sure of the person who spoke to or touched him; he then spat on his eyes, and laid his hands on him, and restored him to sight, though imperfectly,—after that, he put his hands again upon his eyes, and he saw clearly. What possible mode could give him a more full assurance that the cure was wrought by the interposition of an external agent, and that Jesus was that agent? The deaf man could judge of the intentions of another only by seeing what he does; him therefore our Lord took aside from the multitude, that he might fix and confine his attention to himself, and then he put his fingers into his ears, and touched his tongue, thus signifying to him that he intended to produce some change in these organs; he then looked up to heaven, at the same time speaking, to signify that the change would proceed from a divine power, exercised at his interposition.

"The very same purpose was equally answered by our Lord's application to the eyes of the man born blind; it assured him that the person who came close to him, and spoke to him, and anointed his eyes, was the sole agent, by whose interposition the cure was wrought. Immediately, on approaching our Saviour, after receiving his sight, he must have recognised him by his voice. Had the grounds of his assurance been less full and circumstantial, he never could have so unanswerably silenced the objections, and replied to the captious queries of the Pharisees,—*What did he do to thee? how opened he thine eyes?—He answered, and said, A man that is called Jesus made clay, and anointed mine eyes, and said unto me, Go to the pool of Siloam, and wash; and I went and washed, and I received sight.*

"We may be confirmed in believing this to have been the design of these external applications, by observing, that they were used in no instance except those of blindness and deafness, when a defect of the senses rendered them necessary to convey such assurance of Jesus having been the author of the miracle. And still more, by observing that it does not appear that any of these three men had any previous knowledge of our Saviour's power and character. The man born blind, he healed without any solicitation. The blind man at Bethsaida, and the deaf man, do not appear to have come of themselves, they were brought by their friends; more precaution was therefore necessary to call their attention to the person by whom the miracle was wrought, and give them full evidence that it was his sole work. When the two blind men at Capernaum, and two others near Jericho, applied to our Saviour to be healed, it was with a declared previous conviction of his divine power that they followed him, crying, *Son of David, have mercy upon us!* Here, therefore, a less remarkable external application was sufficient; as they professed their belief, Jesus only required that this profession should be sincere: *Believe ye, said he, that I have the power to do this? and they said, Yea, Lord: then he touched their eyes, saying, According to your faith be it unto you; and their eyes were opened.*

"If these remarks are just, they exhibit one of those numberless cases, where incidents apparently minute and objectionable, when well considered, display the miraculous nature of the facts, and the admirable propriety of our Lord's conduct in every circumstance; and every such instance confirms strongly the conclusion, that our Lord's miracles were not delusive visions, or the extravagances of a wild and senseless fanatic, but plain proofs of a divine power, exhibited with the sobriety and dignity becoming his divine character."[1]

5. NOT ONLY PUBLIC MONUMENTS MUST BE KEPT UP, BUT SOME OUTWARD ACTIONS MUST ALSO BE CONSTANTLY PERFORMED, IN MEMORY OF THE FACTS THUS PUBLICLY WROUGHT.

[1] Dr. Graves's "Essay on the Character of the Apostles and Evangelists designed to prove that they were not Enthusiasts," pp. 287, 288.

6. SUCH MONUMENTS MUST BE SET UP, AND SUCH ACTIONS AND OBSERVANCES INSTITUTED, AT THE VERY TIME WHEN THOSE EVENTS TOOK PLACE, AND BE AFTERWARDS CONTINUED WITHOUT INTERRUPTION.

These two rules render it impossible that the belief of any facts should be imposed upon the credulity of after-ages, when the generation asserted to have witnessed them had expired; for, whenever such facts come to be recounted, if not only monuments are said to remain of them, but public actions and observances had further been constantly used to commemorate them by the nation appealed to, ever since they had taken place; the deceit must be immediately detected, by no such monuments appearing, and by the experience of every individual, who could not but know that no such actions or observances had been used by them, to commemorate such events.

VII. Let us now apply the criteria, thus stated and explained, to the ILLUSTRATION of a few of the miracles related in the Sacred Writings.

1. And first, as to the MOSAIC MIRACLES recorded in the Pentateuch:—

The plagues in Egypt *were witnessed* by the whole nation of the Israelites, and felt by all the Egyptians.—At the Red Sea the Israelites passed through, and beheld the whole host of Pharaoh perish.—During forty years were the children of Israel sustained with food from heaven. Sometimes they were supplied with water from the flinty rock; and throughout their journeys they beheld the cloud of the Lord on the tabernacle by day, and the fire by night. (Exod. xl. 38.)—At the passage over the Jordan, "*the waters stood and rose up upon an heap; and all the Israelites passed over on dry ground in the midst of Jordan.*" (Josh. iii. 16, 17.) To each of the miracles here briefly enumerated, all the criteria above stated will be found to apply.

[i.] The posterity of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, being chosen by Jehovah to be his peculiar people, for the preservation of true religion, the miracles performed in their behalf were unquestionably worthy of their Almighty Author. Here we have the FIRST mark.

[ii.] The miracles in question, though some of them (as the plagues in Egypt) were announced before they were actually performed, did actually and really take place in Egypt, and were removed only at the command of Moses, while the land of Goshen (in which the Israelites dwelt) was exempted from their operation. Here we have our SECOND, THIRD, and FOURTH marks most fully established; for all the miracles above mentioned were recorded by Moses at or about the time when they actually took place; moreover, he recapitulated the miracles which he had wrought in Egypt and in the wilderness, and appealed to those who were present for the truth of them; which no wise man would have done, if he could have been confuted.

[iii.] Further, all these miracles were witnessed by upwards of two millions of persons, who remained collected in one camp for forty years; an assembly so great, probably, never before or since remained collected in one body for so long a period. If, then, this whole nation had not been entirely without eyes and ears, if they were not bereft of reason and sense, it was impossible, at the time these facts were said to have taken place, that they could have been persuaded of their existence, had they not been real.

[iv.] Once more, to commemorate the protection of the Israelites, when all the first-born of the Egyptians were destroyed, and their deliverance from bondage, which was its immediate consequence, Moses changed the beginning of their year to the month when this event happened, and instituted the feast of the passover. To this was added the solemn consecration of the first-born of man and beast to the Lord, with the following remarkable charge annexed:—"*And it shall be when thy children ask thee in time to come, saying, 'What is this?' thou shalt say to them, 'By strength of hand the Lord brought us out of Egypt from the house of bondage: and it came to pass, when Pharaoh would hardly let us go, that the Lord slew all the first-born in the land of Egypt, both the first-born of man, and the first-born of beast,—Therefore I sacrifice to the Lord all that openeth the matrix,'*" &c. (Exod. xiii. 14. 16.) All these things have been observed ever since, and establish the truth of the narration in the book of Exodus. In further commemoration of the destruction of the first-born of the Egyptians, the tribe of Levi was set apart; and, besides the passover, the feast of tabernacles was instituted, to perpetuate the deliverance of the Israelites, and their journeying in the Desert (Lev. xxiii. 40. *et seq.*); as the feast of Pentecost was appointed fifty days after the passover (Deut. xxvi. 5—10.), in memory of the miraculous deliverance of the law from Mount Sinai, which took place fifty days after their departure from Egypt. In all these instances we have our FIFTH and SIXTH criteria most clearly and decisively established.

[v.] The same remark will hold with respect to the miraculous supply of the Israelites with food, the memory of which was perpetuated by the pot of manna; and to the twelve stones which were taken out of the midst of Jordan, at the time of the miraculous passage of the Israelites over that river, and were set up by Joshua at Gilgal, as a memorial to them for ever. How irresistible is the reasoning of Mr. Leslie on this last monument? "To form our argument," says he, "let us suppose that there never was any such thing as that passage over Jordan; that these stones at Gilgal were set up upon some other occasion; and that some designing man in an after-age invented this book of Joshua, affirmed that it was written at the time of that imaginary event by Joshua himself, and adduced this pile of stones as a testimony of the truth of it; would not everybody say to him, 'We know this pile very well; but we never before heard of this reason for it, nor of this book of Joshua; where has it lain concealed all this while, and where and how came you, after so many ages, to find it? Besides this book tells us, that this passage over Jordan was ordained to be taught our children from age to age, and therefore that they were always to be instructed in the meaning of this particular monument, as a memorial of it; but we were never taught it when we were children, nor did we ever teach our children any

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such thing; and it is in the highest degree improbable that such an emphatic ordinance should have been forgotten, during the continuance of so remarkable a pale set up for the express purpose of perpetuating its remembrance.' And if, where we know not the reason of a bare naked monument, a fictitious reason cannot be imposed; how much more is it impossible to impose upon us in actions and observances which we celebrate in memory of particular events! How impossible to make us forget those passages which we daily commemorate, and persuade us that we had always kept such institutions in memory of what we never heard of before; that is, that we knew it before we knew it! And if we find it thus impossible for an imposition to be put upon us, even in some things which have not all the marks before mentioned; how much more impossible is it that any deceit should be in that thing where ALL the marks do meet!"[1]

2. Secondly, the observations contained in the preceding pages apply with similar weight and propriety to the MIRACLES RECORDED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT; the number, variety, and greatness of which, as well as the persons *by* whom, the persons *before* whom, and the manner in which they were respectively performed, together with the effects produced by them, and the incontestable fact, that their reality was never denied by those who witnessed them, or who, living near the time when they were performed, had the means as well as the inclination to deny them, if they had not been *actually wrought*, are all so many indisputable proofs of the truth of the Christian revelation. If only one or two miracles had been wrought for this purpose, it might have been considered as a fortunate chance, which occurred at a convenient season; or, if Christ had performed them privately, and before his own disciples only, they might have been suspected by the rest of the world of fraud and imposition. But the reverse of all this was the actual fact; for,

(1.) *The* NUMBER *of Christ's miracles was very great.*

If we consider only those which are recorded *at large*, they are about fifty in number; and consequently the opportunities of examination were increased, and of deceit proportionably lessened. But it is evident that they must have been beyond all number, if we take into account the several instances in which we are told that *great multitudes* flocked to Jesus, who were afflicted with various diseases, for the most part incurable by human skill, and that *he healed them all;* and that thousands were fed by him with a *few* loaves and fishes. The Gospel, indeed, is full of the miracles of Christ; and one of his biographers informs us, that he performed a greater number than are in any way recorded. But,

(2.) *There was a great* VARIETY *in the miracles recorded in the New Testament, which were of a permanent nature, and might be reviewed and re-examined, as in many instances we know they actually were.*

The VARIETY of Christ's miracles is a circumstance that claims our attention equally with their number. As no impostors ever pretended to perform a great number of miracles, so they always or usually limited themselves to one species of them. It was the number and variety of the miracles wrought by Moses, which at length convinced the Egyptian magicians that the power by which he wrought them was divine. From the variety of effects in the universe, we conclude the existence of an Almighty designing cause. One effect or two of different kinds, or a few of the same kind, may be inadvertently ascribed to chance; or it may be said, that the persons producing such effects possessed some extraordinary or peculiar skill in accomplishing them, or some peculiar art in imposing on men in respect of them. But a *variety* of effects, all mutually distinguished, and each perfect in its kind, suggests the idea of a perfect agent, powerful and designing, employed in producing them. And this is the case with the miracles of Christ; for, not one disease only, but *all* are subject to the power of Christ and his apostles; not only diseases, but every calamity which is incident to mankind are banished by their word; and even death, the last enemy, is obedient to them, and gives up his prey at their command, especially at the command of Christ. We behold him, giving *sight* to the *born blind*,—healing the obstinate *leprosy*,—making those who *wanted* a limb[2] *perfect*,—those who were *bowed double*, straight,—those who *shook* with the *palsy*, robust,—nerving the *withered* arm with *strength*,—restoring the *insane* and *demoniacs* to *reason*, and raising the dead to life. That great miracle of raising the dead, in particular, Christ performed no less than four times: once on the ruler's daughter, just *after* she had expired,—again, on the widow's son, as he was carried on his bier to be interred,—a third time on Lazarus when he had laid in his grave four days,—and lastly, the greatest instance of all, in himself. We behold the apostles also expelling demons, restoring the lame from his birth, giving sight to the blind, healing all manner of diseases, and giving life to the dead. These supernatural works were not performed in a *few* instances, with *hesitation* and *diffidence;* but *every week* and *every day* were witnesses to numerous instances of them for a successive series of *years*, so that all suspicion of human management, compact, and juggle, was for ever precluded. In short, not only man but every other being bows in ready subjection to their voice, not only animate but inanimate creatures, feel the power of God, and act contrary to their natures, at his will.—The winds, the waves, the rocks, the sun, the earth, the heavens,—all are the subjects of those who first introduced the Christian dispensation.

(3.) *The* DESIGN *of Christ's miracles was truly important, and every way worthy of their Almighty Author.*

The very kinds of these miracles were foretold by the prophet Isaiah, *nearly seven centuries before;*[*] and if we reflect on the end and purpose for which these miracles were wrought, we find it grand and noble, full of dignity, majesty, and mercy. It was, to carry on one vast and consistent plan of Providence, extending from the creation to the consummation of all things, to establish a system of belief, hope, and practice, adapted to the actual wants and conditions of mankind; which had been revealed in part to the Jews, promised to the prophets, and tended to destroy the four great moral evils,—so prevalent and so pernicious,—viz. atheism, scepticism, immorality, and vice. In subservience to their grand object,—the confirmation of his divine mission, the miracles of Christ were wrought for the most benevolent of all purposes, the alleviation of human misery in all its forms, and they carry in them the characters of the greatest goodness as well as of the greatest power. Most of them were performed in consequence of application or entreaty; and, on these occasions, the character and conduct of Jesus appear, adorned with the most delicate expressions of compliance and piety.

[i.] The instances of the leper, who applied for himself, as Jesus came down from the mountain (Matt. viii. 3.);—of the centurion, in applying for a favourite servant (viii. 8.);—of the sick of the palsy, brought in his bed, and let down by the roof (Luke v. 18.);—and of the ruler, whose daughter lay at the point of death, and expired before his arrival (Luke viii. 41.);—are all so many occasions which display that divine compassion, which was ever open to the cries of the miserable:—a compassion surmounting every obstacle, unconquerable by opposition, and with dignity triumphing over it. The circumstances of the last-mentioned application are remarkably beautiful. We see a ruler of the synagogue falling down at the feet of Jesus, beseeching him to come into his house; the more importunate in his entreaty, as probably he had been either an enemy, or liable to the imputation of being one, and, on that account, also, the more doubtful of success: to crown all, his case was pitiable and pressing: *He had one only daughter about twelve years of age, and she lay a dying.* As Jesus went to the house, the people crowded about him, and in the throng a most compassionate cure was wrought, only by touching the hem of his garment. In the mean time the young woman expires, and messages are sent to prevent his taking any further trouble. This new distress has the effect of heightening the compassionate favour. It instantly drew forth from the mouth of Jesus that reviving declaration, the prelude of the miracle: *Fear not, believe only, and she shall be made whole.* (Luke viii. 50.)

[ii.] Beautiful as these instances are, yet they yield to others, where Jesus wrought his miracles without application. To prevent entreaty, to watch for opportunity of doing good to others, is the very essence of a benevolent character, and is the perfection of an amiable one. The miraculous draught of fishes (Luke v. 1.) is perhaps one of the lowest of these instances. We cannot suppose that the disciples could either ask or expect such an appearance in their favour. But, as the miracle, by its greatness, was fitted to inspire every sentiment of respect; so the occasion of working it served to give a full opening into the indulgent character of their Master at the moment of his calling them. His entering soon after into Peter's house, and healing his wife's mother, who lay sick of a fever (Matt. viii. 14), was also an act of indulgence, and peculiarly fitted to secure the attachment of this zealous disciple. The feeding of thousands miraculously with a few loaves and fishes, gives a happy and striking instance of an attention descending to the most ordinary wants of men. The cases of dispossession have the most humane aspect where the misery was great, and no application supposable, nor any desire of relief, on the part of the persons possessed.

[iii.] There are two instances of such distresses as every day occur, in which we see Jesus interposing, unasked, with the most exquisite sensibility. One is a case of infirm old age; the other of youth cut off in its bloom; distresses mortifying to the pride of man, and always deeply affecting to a generous mind. *Wilt thou be made whole?* says Jesus to the old man lying at the pool of Bethesda. (John v. 6.) The helplessness of distressed old age cannot be painted in more lively colours, than in the simple account which the man gives of himself; and never was relief dispensed with more grace and dignity: *Jesus saith to him, Rise, take up thy bed and walk.* (John v. 8.) The other distress is still of a more tender kind, the untimely death of an only son; a distress always great, but on the present occasion heightened by the concurrence of affecting circumstances. Jesus *went into a city called Nain. Now, when he came nigh to the gate of the city, behold there was a dead man carried out, the only son of his mother, and she was a widow. And much people of the city was with her.* (Luke vii. 11, 12.) In attending to the narration, we sympathize deeply with the distress of the sorrowful mother; we even participate in the sympathy and sorrow of the attendants. Such a distress was adapted to the divine pity of Jesus. *When the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not* (Luke vii. 13.); *and he came and touched the bier, and said, Young man, arise.* (14.) And, lest the immediate object of the miracle

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[1] Leslie's Short and Easy Method with the Deists, p. 22. 3d edit. The reality of the miracles performed by Moses, and the impossibility of accounting for them by natural means, are ably vindicated by M. Du Voisin. Autorité des Livres de Moyse, pp. 249—293. The various miracles, which are concisely noticed above, are considered in detail, and excellently illustrated, by Mr. Faber, in his Horæ Mosaicæ (vol. i. pp. 359—387.) and by Dr. Graves, in his Lectures on the four last books of the Pentateuch. (Vol. i. pp. 151—171.) In his appendix to the same volume (pp. 373—410.), Dr. G. has refuted the sceptical remarks of the late Dr. Geddes (who chiefly borrowed them from continental critics), which have lately been *re-asserted* by a living opposer of divine revelation, as though they had never before been refuted. Dr. Collyer, in his Lectures on Scripture Miracles (p. 151. to the end), has also treated on the principal miracles recorded in the Old and New Testaments; and the miracles of the New Testament are treated of by Dr. Dodd, in the first and second volumes of his Discourses on the Miracles and Parables. (8vo. 4 vols.) London, 1809.

[2] So κυλλους signifies. It is a different word from χωλους, and has a different signification. Both these words occur in Matt. xv. 31. κυλλους υγιεις, χωλους περιπατουντας. He made the *maimed* to be *whole*, those who *wanted* a limb, *perfect*, and the lame to walk. What an amazing instance of divine power, of *creative* energy, must the reproduction of a hand, foot, or other limb be, by the mere word or touch of Jesus! How astonishing to the spectators! That the above is the meaning of κυλλος, see Wetstein, Kypke, and Rosenmüller on Matt. xv. 31.

[*] The circumstance of Christ's miracles being predicted so many years before the performance of them, is particularly worthy of notice. It removes all suspicion of any design to impose on the understandings of men, to sway them by the power of novelty, or to surprise them by a species of proof, of which they had never before heard. In this respect the miracles of Jesus have a great advantage over those of Moses. When Moses appeared, the notion of a miracle must have been new and unprecedented: allowing this, there was no impropriety in the use of miracles, among a rude, uncivilized people. But, when the world became more polished, and, by the frequency of imposture, more suspicious and inquisitive, it was highly proper that the species of proof, by which any new system was confirmed, should be previously notified, or be such as men had been in the habit of attending to. This applied particularly to the Jews, the witnesses of the miracles of Jesus. They were much prepossessed against him; and it was of importance that the proof from this quarter should appear in the most unexceptionable light. Jesus had this in view, in the answer given to the disciples of John the Baptist, when they inquired if he was the Christ. He directs them to his miracles, in proof that he was, and appeals to the predictions of the same prophet who had described the character and actions of their Master. Compare Isa. xxix. 18, 19. xxxv. 5, 6. and lxi. 1. with Matt. xi. 4, 5. and Mark vii. 37.

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should escape us, the historian concludes the account of it with observing, that Jesus *delivered him to his mother.* (15.) Great actions in ordinary life have often much of the terrible in them; if they have beauties, yet they are usually of the awful kind; but, in the miracles of Jesus, there is nothing alarming; they were hurtful to none, and beneficial to all who felt their influence. We naturally wish ourselves to have been spectators of those agreeable scenes. This was the charm which overpowered the stupidity or prejudices of the multitudes, when the other charms of the miracles seemed to have operated faintly. On occasion of one of the lowest exertions, the multitude was capable of making the following reflection: *He hath done all things well; he maketh both the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak.*[1]

"Compare with these evangelical miracles the pagan miracles, as delivered to us by report, or the ecclesiastical miracles after the church was supported by the state:—but there is *no* comparison. The latter were usually such as would make fools stare, and wise men suspect; and as they began, so they ended in vain,—establishing nothing, or what was worse than nothing; if false, the tricks of deceitful men; if true, the frolics of fantastical demons."[2]

In short, the miracles of Christ had nothing in them fantastical or cruel, but were glorious acts of kindness and beneficence, done to persons to whom it is usually least done, but who most needed his kindness and beneficence,—the poor, the needy, the desolate, and the afflicted. They were, moreover, calculated to excite gratitude rather than fear, and to persuade rather than to terrify. Jesus performed no miracles of the severe kind, and the apostles very few,—no more indeed than were necessary for wise and good purposes, viz. the detection and the punishment of sin and hypocrisy in the infant state of the Christian church.

Of the vast multitude of miracles, performed by Jesus Christ, there are only two which carry in them any marks of severity, namely, his suffering the demons to enter the herd of swine, in consequence of which the whole herd perished in the waters; and his causing the barren fig tree to wither away.

[i.] With regard to the destruction of the swine (Matt. viii. 28—34. Mark v. 12—17.), it should be considered that Jesus did not, properly speaking, command or do this, but only suffered it to be done; and it is no more an impeachment of his goodness that he suffered this to be done, than it is of the providence of the Almighty, that he permits any evil to be committed in the world. Jesus might suffer this, perhaps, to show the great power and malice of evil spirits if not restrained by Omnipotence; perhaps if the Jews were the owners of the swine, to punish them for keeping such animals in direct violation of the Mosaic institute, which forbade the eating of swine, and even the keeping of them; or, perhaps, if the owners of them were Gentiles, to convince them of the sacredness and divinity of the Jewish laws, which (it is well known) they ridiculed on many accounts, and especially for the prohibition of eating swine's flesh; and farther, it may be, to punish them for laying a snare in the way of the Jews. But, whoever they were that sustained this loss, they seemed to have deserved it for their covetous and inhuman temper; for they were not so much pleased with the good that was done the afflicted man, as they were offended with the loss of the swine; and, instead of being awakened by so great a miracle to confess their sins, and revere the power of Christ, they desired him immediately to depart out of their coasts. They could not but be sensible, that he, who had wrought this miracle among them, must be a divine person; yet, because they had sustained some loss by it, they never applied to him for mercy, but sent him away, and thus showed themselves still more worthy of the punishment that had been inflicted upon them.

[ii.] In causing the barren fig-tree to wither away (Matt. xxi. 19. Mark xi. 14. 21.), Jesus neither invaded private property, nor did any injury to the community at large; and though this is alleged as a severe miracle, the allegation is not to the purpose. For, as the fig-tree was not an animated being, so it was not, in a proper sense, capable of being kindly or unkindly treated, but was a proper and strong figurative representation of the Jewish people. But the lesson, which this action dictated to his disciples, and now dictates to us, is of the first importance to every man alive,—to the deist as well as to the believer. If the opportunities which God has given us for our improvement in religious knowledge and the purification of our affections, be neglected or misemployed;—if we be found unfruitful in the knowledge of the Lord Jesus, and in good works, which are the fruits of faith in him, we must expect to be withered like the barren fig-tree, before the fiery blast of his displeasure, when he cometh to judge the earth.[3]

There were good reasons, therefore, for Christ's severity in these two cases; but in all other instances he was perfect goodness and benevolence. "He went about doing good." He was the greatest physician to bodies as well as souls; his constant employment was, feeding the hungry, healing the sick, casting out demons,[4] and raising the dead. The first of his miracles was at a wedding, converting water into wine, thus sanctioning the sacred institution of marriage, and at the same time showing that he was no enemy to innocent festivity; and one of the last was restoring the ear of the high-priest's servant which Peter had cut off. The Gospel was a covenant of mercy, and it could not be better ratified and confirmed than by acts of mercy.

[1] Dr. David Hunter's Observations on the History of Jesus Christ, vol. i. pp. 286—291. Edinburgh, 1770.

[2] Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 266. 2d edit.

[3] The above, doubtless, was the general design of the emblem of the barren fig-tree. It was usual, among the people of the East, to designate things by actions; and there are frequent instances of this nature in the prophets of the Old Testament. In like manner, Jesus Christ, by a familiar type, gave the Jews to understand what they must expect for making only a formal profession of religion:—*The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof.* (Matt. xxi. 43.) This figure of the fig-tree was employed by Christ, more than once to the same purpose, as may be seen in the parable related in Luke xiii. 6—9. In Matt. xxi. 19. and Mark xi. 14. 21. it is by way of type; there, by way of parable: here the malediction is executed upon it; there it is denounced (ver. 7.)—*Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?*

[4] There was a peculiar propriety in Jesus casting out evil spirits, which, by Divine Providence, were permitted to exert themselves at that time, and to possess many persons. "By this he showed that he came to destroy the empire of Satan, and seemed to foretell that, wheresoever his doctrine should prevail, idolatry and vice should be put to flight. He foresaw that the great and popular objection to him would be, that he was a magician; and therefore he confuted it beforehand, and ejected evil spirits, to show that he was in no confederacy with them." Jortin's Rem. on Eccl. Hist vol. i. p. 268.

[4.] *Consider further the* GREATNESS *of Christ's miracles.*

If any actions can be called miraculous, those of Jesus are indisputably so. In the simplest instances of cures performed, we always find some circumstances fixing this point,—such as, that the disease was in its nature incurable, that it was inveterate, and had baffled every effort of art; that it was instantaneously removed, by a single word, sometimes without it, sometimes by a touch, or by applications, from which in a natural way no relief was to be expected,—for example, anointing *with clay* the eyes of a man born blind. In the higher instances of exertion, such as raising the dead, we have no difficulty in determining them to have been miraculous. To explain them in any other way, is an attempt which must terminate in confusion and absurdity, on which account very few have ever engaged in it. But it is of consequence to observe, that works so great could never have been admitted as true, by a scrupulous and inquisitive age, had there been any doubt of their certainty. Their GREATNESS, which all had occasion to know, and which no one ever contradicted (as will be shown in a subsequent page), secures them against the suspicion of imposture. Impostors seldom deal in great tricks; this would offend too much against probability, and prompt men to an investigation. They usually satisfy themselves with little tricks, because they are less open to suspicion, and more easily gain credit.

[5.] *Observe also the* PERSONS *by whom these miracles were accomplished.*

They were wrought by persons who were known to be poor, unlearned, of low condition, and destitute of great friends and powerful patrons; who gave other proofs of their mission, and did not rest the *whole* of their cause upon miracles, but who likewise insisted upon the reasonableness of their doctrines, which they offered to examination. Further, they were wrought by persons who appealed to God, and declared that they would perform them. By acting in the name of the God and Father of all, they gave the best kind of proof that they were supported by him, and thus prevented objections that the wonder might happen by chance, or be effected by a secret fatal power, of which they themselves knew nothing, or by evil spirits, or for other ends and purposes; and they laid themselves under a necessity of fulfilling their promises, or of passing for men who either deceived others or were deceived themselves. But Jesus Christ and his apostles were not the only persons "who confidently appealed to the evidence of miracles, in the very face of their enemies; thus daring them, as it were, to a detection of imposture, if any imposture had existed. There was a class of writers in the primitive church who composed what were styled APOLOGISTS." (Some of these apologies have already been cited.) They "were addressed to the Pagans; and it was their avowed design to defend Christianity, and to vindicate the reception of it.

"The oldest writer of this description with whose works we are at all acquainted is QUADRATUS. He lived about seventy years after the death of Christ, and presented his *Apology* to the emperor Adrain. A passage of it has been preserved by Eusebius; from which it appears, that he formally and confidently appealed to the miracles of Christ, as a matter which admitted not of the least doubt or controversy. 'The works of our Saviour,' says he, 'were always conspicuous, for they were real. Both they that were healed, and they that were raised from the dead, were seen, not only when they were healed or raised, but for a long time afterwards; not only whilst he dwelt on this earth, but also after his departure and for a good while subsequent to it: insomuch that some of them have reached to our times.'[5]

"To the same purpose speaks JUSTIN MARTYR, who followed Quadratus at the distance of about thirty years.—'Christ healed those, who from their birth were blind and deaf and lame; causing by his word, one to leap, another to hear, and a third to see; and, having raised the dead and caused them to live, he, by his works, excited attention, and induced the men of that age to know him. Who, however, seeing these things done, said that it was a magical appearance, and dared to call him a magician and a deceiver of the people.'[6]

"Next in chronological order follows TERTULLIAN, who flourished during the same century with Justin Martyr.—'That person whom the Jews had vainly imagined, from the meanness of his appearance, to be a mere man, they afterwards, in consequence of the power which he exerted, considered as a magician: when he, with one word, ejected devils out of the bodies of men, gave sight to the blind, cleansed the leprous, strengthened the nerves of those that had the palsy, and, lastly, with one command, raised the dead; when he, I say, made the very elements obey him, assuaged the storms, and walked upon the seas, demonstrating himself to be the Word of God.'[7]

"We may finally notice ORIGEN, who lived in the third century, and who published a regular defence of Christianity against the philosopher Celsus. 'Undoubtedly we do think him to be the Christ and the Son of God, because he healed the lame and the blind: and we are the more confirmed in this persuasion by what is written in the prophecies; Then shall the eyes of the blind be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall hear, and the lame man shall leap as an hart. But, that he also raised the dead, and that it is not a fiction of those who wrote the Gospels, is evident from hence: that, if it had been a fiction, there would have been many recorded to be raised up, and such as had been a long time in their graves. But, it not being a fiction, few have been recorded.'[8]

"That the defenders of Christianity should thus needlessly commit themselves to the hostile pagans, if no miracles had been performed, and when a regular confutation of their pretences was perfectly easy, it is alike difficult to account for and hard to believe."[9]

[5] Quadrat. Apol. apud Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. iv. c. 3.

[6] Just. Mart. Dial. p. 258. edit. Thirlby.

[7] Tertul. Apol. p. 20. ed. Prior. Par. 1675.

[8] Orig. cont. Cels. lib. ii. § 48.

[9] Faber's Difficulties of Infidelity, pp. 230—282.

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(6.) *The persons* BEFORE *whom the miracles were wrought claim our especial notice.*

These astonishing actions were not performed in sequestered cells or solitudes, cautiously shunning the light of truth, and the scrutiny of officious inquiries. They were wrought in a learned age and in civilized countries, in the politest and best inhabited parts of the world, where persons are not easily deluded. It is worthy of remark, that, when Christianity was published, a general prejudice in the people, and a very severe suspicion in the government, prevailed against the belief of miracles. They were stigmatized by the opprobrious name of *magic;* and Augustus, it is well known, had published very rigorous edicts against the whole race of *præstigiators* or jugglers. Further, the Christian miracles were exhibited in the face of day, before vast multitudes of friends and enemies indiscriminately, to whose calm and *deliberate* investigation they were submitted; and at a time, when men wanted neither power nor inclination to expose them if they were impostures, and who were in no danger of being called atheists for disbelieving them, and of being insulted by the populace and persecuted by the civil magistrate for deriding them. The miracles of Christ and his apostles were witnessed by thousands, who would have rejoiced in the detection of imposture, had any been attempted or practised, and who scrutinized both them and the persons on whom they were wrought, with the nicest subtilty and strictest accuracy, in order (if possible) to discover any fraud or falsehood in them. The persons who had experienced these miraculous effects, and who had been cured of blindness, leprosy, palsy, or lameness, or who had had lost limbs restored to them, or who had been raised from the dead—these persons lived many years afterwards—public monuments of them—and carrying about with them, in their own persons, the full conviction of these amazing operations.[1]

(7.) *The* MANNER, *too, in which these miracles were performed, is equally worthy of attention, for its publicity, simplicity, and disinterestedness.*

[i.] As the miracles of Christ and his apostles were numerous, diversified, and great, so they were wrought OPENLY and PUBLICLY, without concealment or disguise, which is a circumstance necessary to establish their credit.

Pagan antiquity furnishes us with accounts of pretended miracles, and of pretended miraculous intercourses between men and their deities; but the scene of them is always laid out of the reach of observation and discovery. Modern miracles also have in a great measure owed their being to the same source. When Jesus began to work miracles, he did not retire into deserts and corners, as if there had been something in the operation to be kept secret, or which, if disclosed, would bring the whole into discredit. But as he appeared in the world on purpose to instruct it, and as his doctrine was for this purpose delivered in public, so his miracles, which were chiefly exhibited for the support of the doctrine, were public also; being performed in the most frequented places and on the most public occasions, as at marriages and funerals, and on solemn festivals. Thus, many were done at Jerusalem, at the times of the great festivals, when there was the greatest concourse of people from all parts of the country; others, in the public streets of villages and cities; others, in the public synagogues; and others, before great multitudes, who came together to hear Jesus, and to be healed by him of their infirmities. By far the greater part of his miracles were wrought in the vicinity of the sea of Galilee, which was surrounded by large, fertile, and populous tracts, especially the two Galilees, containing many towns, and a multitude of villages, the least of which towns (Josephus informs us) contained upwards of *fifteen thousand souls.*[2] Some of Christ's miracles, indeed, were, from their nature, more private than others;[3] yet privacy was never industriously sought after, except where the reasons of it are obvious. But an instance or two of this kind cannot be supposed to invalidate the credibility of great numbers openly performed. Considering the opposition of the world, it would not have been unreasonable, had the miracles of Jesus been less public; in some cases he might have changed his ordinary manner with propriety; but, to the last, he persisted in it; for instance, at the resurrection of his friend Lazarus, only a little before his own death. The openness of the miracles was therefore a defiance to the malice, and a defiance to the incredulity of the world; it being as true of his miracles as he asserted it to be of his doctrine:—*I spake openly,* said Christ, *to the world. I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple, whither the Jews always resort; and in secret have I said nothing.* (John xviii. 20.)

The miracles of Christ and his apostles were accompanied with no appearance of pride, vanity, or ostentation. When a man preaches up himself, and assumes haughty airs of importance and superiority, he gives cause for suspicion. Such was the case of Simon the Sorcerer, as represented by Luke (Acts viii. 9.), whose principal design seems to have been that he might pass for a very great person among the Samaritans. But the conduct of the apostles in this respect was unexceptionable; and Jesus, during his ministry, acted as a servant and as a prophet sent from God, ascribing all his miracles to his Father. While, however, Christ's manner was totally free from ostentation, his miracles were characterized by a peculiar sobriety, decorum, authority, and dignity. They display something above the ordinary character of man, but they are *facts* in which the spectators could not be mistaken.

[ii.] All the miracles of Christ were performed with the utmost SIMPLICITY OF MANNER.

They are often, to all appearance, casual and incidental. At other times he wrought his miracles when prompted by entreaty, or where such an occasion presented itself, that it would have been out of character not to have wrought them. The manner of his doing them is remote from all suspicion of deceit or vainglory. As no ostentation is displayed before, so none is evinced after, the performance. Often he forbade those[4] who were the objects of his goodness and compassion to speak of the person to whom they were obliged—a hard prohibition to a grateful mind! Often, as soon as the work was accomplished, he withdrew into some private retreat. This circumstance strengthens the credibility of the miracles; but it does more—it exhibits them in their native beauty and dignity. It is, indeed, difficult to say, whether the ease or the dignity of the manner is most strongly expressed. To expel diseases by a single word, sometimes without one; by a word to command the winds and waves; by a word to raise the dead bodies of men, sometimes almost from corruption—are appearances which surpass all that we can imagine.

[iii.] The DISINTERESTEDNESS with which the miracles of Christ and his apostles were wrought is another circumstance that demands our consideration.

They were performed for no worldly advantage. As nothing of that kind was sought, so nothing was obtained by Christ and by his disciples. When he first sent them forth, he expressly commanded them to take no fee or gratuity for the miracles they were about to work. *Freely,* said he, *ye have received; freely give.* (Matt. x. 8.) Obscure, indeed, they could not be who were endued with such powers, nor could they be despised by their friends and followers; but these were small temporal advantages, in comparison of the obloquy, the injuries, afflictions, sufferings, and persecutions of every possible kind, which they underwent. The miracles of Christ were wrought in the most generous and disinterested manner: all were welcome to partake of the benefit of them; and no distinction was made between the rich and the poor. The only exception was, that Christ and his apostles would not work miracles to gratify curiosity or to sanction unbelief. Should the question be asked, why Jesus did not perform *more* miracles before the unbelieving? We reply, that such conduct was not necessary to the end of miracles, which was, to afford a *reasonable* conviction;—that it was not likely to answer any good end, but, on the contrary, would have been hurtful to such unbelievers;—that it tended to defeat the design and success of Christ's ministry, by narrowing its sphere, or shortening its duration;—and that, lastly and chiefly, it was unreasonable in itself, and contrary to the general scheme and order of God's moral government.[5]

(8.) Another circumstance which confirms the truth and validity of these miracles, is the EFFECTS *produced by the performance of them.*

Great numbers of persons, who were spectators of them, were convinced by them, notwithstanding they had formed and cherished the strongest prejudices against the religion attested by these miracles. In consequence of this conviction, they quitted the religion in which they had been educated, and with it ease, pleasure, fortune, reputation, friends, and relations: they embraced the Gospel from the most indubitable persuasion of its truth, inviolably adhered to the profession of it, and sealed their belief of it with their blood.

(9.) Lastly, so far were the miracles of Christ and his apostles from being considered as frauds or impostures, that their REALITY *was never denied.*

The length of time, during which Jesus Christ and his apostles performed their miracles, must here be specially considered. "*Seventy years* elapsed between the commencement of the ministry of Christ and the death of the last of the apostles. During all this interval, the miraculous gifts in question were exercised. Now, as every repetition in case of imposture multiplies the dangers of detection, and every extension of time makes it the more difficult to keep up the confederated plan, it is no inconsiderable evidence of the genuineness of the miracles of the Gospel, that they continued to be wrought and inspected during a period of so many years, and yet no instance of a failure or of deception was ever discovered by those fierce and untiring enemies with whom Christianity was always surrounded."[6] In fact, both Jews[7] and heathens were constrained to admit them though they ascribed them to various causes, denied them to be proofs of his divinity, or maintained that they were inferior to the miracles of the pagans. Thus, on one occasion, the Jews attributed Christ's miracles to Beelzebub, and on another, they acknowledged that he saved others, while they reproached him with not being able to save himself. While the facts were too recent to be disputed, Celsus,[8] Porphyry, Hierocles, Julian, and other adversaries, admitted their reality, but ascribed them to magic, and denied the divine commission of him who performed them. But to whatever cause they ascribed them, their admission of the reality of these miracles is an involuntary confession that there was something preternatural in them.

VIII. A brief examination of a few of the miracles related in the New Testament (more than a few cannot be investigated for want of room) will confirm and illustrate the preceding observations, and convince every *candid* inquirer that they were wrought by the mighty power of God, and prove incontestably that Jesus Christ was indeed the promised Messiah.

1. *The* MIRACLE OF THE CONVERSION OF WATER INTO WINE *at Cana, in Galilee, is related with every mark of veracity.* (John ii. 1—10.)

The absence of all collusion could not be more happily implied than by the manner in which the discovery is signified to the company. The Jewish weddings, it should be observed, lasted seven days. During the continuance of the nuptial feast, from the poverty of the bridegroom and bride,

[1] Quadratus, in the passage above cited, says, that there were persons living even in his time, upon whom Christ had wrought miracles. (See Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 3.) And it is by no means improbable that some of those, who were cured of their infirmities, or raised from the dead by Jesus Christ, were preserved by Providence to extreme old age, to be living witnesses of his power and goodness.

[2] Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. iii. c. 3. § 2.

[3] When it happened that any of them were performed privately, in a house or chamber, the effects of the miracle were so visible, that they could not but be observed by great numbers, as in the instance of the raising of Jairus's daughter to life.

[4] See the reason why Jesus sometimes enjoined secrecy on those whom he had healed, *supra,* pp. 98, 99.

[5] The topics above briefly noticed are illustrated with equal force and beauty of argument by Bp. Hurd. Works, vol. vii. Serm. 39. pp. 168—175

[6] Bp. M'Ilvaine's (of Ohio) Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity, p. 159. (London, 1833.)

[7] *This man doeth* MANY MIRACLES (John xi. 47.), was the judgment of the chief priests and Pharisees, assembled in council. And, *Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God, among you by wonders and* MIRACLES *and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves know* (Acts ii. 22.), was the appeal of Peter to a mixed multitude of the men of Israel.—*What shall we do to these men? For that indeed a notable* MIRACLE *hath been done by them, is manifest to all them that dwell at Jerusalem, and* WE CANNOT DENY *it* (Acts iv. 16.), was the acknowledgment extorted from the Jewish rulers, in consequence of the miracle wrought by Peter and John on the lame man at the gate of the temple in that city. For the involuntary acknowledgment of Jewish and heathen adversaries, see pp. 81—83.

[8] On the evasions to which Celsus had recourse in order to elude the reality of Christ's miracles, the reader will find some forcible remarks in Mr. Cumberland's Observer, vol. i. no. 12.

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or perhaps from the number of guests being greater than was expected, there was a deficiency of wine. This being made known to Jesus, he commanded the servants to fill six large vessels with water *up to the brim*. It was therefore impossible to intermix any wine. The servants alone were privy to the *process* of the miracle, and were desired by Jesus to carry some of the new wine to the governor of the feast. The wine proves excellent, therefore it is not counterfeited; there is *now* plenty, and there *was* need of it. According to the practice usual among the Jews on these occasions, which is mentioned also by the governor, the wine which the guests had been drinking last was not remarkable for excellence. His attention was immediately excited by this fresh supply; and he gives his attestation to it in so natural and easy a way, that we cannot but esteem it beyond the reach of any artifice and ingenuity whatsoever. He called the bridegroom and said,—*Every man at the beginning bringeth forth good wine, and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse; but thou hast kept the good wine until now.* This incidental testimony carries with it all the air of authenticity which could possibly be derived from the unaffected mention of such a circumstance.[1] The miracle became public, and confirmed the faith of the new disciples of Jesus Christ.

2. *The* MIRACULOUS FEEDING OF FIVE THOUSAND MEN, *besides women and children in the desert,*[2] *was attended with a variety of circumstances that show the impossibility of falsehood or imposition.*

The disciples of Christ informed their compassionate Master, that it was time to dismiss the people to the neighbouring villages to buy food. Jesus found, on inquiry, that there was no more provision than five loaves and two fishes. The want of food for such a multitude was certain, and the means of supplying it appeared to be impossible. He commanded the disciples to make the people to sit down upon the grass,[3] and to place them in ranks by hundreds and by fifties. By this method, all confusion was avoided, and the attendance upon them was rendered more easy: besides, the miraculous operation was thus exposed to the view of the whole multitude; so that it was impossible to deceive them by any artifice or sleight of hand. Jesus brake the five loaves and two fishes, and distributed them to the apostles, who again distributed to the people. "This small supply of provision was perceived to multiply and grow, either in the hands of the apostles as they were ministering them to the people, or in the hands of the people themselves, who, in all probability, saw the small fragments of bread or fish, with which they had been presented, visibly increase while they held them in their hands; till the hunger of each was fully satisfied, and sufficient was still left for others who might come after them."[4] After the multitude had eaten, Christ commanded the apostles to gather up the fragments, which was a plain proof that they had had plenty of food; and the disciples filled twelve baskets with the fragments that remained. After this, can there be the least room for incredulity?

The people, struck with a miracle, in itself so astonishing, and in which they were so deeply interested, were convinced that he was the prophet promised by the Almighty to succeed Moses (Deut. xviii. 15.), and they were desirous to make him a king, because the Messiah (according to their notions) was entitled to the same sovereignty as other princes, and to rule over Israel as David and Solomon had done. This circumstance is a further proof of the miracle, and of the impression it had made on every person's mind who had witnessed it. Lastly, on the next day, Jesus Christ being at Capernaum, and speaking to the same people, who were still amazed at the miracle which he had performed, rebuked them for being sensible only of its temporal effects, while they neglected to apply it to their eternal salvation. This reproach not only establishes the miracle, but also gives it additional dignity, by exhibiting the design which Jesus chiefly had in view in performing it, viz. his heavenly doctrine. It is, therefore, impossible, either to oppose such strong evidence, or to lessen the credit of a miracle which had the testimony of nearly or quite eight thousand persons (reckoning the women and children at 2500 or 3000), and which is so necessarily connected with other facts equally public and true.

The same remarks are applicable to the subsequent feeding of four thousand men besides women and children, related in Matt. xv. 32—38.

3. *Equally remarkable are the circumstances attending the* HEALING OF THE PARALYTIC (Matt. ix. 2—8. Mark ii. 3—12. Luke v. 18—26.), *which are such as to convince every reasonable person.*

This miracle was wrought in the presence of many witnesses, some of whom were secretly enemies to Christ, and jealous of his fame. The manner in which they presented the sick of the palsy is unparalleled, and at the same time shows the confidence they placed in his power and goodness, as well as the desire of the paralytic, and of the four men who bore him on his bed or couch. *When they could not come nigh because of the multitude, they went up on the house-top, and uncovered the roof* of the apartment *where Jesus was: and when they had broken it up, they let him down through the tiling, with his couch, into the midst, before Jesus.* The manner in which he addressed the paralytic is still more striking. Jesus began with the remission of his sins (which did not seem to be the object of the man's petition) without saying any thing of his malady, with which both he and his supporters were wholly affected. *Jesus, seeing their faith, saith unto the sick of the palsy, Son, be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee. But there were certain of the Scribes and Pharisees sitting there; and reasoning in their hearts, they said within themselves, This man blasphemeth.* This secret accusation of blasphemy, on the part of the Scribes and Pharisees, proves that they had no idea of any such thing before the event: Jesus, after replying to the reasonings in their hearts, commanded the man to take up his couch and walk. *And* IMMEDIATELY *he rose up before them all, and took up the bed whereon he lay, and departed to his own house, glorifying God.* The astonishing nature of this miracle extorted the admiration of all who beheld it, and they exclaimed, *We never saw it on this fashion.*

4. While the miracles of Jesus were acts of benevolence and compassion, they at the same time served to convey his instructions with the greater meaning and dignity.

To overturn prejudices fostered by false notions of religion, strengthened by age, and sanctioned by the example of persons in authority, and to substitute good principles in their place, must be a matter of great delicacy, and will always require the most vigorous exertions. This was the great object of the parables of Jesus: it was a principal object of his whole ministry, and with infinite propriety entered into his miracles. The prejudices of the Jews against his person, among other things, made it necessary that he should work miracles. There were also prejudices, so deeply rooted in the minds of the Jews, that no power less than that of miracles could be supposed to combat them with any probability of success, and against which we find particular miracles opposed. That calamities are always the offspring of crimes is one prejudice which the depraved nature of man is but too prone to indulge; and the Jews, in the time of Christ, were greatly under the power of this prejudice. We are told, in the gospel history, of some who came to Jesus under this influence, telling him of certain Galilæans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices (Luke xiii. 1.); and on that occasion, he exposed the danger and absurdity of the error by a plain illustration. On occasion of seeing a man who had been born blind, the disciples of Jesus fell into the same mistake, and *asked him, Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?* (John ix. 1, 2.) Jesus, in a moment, solved the difficulty, by giving him the use of his sight. He did so without going out of his ordinary course. Miracles were a part of his work, and his compassion always prompted him; but the occasion called for an extraordinary interposition, and the miraculous cure was the most effectual expedient for forcing an access to hearts, fenced by prejudice against the common feelings of humanity.

The MIRACLE OF GIVING SIGHT TO THE MAN WHO HAD BEEN BORN BLIND, *related in the ninth chapter of the Gospel of John*, is one of the most illustrious miracles wrought by Christ, on account of the reluctant but distinct testimony to its reality, which was given by the Jews, after they had done every thing in their power (though without success) to discover, if possible, any circumstance which could have enabled them to question or deny it.

As this miracle has been the subject of particular cavil by Rousseau, on the ground that there is a gradation in it which does not suit with a supernatural operation or miracle (two of whose characters or criteria are *instantaneity* in its performance, and *independence on second causes*); and as the cavil of that eloquent but seductive and licentious infidel has been adopted, without acknowledgment, by later opposers of revelation, it demands a distinct examination.

Taking it for granted, that the reader has perused the narrative in question, the noble simplicity of which, together with its circumstantiality, and the natural and graphic delineations of the workings of the human heart, are all so many proofs of the credibility and veracity of the writer,—we proceed to offer some remarks on this miracle.

[i.] In the FIRST place, then, the man, on whom it was performed, had not become blind by any accident that admits of relief. *He was certainly born blind.* All who knew him were witnesses of it; and he had become very generally known by sitting and begging on the public road. His parents, as we shall afterwards have occasion to take notice, affirmed the same to the Pharisees, though they dreaded their displeasure, and did not care to defend a miracle, the fame of which men in power were desirous, if possible, to suppress.

[ii.] SECONDLY, the man did not ask to be restored to his sight as some others did, who had accidentally become blind. Thus, there was no room for suspicion on his part. And Jesus Christ, after having sent him to the pool of Siloam, did not wait for his return to receive the glory of such a miracle; so that the blind man, on receiving sight, did not know who the person was that had cured him, or whither he had gone. There was therefore no possibility of collusion in the transaction.

[iii.] THIRDLY, the very question proposed by the disciples, which occasioned the miracle, is a proof that the man's blindness was from his birth; but the answer, as we have already intimated, was so little conformable to their notions, or to those of the Jews, their contemporaries, that it is impossible that it could ever have entered their minds, if they had not heard it from his lips. Jesus, in his reply, did not attribute the natural defect of the blind man to a particular providence, but added, that it was for the glory of his Father, who sent him, and also to manifest his works, that this man was born blind, in order to be cured. Who ever spoke thus? For, let it be observed, that Christ did not speak thus *after* the success, but exposed himself to be contradicted (according to the opinion of men) by him, who, he says, had sent him, when he declared the future proof of his mission.

[iv.] In the FOURTH place, consider the mode employed for giving the man sight: he laboured under an incurable blindness. The opacity of the crystalline humour, which is called a *cataract*, and the imperfect or periodical *gutta serena*, which does not wholly deprive of sight, or only at certain times, are maladies of the eye, that in some cases admit of a cure, which depends upon a variety of precautions, preparations, and remedies, that (if successful) takes effect only with time, and in most cases very imperfectly. But no precautions or preparations whatever were employed in the cure of the man born blind. Though a cataract may be reduced, or an accidental or periodical gutta serena may be cured, a *total* blindness, when inveterate and from the birth, is *incurable*. Such has been the prevalent opinion in every age. Aristotle[5] (whom we quote only as a witness to the sentiments of his own time) declares that it is *impossible for one born blind to receive sight.* The Jews admitted this truth as a principle generally known. *Since the world began*, they said, *it was never heard that any man opened the eyes of one who was born blind.* (John ix. 32.) Medical men in modern times (it is well known) are of the same opinion; and infidelity never could produce an example of blindness, *absolute and continued from the birth*, that was cured by the assistance of art. Such being the circumstances of this man's case, was it natural to imagine that clay put on his eyes should restore him to sight? Could any one have framed such an expedient, so improbable, so contrary to the effect desired, so proper for *destroying* the sight, if the power and wisdom of Jesus Christ had not employed it, and imparted the requisite virtue to it?[6] Moreover, is it likely that a person who had been born blind, and had continued so from his birth to manhood, should so easily credit what Jesus said to him; that he should obey him so punctually; that he should ex-

[1] Wakefield's Internal Evidences of Christianity, p. 112.

[2] Matt. xiv. 15—21. Mark vi. 35—44. John vi. 5—13.

[3] The observations of the evangelist (*Now there was much grass in the place*, John vi. 9.) not only shows that he was an eye-witness of the miracle, but also indicates the *time* when it was performed, viz. in the month of February or March, when the grass is at its perfection in Syria. Macknight, *in loc.*

[4] Townsend's New Testament arranged, &c. vol. i. p. 260. Mr. Faber, in his Difficulties of Infidelity (pp. 240, 241.), has some forcible remarks on this miracle, proving that there could be neither fraud nor collusion in it.

[5] Cited by Casaubon on John ix. 1. (Critic. Sacr. tom. vii. part iii p. 187.) Other passages from the ancient classic authors are produced by Wetstein, on John ix. 1. Nov. Test. vol. i. p. 902.

[6] For the reason why Jesus Christ employed the means he did, to give this man sight, see p. 100. *supra*.

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pose himself to panic ridicule, by carrying the clay on his eyes, and causing himself to be conducted to the pool of Siloam, with the hopes of being restored to his sight? Is it not such a docility truly astonishing? And how could any such thing be imagined on his part before it happened?

[v.] *Lastly*, the miracle was performed in the public street, and in the presence of many persons, and was immediately subjected to the strictest scrutiny that can well be conceived. If we had heard of such a miracle, we should not have given credit to so surprising a relation, till we had inquired who the man was on whom it was said to have been wrought? Whether, in fact, he had been born blind? Whether he actually was blind at the time when Jesus met him? And whether it afterwards appeared that he really was cured? All these inquiries we should certainly have made ourselves, or have been well informed that they had been made by credible people, before we would have believed the miracle. And if we would have made these inquiries, can it reasonably be supposed that they were not made by those who lived at that time? or that they would have admitted that wonderful fact on easier evidence than we would have done? Now we know that these very inquiries were made by the Scribes and Pharisees, and terminated in full proof. They sent for his parents, who declared that their son was born blind. He was himself interrogated, threatened with excommunication, and ultimately cast out of the synagogue; and, after examining the affair to the bottom, the truth of the miracle was established beyond the possibility of contradiction. On the one side there appears nothing but passion and calumny; on the other, nothing but what is simple, sincere, coherent, and infinitely surpassing the low jealousy and malice of the Pharisees whose utmost efforts only rendered the truth more evident, and added the testimony which they would have gladly wrested from it, if it had been possible.

The reasoning of the man who was cured is unanswerable—*We know that God heareth not sinners—since the world began was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind. If this man were not of God, he could do nothing.* (John ix. 31—33.)[1]

5. Equally remarkable with the preceding miracle is *that wrought at Jerusalem by the apostle Peter, in company with John*, on A MAN WHO HAD BEEN LAME FROM HIS BIRTH; and which was subjected to a similar rigorous scrutiny.

The account is given in the third chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, with every mark of veracity and genuineness. All the circumstances are so connected together, and so inseparable; the place, the time, and the persons, all correspond together with such exactness, that we cannot admit a part without being forced to acknowledge the whole. In this miracle, the reader will take notice,—

[i.] FIRST, of the PUBLICITY *of the lame man's person and condition.*

He had been lame from his birth, and was then forty years old. He was, moreover, well known to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, having been carried daily to that gate of the temple which was most frequented to receive alms. The time of the day when the miracle was performed was that of public prayer, when the evening sacrifice was offered, when there was the greatest number of persons present who were assembled from different parts of the city.

[ii.] SECONDLY, of the MANNER *in which the miracle was wrought.*

It was *instantaneous*, and was so perfect, that the lame man could not only walk, but stood and leaped for joy, while he praised God, and testified his gratitude to Peter and John.

[iii.] THIRDLY, of the SEVERE EXAMINATION *which the transaction underwent.*

Both the man who had been healed, and the apostles, are dragged before the tribunal of the ecclesiastical rulers. They are most closely interrogated respecting the fact. They assert the reality of the miracle; they declare that it was in the name of Jesus of Nazareth that the man was made whole—of that Jesus whom those rulers had crucified. What discoveries do the chief priests make? The apostles are in their hands. The man who had been lame is himself standing by. They are vested with full power as magistrates, to take cognisance of the matter. If there be deceit, it must be detected. But no discovery is made; and immediately afterwards five thousand Jews are converted, and embrace the Gospel in consequence of what they had seen performed, and in a case where it was morally impossible that they should have been deceived.

Besides the miracles related in the cure of diseases, there are three remarkable examples, recorded by the evangelists, in which Jesus Christ raised the dead to life; viz. the daughter of Jairus, a ruler of the Jewish synagogue, the son of a widow at Nain, and Lazarus, the brother of Martha and Mary. How many examples of the same kind occurred during his personal ministry is not related; though, from his message to John (Matt. xi. 5.), it is probable that there were other instances. But these which the evangelists have recorded were certainly not the least striking or important.

6. The RAISING OF THE DAUGHTER OF JAIRUS TO LIFE, *is recorded by three of the evangelists,*[2] *and the circumstances related by them are in almost every point exactly the same.*

Jairus applies to Christ, in the midst of a great multitude of people. Prostrating himself at his feet, Jairus besought him to come to his house and heal his daughter, who was at the last extremity. Jesus listened to his request, and on his way was followed by the multitude. A miracle of a different kind was performed at that moment (for all the three evangelists are connected it with his progress to the house of Jairus), by the instantaneous cure of an inveterate disease, in a person who only secretly touched the hem of his garment; a circumstance which rendered the miracle so much the more a subject of observation to the multitude, when the person who was healed was publicly questioned on what she had done.

At the same instant Jairus was informed by his servants, that his daughter was dead, in order to prevent him from farther importuning our Lord, whose visit to his house they then considered as completely unnecessary and useless.[3] Our Lord, aware of this message, encouraged Jairus notwithstanding to rely on him, and went steadily on towards his house, with the multitude attending him. All the customary and noisy lamentations for the dead were already begun; and our Lord found it necessary, for the quiet of the family, to remove the mourners, who went forth fully prepared to attest to the people without, the certainty of the death, after having heard with scorn what they considered as a doubt on the subject, and what our Lord intended as an intimation of the maid's immediate restoration to life. Putting them forth among the multitude, he retained with him the father and mother of the dead young woman, and three of his disciples; a sufficient number to witness and relate the circumstances of her restoration. In their presence "her spirit came again," at our Lord's command. The effect was instantly produced by his almighty word; and was verified to the conviction of every individual, who saw her immediately receiving food, as a person in the full possession of life and health. The event was understood by the whole multitude; and the evangelist Matthew relates, "that the fame thereof went abroad throughout all the land." (Matt. ix. 26.) The person in whose family this miracle was done was sufficiently distinguished, as a ruler of the synagogue, to render such a remarkable event a subject of general attention; and though all the circumstances in the narrative have the aspect of the most natural and unexpected occurrences, which could neither have been combined by human contrivance, nor anticipated by human foresight, no circumstance was wanting, either to ascertain the reality of the miracle, or, without any apparent ostentation or design, to give it the most unquestionable publicity.[4]

7. *To the circumstances of the* RAISING OF THE WIDOW'S SON FROM THE DEAD, AT NAIN (Luke vii. 11—15.), *we have already had occasion to refer, as illustrating the benevolence of Jesus Christ.*[5] In addition to the observations alluded to, we may notice the circumstances under which this miracle was performed.

Christ was coming from Capernaum, where he had healed the servant of the centurion. On approaching the gate of the city, he met the funeral procession. The fact of the young man's death, therefore, was indisputable. "The widowed mother of an only son would not be precipitate in performing these melancholy rites: the proofs of death must have been sadly satisfactory, before she proceeded to pay this last debt of parental tenderness." The tomb was prepared, and a considerable number of her townsmen were accompanying the widowed mother thither, beside a multitude of persons who were following Jesus on his way from Capernaum. It was impossible that any miracle could have been performed under circumstances of greater publicity, or more instantaneously, or where the facts related were more easy to be detected, if there had been any suspicion of fraud or deceit; especially when we know that the rumour of this miracle was *immediately* spread through all the adjacent country. Jesus *came and touched the bier*, on which the corpse was laid, according to the custom of that age and country, with a mantle thrown over it; *and they that bare him stood still. And he said, Young man, I say unto thee, Arise! And he that was dead sat up and began to speak; and he delivered him to his mother. And there came a fear on all, and they glorified God, saying, A great prophet has risen up among us, and God hath visited his people. This rumour of him went forth throughout all Judea, and throughout the region round about.* (Luke vii. 14—17.)

8. *The* RESURRECTION OF LAZARUS *is related* (John xi.) *more minutely than either of the two preceding miracles, and from the particularity of the circumstances related, it acquires additional interest and publicity.*

[i.] While Jesus was beyond Jordan, in Perræa, the sisters of Lazarus sent an express to him, with this message,—*Lord, he whom thou lovest is sick.* After hearing this intelligence, he remained two days longer in the same place, and then said to his disciples, *Let us return into Judæa; Lazarus is dead. Then when Jesus came into Bethany, he found that Lazarus had been in the grave four days already.* (John xi. 6, 7. 17.) It is to be observed that while he was in Perræa he said to his apostles, *Lazarus is dead:* so that Jesus neither did nor could learn how long Lazarus had been in the grave, from the testimony of one of his sisters. The delay also of the journey from Galilee to Bethany must not be overlooked. By that delay the miracle became more bright, and its truth and reality more determined.

[ii.] The *scene* of it furnishes another circumstance extremely favourable for promoting the same end. It was not laid in Jerusalem, where the minds of men might be supposed to be held in awe, or biassed by power, where the miracle might be charged with ostentation, and where personal prejudices were triumphant. Nor was it laid in a desert, where there might be suspicion of deceit, but at the distance of only two short miles from Jerusalem.

The *precise time* of Christ's arrival at Bethany is a circumstance that must be viewed in the same light. His coming so late destroys all suspicions of any concert. It gave his enemies an opportunity of observing the whole transaction; as the season was, of all others, the fittest for finding access to their minds. By this time, the sisters of Lazarus were receiving the consolatory visits of their neighbours and friends:—*Many of the Jews had come to Martha and Mary, to comfort them concerning their brother.* Jesus himself approaches, and mingles with the company as a mourner and friend. When Jesus, therefore, saw the Jews also weeping, who had followed Mary out of the house, *he groaned in spirit, and was troubled.* He was under no necessity of affecting the appearance of sorrow, for he felt it—*Jesus wept;* and the reality both of his sympathy and sorrow did not fail to make him an object of regard. *Then said the Jews, Behold how he loved him.* Every thing concurred to excite expectation and scrutiny from the malice of some of the Jews who were present, which caused them to insinuate a defect in the power or goodness of Jesus. *Some of them said, Could not this man, which opened the eyes of the blind, have caused that even this man should not have died?*

[iii.] At length they arrive at the grave. *It was a cave; and a stone lay upon it*, which Jesus commanded to be removed, for he exerted his miraculous power only in cases where second causes were inadequate. This stone might be removed by the hand of man: therefore, Jesus ordered it to be removed. This circumstance would excite the greater attention, as the objection felt by Martha to the execution of this command (ver. 39.) most evidently shows, that death had *indubitably* taken place; and from the time he had been buried, especially under the influence of so warm a climate, it is certain that those changes of mortality must have passed upon the frame to which she alluded. No human means, however, could raise

[1] Chaverde's Considerations on the Miracles of the Gospel, part. ii. ch. 4.

[2] Matt. ix. 18—26. Mark v. 22—43. Luke viii. 41—56.

[3] Matthew's narrative might have led us to have supposed her to have been dead when Jairus first addressed our Lord, if it were not obvious that, omitting several circumstances, which are mentioned by the other evangelists, he begins his relation at the time when the father knew that she was dead, and places the circumstances in his narrative after that time.

[4] Sir H. M. Wellwood's Discourses on the Jewish and Christian Revelations, pp. 416—418.

[5] See p. 101. *supra.*

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Lazarus: Jesus, therefore, interposed his miraculous power; and after a short prayer, which was expressly intended for the spectators, *he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth! And he that was dead came forth*, bound *hand and foot with grave clothes.*[1] That all present might have the fullest conviction of the reality of the miracle which had thus been wrought, Jesus commanded them to *loose him and let him go.*

[iv.] The *witnesses* of this miracle are likewise to be considered. Though some of those who had come to mourn with the sisters of Lazarus were the friends of Christ and his apostles, the evangelical narrative informs us that others were *not* friendly to Christ and his Gospel. Many of these, however, having witnessed the transaction, believed on him; but others, who were not willing to be his disciples, though they found it impossible to reject or to deny the miracle which had been wrought, went their way to the Pharisees and told them what Jesus had done. The Pharisees themselves could not contradict the miracle, though they were interested in denying it. A council of the chief priests and Pharisees was convened. They did venture to examine the miracle, as they had done in the case of the man who had been born blind.—The consideration of Lazarus and of his sisters, who were not mean persons,—the number of the witnesses, who were also persons of distinction, and who had filled Jerusalem with the news at their return,—and the fear of adding a further degree of evidence to a miracle which they were desirous of suppressing,—all these circumstances augmented their indignation against Jesus, and determined them to put him to death, and thus terminate his miracles. They said, *What do we, for this man doth many miracles? If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him: and the Romans will come and take away both our place and nation.*

If any additional evidence were wanting to confirm this miracle, it might be added that, after the resurrection of Lazarus, and six days before the passover, Jesus came to Bethany, where he supped with Lazarus and his sisters; and *much people of the Jews knew that he was at Bethany, and they came from Jerusalem thither, not for Jesus' sake only, but that they might see Lazarus also, whom he had raised from the dead. But the chief priests consulted that they might put Lazarus to death; because that by reason of him many of the Jews went away and believed on Jesus.* (John xii. 1, 2. 9—11.) The curiosity of those who came to Bethany, and their belief in Christ, are natural consequences of the truth of Lazarus's resurrection, which could not but enrage the priests and Pharisees, who were the enemies of Christ; and their determination to put Lazarus to death, shows the desperation to which the publicity of the miracle drove them. The resurrection of Lazarus was also one reason why, on the following day, *much people that were come to the feast* (of the passover) *when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem took branches of palm-trees, and went forth to meet him, and cried, Blessed is the King of Israel that cometh in the name of the Lord. The people, therefore, that was with him when he called Lazarus out of his grave, and raised him from the dead,* BARE RECORD. FOR THIS CAUSE *the people met him, for that they heard that he had done this miracle. The Pharisees, therefore, said among themselves, Perceive ye how ye prevail nothing*, by your threatenings or excommunications? *Behold, the world is gone after him*,—the whole mass of the people are becoming his disciples. (John xii. 12, 13. 17—19.) Is it possible to deny that Christ made his entry into Jerusalem in the manner related by the evangelists, while many persons were living who had actually witnessed it? Can we separate so notorious an event from the important circumstances which are blended with it in the evangelical narration? And can a more natural reason be assigned for such a concourse and triumph than the resurrection of Lazarus, of which many were witnesses, and which the whole multitude already believed to be a true miracle?

[v.] It has every character of a miracle: for it *was sensible and easy to be observed.* Lazarus had been *dead*, he was *alive*;—two facts which, taken separately, are of the most common sort, and concerning which many persons had the utmost certainty. *It was instantaneously and publicly performed before credible witnesses.* On Christ saying, *Lazarus, come forth!* Lazarus resumed life; and the testimony of the witnesses, especially of adversaries, is the most explicit that can be imagined or desired. —*It was independent of second causes.* The effect has no affinity in nature with the sign that accompanies it. What affinity in nature, what physical proportion is there, between the resurrection of Lazarus and the pronunciation of the words,—*Lazarus, come forth?* Lastly, *the end was important;* for it was to attest the divine mission of the Son of God.[2]

IX. But the most remarkable miracle of all is the RESURRECTION of Jesus Christ from the dead, which lies at the very foundation of Christianity. If this fails, the Christian religion cannot be maintained, or may be proved to be false. *If Christ be not risen*, argues Paul of Tarsus, *then is our preaching vain, your faith also is vain.* (1 Cor. xv. 14.) On the other hand, if this holds good, the divine mission and authority of the founder of our holy religion are established. To this he himself appealed, as the great and ultimate proof, which was to convince mankind that he was what he professed himself to be—the Son of God, the Saviour of the world. If we peruse the history of that event, we must conclude either that he arose, or that his disciples stole his body away. The more we consider the latter alternative, the more impossible it appears. Every time, indeed, that Jesus Christ attempted to perform a miracle, he risked his credit on its accomplishment: had he failed in *one* instance, that would have blasted his reputation for ever. The same remark is applicable to his predictions: had any one of them failed, that great character which he had to support would have received an indelible stain. Of all his predictions, there is not one on which he and his disciples laid greater stress than that of his resurrection. So frequently, indeed, had Christ publicly foretold that he would rise again on the third day, that those persons who caused him to be put to death were acquainted with this prediction; and, being in power, *used every possible means to prevent its accomplishment, or any imposition on the public in that affair.*

The importance of this FACT requires that we consider it with a little more minuteness than the other miracles of Jesus Christ. We shall therefore examine, in the first place, his own PROPHETIC DECLARATIONS concerning his death and resurrection; secondly, the EVIDENCE FOR THE FACT, *furnished by the testimony of adversaries to the Christian Name and Faith;* thirdly, the CHARACTER OF THE APOSTLES by whom its reality is attested; and, lastly, the MIRACLES subsequently wrought by these witnesses in the name of Christ after the day of Pentecost, which attest the fact of His resurrection.

1. In the first place, let us examine the PROPHETIC DECLARATIONS OF CHRIST HIMSELF CONCERNING HIS DEATH AND RESURRECTION.

[i.] All the evangelists unanimously relate, that Christ repeatedly predicted the circumstance of his death and resurrection to his disciples. It is further worthy of remark, that those very predictions are frequently intermixed, either with such circumstances as do not, of themselves, enter easily into any man's mind, or with those which seem to have no sort of relation with one another; which proves that they cannot be the imaginary conceits of a fertile fancy, that delights in the invention of fables. It is altogether improbable that the evangelists should have invented Christ's discourse with Peter, concerning the sufferings that should *certainly* befall him at his going up to Jerusalem.

[ii.] Moreover, it is to be observed, that Peter had just before made that noble confession, in the presence of all the other disciples—*Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;* and that Christ had crowned this admirable confession with that extraordinary promise of his—*Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood has not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.* (Matt. xvi. 16—18.) Immediately after, Christ foretold what death he was to suffer from the chief priests and scribes, but added, that he should rise on the third day. On hearing which, Peter rebuked him, and said, *Be it far from thee, O Lord! This shall not be unto thee.* But Jesus Christ, instead of approving this expression of his affectionate concern for him, severely reproved his indiscretion in these words:—*Get thee behind me, Satan; thou art an offence unto me: for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men.* (Matt. xvi. 21—23.) This history seems to be very natural and sincere; and that mixture of circumstances, which, in all probability, have no manner of relation with one another, could not of itself easily enter into the mind of any man. Peter's confession was excellent; and the promise made to him by Christ was extraordinary; nay, the very expression of it implied something strange and difficult: but, above all, it appears at first sight, that Christ censured too severely the great zeal manifested by Peter for his person; and it does not seem very natural that he, who said unto him, *Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona*, and who promised to make him a pillar in his church, should almost immediately after say to him—*Get thee behind me, Satan.* It is evident that it was the force of truth, and not the natural agreement of those circumstances, which obliged the evangelist to join them both together in one and the same recital. What necessarily occasions this remark is, the fact that Jesus Christ had *really* foretold his death and resurrection, before he had suffered the former, and before the latter had taken effect.

[iii.] But what proves this fact more strongly than any thing else, is, that Jesus Christ, the very day before his passion, did such a thing as had never been done before, and which, doubtless, will never be done again, viz. He instituted a memorial of that death, which he was just on the point of suffering. He foretold that he should suffer death from the chief priests, the scribes, and doctors of the law; which yet he might easily have avoided, if he would, by withdrawing into another place. But

[1] The question has been asked, How could a man come out of a grave who was bound hand and foot? To this inquiry of the unbeliever a satisfactory answer may be returned. We learn from Josephus, and also from such travellers as have visited Palestine, that the Jewish sepulchres were generally *caves* or *rooms* hewn out of rocks. The Jews, therefore, as they did not make use of coffins in burying their dead, generally placed their bodies in niches, cut into the sides of these caves or rooms. This form of the Jewish sepulchres affords an easy solution of the supposed difficulty. The evangelist does not mean to say, that Lazarus walked out of the sepulchre; but that lying on his back in a niche, he raised himself into a sitting posture, and then, putting his legs over the edge of his niche or cell, slid down and stood upright on the floor. All this he might do, notwithstanding his arms were swathed with rollers, after the custom of his countrymen. Accordingly, when he thus came forth, Jesus commanded them to loose him and let him go,—which circumstance plainly indicates that the evangelist knew that Lazarus could not walk, till he was unbound. Macknight's Truth of the Gospel History, p. 175.

[2] Claparede's Considerations upon the Miracles, part ii. ch. 5.

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he rebuked the indiscreet zeal of Peter, who would have diverted him from that death: therefore he considered it as an event which was to be attended with the happiest and most beneficial consequences to mankind. And with what happy consequences could his death have been attended, unless it was to have been immediately followed by his resurrection?

Jesus, then, first instituted a memorial of his death, and then voluntarily suffered it. He commanded that it should be commemorated, whence it is evident that he regarded it as an event, which was to be the means of our salvation. He foresaw that it would be commemorated: he foresaw, therefore, what would infallibly come to pass, and that, too, at a time when there was but little appearance of its ever happening. He did not say, that they should commemorate his death, only till he rose again, but until his second coming. He foresaw, therefore, that he should speedily rise again, and that after his resurrection he should depart, in order to return again at the end of the world.

[iv.] Besides, no reasonable person can imagine, that the evangelists had wholly invented the account of the eucharist; for there is a wide difference between a *doctrine* and a *practice*. It is very difficult to forge a doctrine, because it must be concerted by the consent of several persons; but it is yet more difficult to impose a sensible practice, a thing in use, and as it were a speaking doctrine, upon mankind. It would certainly be the greatest instance of folly imaginable, for any one to suppose that a dozen poor fishermen, cast down, astonished, and confounded at the death of their master, and undeceived in the opinion which they had entertained that he was to restore the kingdom of Israel:—persons who knew not what might be the consequence of their publishing the doctrine of that crucified man;—that they should invent the institution of the eucharist, with all its circumstances, and make Christ utter these words—*This is my body, which is given for you; This cup is the New Testament in my blood* (Luke xxii. 19, 20.);—words that implied something new and very surprising, and which the evangelists and Paul have unanimously recorded, though without any mutual compact, as appears by the trifling variation that occurs in their recital of them. It would, we repeat, be the greatest instance of folly imaginable, for any one to suppose that the disciples had the least idea of inventing these words, or the history of the eucharist. The inference to be deduced from it is this, that Christ foresaw his death, and suffered it voluntarily. Now, if he foresaw that he should die, and if he voluntarily offered himself to death, he then either foresaw that he should rise again, or he did not foresee it. If he did not foresee it, with what kind of hopes did he comfort his disciples? What was it that he promised them? Or what did he propose to himself by his death? Why did he not shun it as he might have done, when he was at supper with his disciples? What did he intend by instituting a memorial of his dead body, if that dead body were always to remain under the power of death? And if he thought that he should rise again, as we may very reasonably conclude he did, he himself could not have believed it, but only on the experience he had already made of that power which had restored sight to the blind, health to the sick, and life to the dead: for he could not think his own miracles false, and yet, at the same time, believe that he should rise from the dead. If he thought he should rise again, he also thought his miracles to be true; and if he believed his miracles to be true, his miracles must of necessity have really been true, because they were of a nature incapable of deceit and illusion, at least with respect to him who performed them. Jesus Christ could never imagine that he had fed five thousand men at one time, and three thousand at another, besides women and children; that he had raised to life the widow's son of Nain, the daughter of Jairus, and Lazarus of Bethany; and that he made Peter walk on the sea, &c. &c., if all these things had not really been true.

[v.] No one surely can doubt that Christ foretold his resurrection, who considers that it was *on this very account* that the chief priests and Pharisees appointed a watch to guard his sepulchre, and commanded the stone of it to be sealed. *Sir*, said they to Pilate, *we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again. Command, therefore, that the sepulchre be made sure until the third day, lest his disciples come by night and steal him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead; so the last error shall be worse than the first. Pilate saith unto them, Ye have a watch; go your way, make it as sure as you can. So they went and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, and setting the watch.* (Matt. xxvii. 63—66.) This, as we shall further have occasion to show, was such a matter of fact, as the disciples neither could nor durst invent in opposition to the public knowledge which every one had of it; and which, besides, agrees very well with the other circumstances of that event. For whence originated the report which was spread at Jerusalem, that the watch slept when the disciples took away the body of Jesus, if they had not really set a watch to guard his sepulchre? And what necessity was there to appoint a watch to guard it, had it not been to prevent the disciples from propagating the report that he was risen from the dead? And if Christ really believed that he should rise again, he could not have believed it but upon the truth of his miracles; neither could he have believed his miracles to be true, if they had been false. Thus it appears, that the connection of all those circumstances forms, as it were, a kind of moral demonstration, which cannot but convince any just and reasonable person.

2. Having thus considered the predictions of Jesus Christ himself concerning his death and resurrection, let us now proceed to investigate the EVIDENCE FOR THAT FACT.

The credibility of the Gospel historians respecting common facts (we have already seen) is generally acknowledged, even by its adversaries. Now their evidence, that Jesus really *died* upon the cross, near Jerusalem, when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judæa, is peculiarly clear and direct. Numerous circumstances relative to his seizure, his public trial, his going to Calvary, and his crucifixion, are minutely specified. Various particulars of time, place, persons, discourses, &c. are set down. The chief rulers in the Jewish nation, as well as the people, and the Roman governor himself, are mentioned as parties concerned. The publicity of his crucifixion in the suburbs of the chief city in the nation, its being in the day-time, at a solemn festival (when multitudes assembled from several different countries, and from every part of Judæa), are all noted. His hanging six hours upon the cross,[1] his being pierced in the side by one of the soldiers with his spear, and blood and water evidently flowing from the wound,[2] are incontestable proofs that death must have previously taken place. To these natural proofs of death, we may add the official testimony of the Roman centurion, who would have subjected himself to accusation if his account had been false, and who would be the more exact in it, as the soldiers, "seeing that he was dead already,[3] brake not his legs." Pilate, also, who was intimidated, by the dread of an accusation to the emperor, to consent to the crucifixion of Jesus, would likewise be afraid of having him taken from the cross till he was really dead. Accordingly, he did not permit Joseph of Arimathea to remove the corpse, till he had the decisive evidence of the centurion.[4]

The chief priests and Pharisees, who had so long and so anxiously been plotting the destruction of Christ, would take care that he was really void of life before the body was taken down. His friends would never have wound it round so closely with linen cloth, as was the custom in Judæa,[5] if there had been any remains of life. Even if they could be supposed to be mistaken; yet, lying in a cold sepulchre, unable to stir from before six o'clock on Friday afternoon, till the dawn of the first day of the week, the body must have been truly dead. The fact was well known, and universally acknowledged. The friends and companions of Jesus asserted it before his powerful enemies, in the most public manner, only fifty days after, and even they did not deny it.[6] Nay, the Jews by being offended at his crucifixion and death, gave their attestation to the facts. The very anxiety of the chief priests and Pharisees to prevent the removal of the body of Jesus, undesignedly drew from them a clear proof that they themselves were convinced of his actual decease. While his body was in the sepulchre, "*they said to Pilate, Sir, we remember that that deceiver said,* WHILE HE WAS YET ALIVE, *After three days I will rise again.*"[7] This implies their full persuasion that he was really *not* alive when they spake the words. Their asking for a guard to prevent the disciples from stealing the corpse, and from deceiving the people, by pretending that he was *risen* from the *dead*, does also involve their being convinced that he was then *truly dead*.

Further, upon the same grounds that we believe ancient history in general, there can be no reason for doubting, but that the body of Jesus was deposited on the evening of the day on which

[1] Mark xv. 25. 34. 37.
[2] John xix. 34, 35. "The water in the pericardium, and the serum. It is said, that there is much serum in the thorax of persons who die of torture." See Grotius, L'Enfant, and Archbishop Newcome on the text.
[3] Ver. 33.
[4] Mark xv. 43—45., which shows that he had been some time dead. See the Greek, Le Clerc's Harmony, and Archbishop Newcome's note.
[5] John xix. 38—40. xi. 44. xx. 6, 7.
[6] Acts ii. 1. 14, &c.
[7] Matt. xxvii. 63—66.

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it was taken from the cross, in a private sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, hewn out of a rock,[1] in which no corpse had ever been laid before.[2] Nor is there any ground for doubting, but that a great stone was rolled to the mouth of the sepulchre; that this stone was sealed by the chief priests and Pharisees, who would of course first see that the body was there, else this precaution would have been useless; and that at their request a guard of Roman soldiers,[3] as large as they chose, was placed before the sepulchre, to prevent the corpse from being removed. Notwithstanding these precautions, however, early on the morning of the first day of the week following, the body was missing, and neither the soldiers, who were upon guard, nor the chief priests, nor the Pharisees, could ever produce it. Yet none of the watch deserted their post while it was in the sepulchre, nor was any force used against the soldiers, nor any arts of persuasion employed, to induce them to take it away, or to permit any other person to remove it.

The question then is, How came it to be removed? Matthew has recorded the account which both the friends and the enemies of Jesus, and the disinterested heathen military guard, give of this. Let us examine these, that we may see which best deserves our credit.

Early on the first day of the week some of the watch came into the city, and showed unto the chief priests all the things that were done; namely, the earthquake, the angel rolling back the stone from the door of the sepulchre, &c. The chief priests applied to Pilate[4] the Roman governor for a watch to secure the sepulchre, lest his disciples should steal him away; and they sealed the stone (probably with the governor's seal) to prevent the soldiers from being corrupted, so as to permit the theft. By this guard of sixty Roman soldiers was the sepulchre watched; and, notwithstanding all the precautions thus carefully taken, the body was missing early on the morning of the first day of the following week. In this great fact both the Jewish council and the apostles perfectly agree: this cannot be questioned. The council would otherwise have certainly produced it, and thus detected the falsehood of the apostles' declaration, that Christ was risen from the dead, and prevented it from gaining credit among the Jews. On the resurrection of Christ, some of the soldiers went and related it to the chief priests, who bribed them largely, promising to secure their persons from danger, in case the governor should hear of their taking the money, and charged them to affirm that Christ's disciples stole his body away while they were sleeping. *So they took the money, and did as they were taught: and this saying*, or report, Matthew adds, *is commonly reported among the Jews to this day.*[5] This flight of the soldiers, their declaration to the high priests and elders, the subsequent conduct of the latter, the detection and publication by the apostles of their collusion with the soldiers, and the silence of the Jews on that subject, who *never* attempted to refute or to contradict the declarations of the apostles,—are all strong evidences of the reality and truth of his resurrection. Had the report, that his disciples stole the body, been true, Matthew would not have dared to have published in Judæa, so soon after the event as he did,[6]—(when many persons who had been spectators of the crucifixion and death of Christ must have been alive, and who would unquestionably have contradicted him if he had asserted a falsehood,)—that the chief priests bribed the soldiers to propagate it; as this would have exposed himself to their indignation and to punishment, which they would the more willingly have inflicted, because he had been in the odious office of a Roman tax-gatherer, which he resigned to follow Jesus. The story of stealing the body appears from this account to have been so evidently false, that Matthew, though he faithfully records the report, does not say a syllable to refute it. He leaves the falsity of it to be manifested by well-known facts. Had the disciples really stolen the body, and invented the account of the resurrection of their Master, they never would have represented themselves as giving up all hopes of his rising again when he was dead, and as being backward to believe in his resurrection after they said it took place. (John xx. 9, 10.) Nor would they, in the same memoirs, have described the chief priests as manifesting their fears and apprehensions that it *possibly* might come to pass, by the extraordinary *guard* they provided to prevent any deception. If this theft had been perpetrated, the partners in the fraud would never have dwelt so much as they have done upon the women going more than once to the sepulchre, to look for the body. There would have been no time to have taken off the bandages, nor to have wrapped up the napkin, and to have laid it in a place by itself, separate from the other linen. (v. 6, 7.) These circumstances, therefore, would never have formed a part of the narrative. Nor would it have been recorded of Mary, that she said to Peter and John, *They have* TAKEN AWAY *the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him.* (John xx. 2.) A few additional considerations will suffice to show the falsehood of the assertion made by the chief priests.

(1.) On the one hand, consider the *terror* of the timid disciples and the paucity of their number. They knew that a Roman guard was placed at the sepulchre. They themselves were few, friendless, and discouraged, in hourly expectation of being arrested and put to death as followers of Christ, and voluntarily confined themselves to a solitary chamber for fear of being either crucified or stoned. On the other hand, contrast the authority of Pilate and of the sanhedrim or council, the great danger attending such an enterprise as the stealing of Christ's body, and the moral impossibility of succeeding in such an attempt. For the *season* was that of the great annual festival, the passover, when the city of Jerusalem was full,—on such occasions containing more than a million of people, many of whom probably passed the whole night (as Jesus and his disciples had done) in the open air. It was the time of the *full moon*; the night, consequently, was very light. The *sepulchre*, too, was just without the walls of the city, and therefore was exposed to continual inspection All these circumstances combine to render such a falsehood as that which was imposed upon the Jews utterly unworthy of credit. For, in the first place, how could a body of men who had just before fled from a similar guard, notwithstanding their Master was present with them, venture to attack a band of sixty armed soldiers, for the purpose of removing the body of Christ from the sepulchre? How, especially, could they make this attempt, when they had nothing to gain, and when they must become guilty of rebelling against the Roman government,—and, if they escaped death from the hands of the soldiers, were exposed to this evil in a much more terrible form?

(2.) Is it probable that so many men, as composed the guard, would *all* fall asleep in the open air *at once?*

(3.) Since Pilate permitted the chief priests and Pharisees to make the sepulchre as sure as they could (Matt. xxvii. 65.), they would certainly make it completely so. Roman soldiers were used to watch. Death was the punishment for sleeping on guard. This watch was for only about three or four hours, and early in the morning, so that they might have slept before. Can it be supposed, then, that they were all asleep together? What could a few poor fishermen do against a well-disciplined and well-armed military force?

(4.) Could they be soundly asleep, as not to awake with all the noise which must necessarily be made by removing the great stone from the mouth of the sepulchre, and taking away the body?

(5.) Are the appearances of *composure* and *regularity* found in the empty tomb at all suitable with the hurry and trepidation of thieves, when an armed guard, too, is at hand, stealing in a moonlight night?

(6.) Is it at all likely that the timid disciples could have sufficient time to do all this, without being perceived by any person?

[1] Matt. xxvii. 60. Mark xv. 46. Luke xxiii. 53. John xix. 41.

[2] Matt. xxvii. 59, 60. John xix. 41, 42.

[3] Matt. xxvii. 60—66.

[4] Matthew (xxvii. 62.) says that this application was made on *the next day that followed the day of the preparation*, that is, on the Saturday. Though this looks, at the first view, as if the sepulchre had remained one whole night without a guard, yet that was not the case. "The chief priests went to Pilate as soon as the sun was set on Friday, the day of the preparation and crucifixion; for then began the following day or Saturday, as the Jews always began to reckon their day from the preceding evening. They had a guard, therefore, as soon as they possibly could after the body was deposited in the sepulchre; and one cannot help admiring the goodness of Providence in so disposing events, that the extreme anxiety of these men, to prevent collusion, should be the means of adding SIXTY *unexceptionable witnesses* (the number of the Roman soldiers on guard) to the truth of the resurrection, and of establishing the reality of it beyond all power of contradiction."—Bp. Porteus's Lectures on Matthew, vol. ii. p. 306.

[5] Matt. xxviii. 4. 11—15. Justin Martyr (who flourished chiefly between A. D. 140 and 164 or 167), in his Dialogue with the Jew Trypho, also relates that the synagogue of Jerusalem sent out persons in every direction to propagate a report similar to that above related by Matthew.

[6] The gospel of Matthew, it is generally agreed, was written A. D. 37 or 38, that is, only four or five years after the resurrection of Christ, at which time multitudes were living who would doubtless have refuted his statement if they *could*

[7] *Then cometh Simon Peter following him, and went into the sepulchre, and seeth the* LINEN CLOTHES LIE, *and the* NAPKIN, *that was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but* WRAPPED TOGETHER IN A PLACE BY ITSELF. John xx. 6, 7. This artless relation of the evangelist amounts of itself to an ample confutation of the idle calumny above noticed, that the disciples came and stole the body of Christ. The historian does not dwell on the circumstance, as if it were mentioned with a *direct* view of answering some objection,—as a forger would have done. He delivers it with all the simplicity of an unsuspecting relater of truth; and it therefore carries with it far more weight of evidence, than a multiplicity of reasons and the most laboured explanation. Wakefield's Internal Evidences of Christianity, p. 54.

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How could soldiers, armed and on guard, suffer themselves to be overreached by a few timorous people?

(7.) Either the soldiers were awake or asleep: if they were awake, why should they suffer the body to be taken away? If asleep, how did they know, or how could they know, that the disciples of Christ had taken it away? Why did not the sanhedrim, for their own honour, and the respect they bare to the truth, put all those soldiers to the question? And if that thought did not at first suggest itself to them, is it not natural to think that they would have done it, when soon after they found all Jerusalem inclined to believe in that crucified man; and that about six thousand persons had already believed in him in one day, and that only fifty days after his death? Doubtless the soldiers who watched the sepulchre were still at Jerusalem, and the sanhedrim retained the same power and authority which they had before. It highly concerned them to punish the negligence of those soldiers, or make them confess the secret of their perfidy, and who it was that suborned them, both to justify their own procedure, and also to prevent the total defection from Judaism of the great number of persons who had already joined the disciples of that pretended impostor. But this is not all. When on the day of Pentecost, that is, fifty days after the death of Jesus Christ, the apostles showed themselves in the city of Jerusalem, and there testified that they had seen him risen from the dead, and that, after he had repeatedly appeared to them and ascended into heaven, he had poured out upon them the miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit,—why did not the sanhedrim (who were so highly concerned to discover the persons who had taken away Christ's body) apprehend the apostles, and make them confess how all things had happened? Why did they not confront them with the watch? Why did they not imprison Joseph of Arimathea, and those men, till they had made them confess what was become of that body, as also every other circumstance of their imposture?

How unlikely is it, that, if the disciples had come by night and had stolen away the body of Christ, they durst have showed themselves, and appeared in public, nay, immediately confessed that they were his disciples? It is much more credible that they would have hidden themselves after such an action; and that if they preached at all, it would have been to people more remote, and not in Jerusalem, the very place where those events had happened, nor in the presence of that very sanhedrim, of whom they were so much afraid, and whom they had so much offended.

(8.) Once more, Why did not the sanhedrim have recourse to the methods ordinarily employed to discover criminals? They were very ready by menaces, torments, and persecutions, to oblige the apostles *not* to preach in the name of Jesus Christ; but they never accused them of having stolen the body of their Master while the watch slept. On that investigation they durst not enter, because they well knew what the soldiers had told them, and it was that very thing which made them so apprehensive. If there had been any suspicion that his disciples were in possession of the dead body, these rulers, for their own credit, would have imprisoned them, and used means to recover it, which would have quashed the report of his resurrection for ever.

In the fourth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles we are informed that the sanhedrim caused the apostles to be brought before them for preaching, in the name of Christ, the doctrines of Christianity; and for affirming, that Christ was risen from the dead. Had they believed that the apostles *stole away the body of Christ*, they would now certainly have charged them with this gross fraud, this direct rebellion against the Roman and Jewish governments; and unless they could have cleared themselves of the crime, would have punished them for it with, at least, due severity. Such punishment would not only have been just; but it had now become necessary for the sanhedrim to inflict it, in order to save their own reputation. They had originated the story; and were now under the strongest inducements to support it. Yet they did not even mention the subject; but contented themselves with commanding them to preach no more in the name of Christ.

In the following chapter, we are told, that the whole body of the apostles was brought before them again, for continuing to preach, in opposition to this command. On this occasion, also, they maintained a profound silence concerning the theft, which they had originally attributed to the apostles; but charged them with disobedience to their former injunctions. In this charge are contained the following remarkable words: *Did we not straitly command you, that ye should not teach in this name? and behold, ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this man's blood upon us.* (Acts v. 28.) *To bring the blood of one person upon another* is a phrase of frequent occurrence in the Bible. In fifteen different[1] instances, in which we find it there, it has but a single meaning; viz. *to bring the guilt of contributing to the death of a person, or the guilt of murder, upon another person.* When it is said, *His blood shall be upon his own head*, it is clearly intended, that the guilt of his death shall be upon himself. When, therefore, the sanhedrim accuse the apostles of attempting to bring the blood of Christ upon *them*, they accuse them of an intention to bring upon them the guilt of shedding his blood: this being the only meaning of such phraseology in the Scriptures.

Should any doubt remain in the mind of any man concerning this interpretation, it may be settled, beyond all question, by recurring to the following passage. In Matthew xxvii. 24, 25. we are told, that when *Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing* towards releasing Christ, *he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it:* and that then *all the people answered, and said, His blood be on us, and on our children.* The meaning of the phraseology in this passage cannot be mistaken; and it is altogether probable, that the declaration of the sanhedrim being made so soon after this imprecation to the apostles, so deeply interested in the subject, and on an occasion which so naturally called it up to view, the sanhedrim referred to it directly.

But if Christ was not raised from the dead, he was a false prophet, an impostor, and, of course, a blasphemer; because he asserted himself to be the Messiah, the Son of God. Such a blasphemer the law of God condemned to death. The sanhedrim were the very persons to whom the business of trying and condemning him was committed by that law, and whose duty it was to accomplish his death. If, therefore, his body was not raised from the dead, there was no guilt in shedding his blood, but the mere performance of a plain duty. His blood, that is, the guilt of shedding it, could not possibly rest on the sanhedrim; nor, to use their language, be brought upon them by the apostles, nor by any others. All this the sanhedrim perfectly knew; and, therefore, had they not believed him to have risen from the dead, they never could have used this phraseology.

It is further to be observed, that on both these occasions the apostles boldly declared to the sanhedrim, in the most explicit terms, that Christ was raised from the dead. Yet the sanhedrim not only did not charge them with the crime of having stolen his body, but did not contradict, nor even comment, on the declaration. This could not possibly have happened through inattention. Both the sanhedrim and the apostles completely knew, that the resurrection of Christ was the point on which his cause, and their opposition to it, entirely turned. It was the great and serious controversy between the contending parties; and yet, though directly asserted to their faces by the apostles, the sanhedrim did not even utter a syllable on the subject. Had they believed their own story, they would either have punished the apostles with death as rebels against the Jewish and Roman governments, or else they would have confined them as lunatics.[2]

There can be no doubt, therefore, from the evidence of the fact furnished by the adversaries of the name and faith of Christ, that they were convinced he was actually risen from the dead; and yet it has been repeatedly urged by the opposers of revelation as an OBJECTION to the credibility of Christ's resurrection, that he did not show himself to the chief priests and Jews.

ANSWER.—Various reasons, however, may be satisfactorily assigned, why it was not proper that it should be so.

[i.] *In the first place*, when the cruel and inveterate malice, which they had evinced towards Jesus, is considered, as well as the force of their prejudices, it is not probable that they would have submitted to the evidence. They had attributed his miracles to the power of the devil; and his raising Lazarus from the dead, of which they had *full* information, only stimulated them to attempt to destroy him. Instead of being wrought upon by the testimony of the soldiers, they endeavored to stifle it. Besides, if Jesus had shown himself to them after his passion, and they had pretended that it was a spectre or delusion, and had still continued to refuse to acknowledge him, it would have been urged as a strong presumption against the reality of his resurrection. But,

[1] Lev. xx. 9. 11. 13. 16. 27. Deut. xix. 10. xxii. 8. 2 Sam. i. 16. xvi. 8. 1 Kings ii. 37. Jer. li. 35. Ezek. xviii. 13. xxxiii. 5. Matt. xxiii. 35. Acts xviii. 6.

[2] Abbadie, Traité sur la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne, tom. ii. sect. iii. ch. 3. Dwight's System of Theology, vol. ii. pp. 537—539

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[ii.] *Secondly*, let it be supposed that Jesus had not only appeared to them after his resurrection, but that they themselves had acknowledged its truth and reality, and had owned him for their Messiah, and had brought the Jewish nation into the same belief;—can it be imagined that those who now make the above objection would be satisfied? It is most probable that the testimony of the priests and rulers, in such case, would have been represented as a proof that the whole was artifice and imposture, and that they were influenced by some political motive. Their testimony, moreover,—if truth had extorted it from them, and if they had possessed honesty and resolution sufficient to avow it,—would have been liable to suspicion. For it would have been the testimony of men whose minds must have been oppressed and terrified by a consciousness of their guilt; and it might have been said, that they were haunted by ghosts and spectres, and that their imagination converted a phantom into the real person of him whom they had exposed to public derision, and sentenced to an ignominious death. Their testimony would have gained little credit with men of their own rank and station, and of principles and characters similar to their own. It would have died with themselves, and produced no effect beyond the circle of their own acquaintance, and the age in which they lived. And,

[iii.] *In the third place*, the character and religion of Christ might have been very materially injured by his appearance to the Jewish priests and rulers after his resurrection. They had no right to expect this kind of evidence. No good purpose could be answered by it: on the contrary, it might have been very detrimental in its effects. If they had remained unconvinced, which most probably might have been the case, the fact would have been questioned. The multitude would have become obstinate and irreclaimable in their incredulity; and they would have pleaded the authority of their superiors in station and office, as an apology for neglecting inquiry, and rejecting the means of conviction. If they had been convinced, without honesty and resolution to declare the truth, the fact would still have been considered as doubtful, or of no great importance. But if with their conviction they connected the public avowal of its truth, Jesus Christ would have incurred the charge of being an impostor, and his religion of being a fraud. Loud would have been the clamour of a combination. Suspicion would have attached itself to the evidence of men who had the care of his sepulchre, who appointed the guard, and sealed the stone that secured it, and who could easily have propagated a report which would have gained credit with the servile multitude. Christianity would have been represented, by persons who are prone to ascribe all religion to state policy, as a contrivance of the priests and magistrates of Judæa to answer some purpose of worldly emolument or ambition. Its progress and prevalence would have been attributed to the secular influence of its advocates; and it would have been deprived of that most distinguishing and satisfactory evidence which it now possesses, that it derived its origin from God, and owed its success to the signal interposition of divine power. But the inveterate opposition of the Jewish priests and rulers to the cause, and their violent persecution of the Christians, removed all suspicion of priestcraft and political design. If the disciples had agreed to impose upon the world in this affair, common sense would have directed them, first to spread the report that Jesus Christ was risen from the grave, and then to employ an individual whom they could trust to personate him, and to appear before the multitude in such a manner and at such times as would not endanger a discovery; as, however, Christ never appeared to the multitude after his resurrection, this removed all suspicion that the disciples had contrived a scheme for deceiving the people.

These considerations show that Christ's *appearance*, after he rose from the dead, *only to a competent number of witnesses*, who were intimately acquainted with him before his decease, is a circumstance highly calculated to establish the truth of his resurrection to posterity.

3. THE CHARACTER OF THE APOSTLES, also proves the truth of the resurrection of Christ; and there are ELEVEN considerations which give their evidence sufficient weight. Observe the *Condition* and the *Number* of these witnesses, their *Incredulity*, and slowness in believing the resurrection of Christ,—the moral *Impossibility* of their succeeding in imposing upon others,—the *Facts* which they themselves avow,—the *Agreement* of their evidence,—the *Tribunals* before which they stood,—the *Time* when this evidence was given,—the *Place* where they bore their *Testimony* to the resurrection, and their *Motives* for doing so,—and the striking *Contrast* in the conduct of the apostles both before and after the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

(1.) *Consider the* CONDITION *of these witnesses.*

Had they been men of opulence and credit in the world, we might have thought that their reputation gave currency to the fable. If they had been learned and eloquent men, we might have imagined that the style in which they had told the tale had soothed the souls of the people into a belief of it. But the *reverse* of all this was the fact; for the apostles were the lowest of mankind, without reputation to impose upon the people, without authority to compel, and without riches to reward. They were also mean, despised, and unlearned men, and consequently very unequal to the task of imposing upon others. When all these circumstances are considered, it is impossible to conceive that persons of this character could succeed.

(2.) *Consider the* NUMBER *of these witnesses, and also of the actual appearances of Jesus Christ, which number was more than sufficient to establish any fact.*

By *seven* different credible authors, viz. the apostles Matthew, John, Paul, Peter, and James, and the evangelists Luke and Mark—not fewer than *eleven* distinct appearances of Christ have been related or mentioned, *after* his resurrection, and *previously* to his ascension, namely,—

1. To Mary Magdalen alone (Mark xvi. 9.), who saw Jesus standing. (John xx. 14.)
2. To the women who were returning from the sepulchre to announce his resurrection to the disciples. "Behold, Jesus met them, saying, All hail! and they came and held him by the feet and worshipped him." (Matt. xxxvii. 9, 10.)
3. To Simon Peter alone. (Luke xxiv. 34.)
4. To the two disciples who were going to Emmaus, with whom he conversed and brake bread, and then made himself known to them. (Luke xxiv. 13—31.)
5. To the apostles at Jerusalem, excepting Thomas, who was absent (John xx. 19, 20.)
6. Eight days afterwards to the disciples, Thomas being present. (John xx. 26—29.)
7. At the sea of Tiberias, when seven of his disciples were fishing, with whom he *ate food*. (John xxi. 1—15.)
8. To the eleven apostles, on a mountain in Galilee, where Jesus had appointed to meet them. (Matt. xxviii. 16, 17.)
9. "After that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once." (1 Cor. xv. 6.)
10. "After that he was seen of James." (1 Cor. xv. 7.)
11. And, lastly, by all the apostles (1 Cor. xv. 7.) on Mount Olivet, on the day of his ascension into heaven. (Luke xxiv. 51. Acts i. 9.)

On these various appearances, it is to be remarked, that Christ was seen at *different hours* of the day,—*early* in the *morning*, by Mary Magdalen and the other women,—*during the day*, by Peter, by the seven disciples at the sea of Tiberias, by the apostles at his ascension, and by Stephen,—and *in the evening* by the ten apostles, and by Cleopas and his companion,—so that they could not possibly be mistaken as to the reality of his person. But we nowhere read that he appeared at midnight, when the senses and imagination might be imposed upon. Further, the several *distances* of *time* and *place* at which Jesus showed himself merit attention.[1] His two first appearances were early in the morning on which he arose. One of them was just by the sepulchre, the other in the way from it to Jerusalem. The third on some part of the same day. The fourth in the evening of it, on the road to Emmaus, and in a house in that village, which was between seven and eight miles from Jerusalem. The fifth, at Jerusalem, on a later hour of the same evening. The sixth, a week after, at the same city. The seventh, about sixty miles from it, by the sea of Tiberias. The time and place at which he was seen by James are not recorded. A ninth appearance was in some other part of Galilee. Forty days after his resurrection he again met the apostles at Jerusalem, and led them out to Bethany, that they might see him go up to the Father. A few years after this Stephen saw him (Acts vii. 55, 56 59, 60.); and in about a year from that time he appeared to Paul, near Damascus (Acts ix. 3—9. 1 Cor. xv. 8. ix. 1.), to whom he communicated his Gospel by immediate revelation. (Gal. i. 11—20.)[2]

The different kinds of conversation and intercourse which Jesus held with the different persons to whom he showed himself have great propriety, and increase the evidence of his resurrection. As the apostles were to be witnesses of Christ to the whole world, his appearances, conversations, and actions, after his resurrection, are well adapted to excite their attention, gradually to diminish, and at length to remove their surprise; and thus to fit their minds for attending with calmness and impartiality to the evidence of the fact, and to afford them the strong-

[1] Newcome's Review of the Difficulties relating to Christ's Resurrection, and Benson's Life of Christ. ch. xii.
[2] Id. ibid.

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est and most undoubted proofs of it. The women, by seeing that the body was not in the sepulchre (John xx. 2.), and being told by the angel that he was alive (Luke xxiv. 4—10.), would, of course, be rather in expectation of seeing him, though with a mixture of fear. At his first appearance he permitted himself to be *seen* by Mary Magdalen; not to be touched. But he sent her to prepare the apostles for beholding him alive again (John xx. 11—18. Mark xvi. 9, 10.), by telling them that he should ascend to the Father. This report encouraged Peter and John to run to the sepulchre, where seeing only the linen cloths and the napkin, they returned, wondering at what had passed, perplexed how to account for it (Luke xxiv. 12. John xx. 6—10.); and therefore in a state of mind to attend to further evidence, and yet not to receive it unless it was valid. When Jesus showed himself to the other Mary, Joanna, Salome, &c. he addressed them with the usual salutation, let them take hold of his feet and pay him homage, bade them not be afraid, but go and tell his brethren to go into Galilee, and there they should see him. (Matt. xxviii. 9, 10.) This was further evidence to the apostles, and increased their hope of seeing Jesus themselves. His third appearance to Peter would probably convince him, and would be a strong additional proof to the other apostles. His walking to Emmaus with Cleopas, and another disciple, and explaining to them all the prophecies concerning himself; going into the village, and sitting at meat with them; taking bread, blessing, breaking, and giving it to them; were such undoubted proofs of his recovery to life again, that the two disciples could not refrain from returning that very evening to Jerusalem to report what they had seen and heard to the apostles. (Luke xxiv. 13—35.) While they were speaking, Jesus himself stood in the midst of them; and after asking them why they doubted, bade them look attentively at his hands and feet, and handle him, that they might be thoroughly convinced he had flesh and bones, and that it was not a spirit which appeared to them. He then ate fish and honey-comb before them. Having thus clearly demonstrated to them that he was actually restored to life again, he showed them that he fulfilled the prophecies concerning himself as the Messiah; particularly those relating to his sufferings, death, and resurrection; and appointed them to be his witnesses to the world, and preachers of his Gospel to all nations. (Luke xxiv. 33. 36—49. John xx. 19—25.)

Such undoubted proofs of his real resurrection kept their minds in the pleasing expectation of some further manifestations of his divine commission. All these interviews and conversations in one day afforded abundant matter for consideration. We are not informed, therefore, that he was seen any more till the eighth day after. During this interval, the apostles would have leisure to revolve calmly the several distinct facts, which clearly and decisively proved that he was truly risen from the dead. Thomas not being present at his interview with the other apostles, Jesus showed himself again to them all on the following first day of the week. He then submitted to a re-examination, and desired Thomas to put his finger into the prints of the nails, and to thrust his hand into his side, in the presence of them all. John xx. 26—29.) After this, it does not appear that any of the *apostles* entertained the least doubt. Their obedience to Jesus, who commanded them to meet him in Galilee (Matt. xxviii. 16.), then to return to Jerusalem (Acts i. 4.), and to wait there for the promise of the Father (Acts ii. 4.), are decisive proofs of their firm faith in the reality of his resurrection. This may be one reason why so few subsequent appearances of our Lord are particularly mentioned. The free and varied mutual conversation which Christ held with the seven disciples by the sea of Tiberias, after his appearance to all the eleven; his eating again with them; his particular queries and directions to Peter, and his predictions concerning him and John (John xxi. 1—23.), when he repeated some proofs, and added others, to confirm and establish their faith. That their fear and surprise at his appearance to them was now considerably diminished by the repetition of it, is evident from the strain of the conversation between Jesus and Peter, which is more easy than any that is recorded in the former appearances. James, also, having seen Christ alone (1 Cor. xv. 7.), would be an additional proof both to himself and to the rest of the disciples. As each would naturally communicate to his brethren what he had seen, heard, and felt, to convince him that Jesus was really alive again, the minds of the disciples in general would be prepared for further evidence. A still more public appearance than any former one, if appointed by Christ himself (Matt. xxviii. 16.) previous to his death (xxvi. 32.), and if it actually took place after that event, would afford this proof. Such an appearance would give to each an additional ground of conviction that he could not be deceived, if a far greater number than had ever before seen Jesus together were present at the time, and distinctly formed the same idea with himself. In Galilee, therefore, he thus appeared (1 Cor. xv. 6.): a region in which he had lived till his thirtieth year; where he had often preached, and been seen in public; where he wrought his first, and the greater part of his other miracles; the native country of most of the apostles and disciples; where, from being best known before his death, he would be the more accurately distinguished to be the same person after it, and where any imposture would be soonest and most easily detected. Here was he actually seen alive by above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part were not dead, when Paul, several years after, wrote his first epistle to the Christian church at Corinth. When the great apostle of the Gentiles published his defence of Christ's resurrection in that epistle, he declared to the world that Jesus had appeared to these *five hundred witnesses* at one time; and he appealed to a number of them who were then alive for the truth of his assertion. Now it is most certain, that Paul would not, could not, durst not, express himself in that manner, if there had not been a great number of disciples still living, who testified that they had seen Jesus Christ after his resurrection. Could all those men agree voluntarily to maintain a vile falsehood, not only altogether unprofitable, but also such as involved them in certain dishonour, poverty, persecution, and death? According to their own principles, either as Jews or Christians, if this testimony, to which they adhered to the last moments of their lives, had been false, they exposed themselves to eternal misery. Under such circumstances, these men could not have persevered in maintaining a false testimony, unless God had wrought a miracle in human nature to enable impostors to deceive the world.

(3.) *Consider their* INCREDULITY *and slowness in believing the resurrection of Christ.*

This rendered it impossible that they could themselves be deceived in that fact. In common with their countrymen, they expected a reigning and glorious Messiah, who was not only to deliver them from the Roman yoke, but who was also to subdue all his enemies. With him also they themselves expected to conquer and reign, together with the rest of the Jews, as princes and nobles in the splendid earthly court of this temporal Messiah. No expectation ever flattered the predominant passions of man so powerfully as this. It showed itself on every occasion, and adhered to them immovably until the day of Pentecost; for, just at the moment of Christ's ascension, ten days only before that festival, they asked him, *Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?* (Acts i. 6.)

It is evident that they did not and could not believe that he would die: after he had predicted his death five or six different times, Mark relates that they *understood not that saying.* (ix. 32.) It is equally evident, that they did not believe he would live again, notwithstanding he had repeatedly foretold his resurrection. The notion which the Jews had of a resurrection was only that of the last day. (John xi. 24.) There was indeed a rumour raised by some, that John the Baptist had risen from the dead, and had afterwards wrought those miracles which were performed by Christ, under the name of Jesus of Nazareth, as Herod's guilty fears led him to believe: others said that one of the old prophets had risen again. (Luke ix. 7, 8. 19.) But both these reports the disciples knew to be false, and therefore had little reason, from such groundless mistakes, to entertain a belief, contrary to the general opinion of the Jews, of an *immediate* resurrection of any one from the dead. And whatever was said of any *other* resurrection, they considered as alluding only to that: *they questioned one with another what the rising from the dead should mean.* (Mark ix. 10.)

The apostles and other disciples, therefore, were so far from being credulous, or forward to believe the resurrection of Christ from the dead, that they were not only inquisitive, and careful not to be imposed upon, but they were exceedingly diffident and distrustful. The women who went to the sepulchre were so far from *expecting* to find him risen from the dead, that they carried with them a preparation of spices to embalm his body; and when they found it not, they were greatly perplexed, not recollecting the words which Jesus had spoken to them concerning the resurrection, until the two angels who stood by them in shining garments had brought them to their remembrance. (Luke xxiv. 4—8.) But when they *returned from the sepulchre, and told all these things to the eleven and to all the rest,* they disbelieved the testimony of the women, and regarded their words a

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idle tales.[1] When Christ appeared to the two disciples in their way to Emmaus, he found them sorrowfully conversing on all those things which had happened; and, on his inquiring the reason of their sorrow, they gave him such an account, as shows their desponding sentiments of their condition. Afterwards when these two were themselves convinced, and told the rest what had happened, *neither believed they them.* (Mark xvi. 13.) And when, immediately upon this, *Jesus himself stood in the midst of them, they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a spirit; and he said unto them, Why are ye troubled, and why do thoughts arise in your hearts? Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have. And when he had thus spoken, he showed them his hands and his feet.* (Luke xxiv. 36—40.) It is to be observed, that the *print of the nails* by which he was fastened to the cross was still perfectly visible both in his hands and feet: Christ therefore appealed to them, because they thus furnished evidence *that it was he himself*, which no man would counterfeit. Still *they believed not for joy, and wondered.* To remove this doubt, *he* further said to them, *Have ye here any meat? And*, in answer to this inquiry, *they gave him a piece of a broiled fish and of an honeycomb. And he took it, and did eat before them.* (41—43.) At the end of this proceeding, and then only, did they entirely believe that he was risen from the dead. After all these proofs, Thomas, one of the twelve, not being with them when Jesus had appeared to them, expressed his disbelief of his resurrection, when they told him that they *had seen the Lord*; and *said unto them, Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side,* I WILL NOT BELIEVE. At the end of eight days, when the disciples were assembled together, and Thomas was with them, Jesus came to them; and, to convince the unbelieving apostle, and take away all pretences of incredulity for the future, he granted him the satisfaction he desired. This irrefragable evidence convinced Thomas, who immediately confessed him to be *his Lord and his God.* (John xx. 24—28.) The backwardness which the disciples manifested in believing the resurrection of their Master, and the scrupulous incredulity of Thomas in particular, are not only perfectly consistent with their temper and turn of mind, as set forth in other parts of their history (which shows them to have been neither enthusiasts nor fanatics), and on that account probable from *uniformity*; but they derive a further appearance of veracity to the historian, if we consider that a forger of the Gospels would have apprehended some detriment to his grand object, the resurrection of Jesus, from an indisposition and unwillingness in those who knew him best to acknowledge their Lord again. Such frankness and simplicity of narrative are striking presumptions (independently of the positive evidence already adduced) of the reality of this capital event, which is the corner-stone of Christianity; and indirectly prove the entire conviction of the apostles themselves, that Christ had expired on the cross. All the circumstances of this part of the Gospel history cannot fail to make a very considerable impression on the mind of every impartial and discerning reader. There is a certain limit to which an impostor, aided by ingenuity and experience, may be allowed to proceed with little danger of detection; but an undeviating consistency with itself, and a strict conformity to the maxims of experience, through a *circumstantial* history of a great variety of extraordinary transactions, is beyond his ability, and only attainable by the honest votary of truth.[2]—Thus the incredulity of the apostles, in the first instance, and their reluctant, slow, and gradual assent to the belief of the fact of their Master's resurrection (which was such as is always yielded to evidence that contradicts prejudices strongly imbibed), concur to prove the absolute impossibility of their being themselves deceived in that fact. They beheld Jesus, not once only, nor in a transient manner, but for *forty* days together, and knew him to be alive by *many infallible proofs.* They had the testimony and assurance not of one sense only, but of all the senses. They saw him with their eyes, they heard him with their ears, with their hands they touched and felt him, and they tasted of the bread and fish which he gave them; he ate and drank with them, he conversed with them, he explained to them the Scriptures, and he wrought miracles before them himself. The fondest enthusiast could not be deceived in these particulars; but supposing that one man might be deceived, could all the apostles?—Could *above five hundred* brethren at once be deceived?—If in this case they could not be certain, there is no certainty of sense in any case. And as the apostles neither were nor could be deceived themselves, so they neither did nor could deceive others. For,

(4.) *Consider the* MORAL IMPOSSIBILITY *of their succeeding in palming an imposition upon the world.*

In support of this remark, we observe, in the first place, that the known integrity, impartiality and fidelity of the apostles, places them beyond every reasonable suspicion of intentional deception.[3] But, secondly, if they had testified falsely that they had seen Jesus Christ risen from the dead, it was either with a mutual agreement or without one. Now it could not be without a mutual agreement, for an error that is not supported by unanimous consent must necessarily fall of itself to the ground. And it would unavoidably have so happened, that, while one would have affirmed that Christ *was* risen from the dead, another would have asserted that he was *not* risen: one would have said that he appeared to *many*, and another that he appeared to *one* only: another that he appeared to *no* one: one would have related the matter in one way, another in another way; and, in fine, the most honest and sincere would have acknowledged that there was nothing at all in the affair. But, if they unanimously agreed to contrive this imposture, there must necessarily have been several persons who agreed together, constantly and unanimously, to relate a matter as fact which they knew to be utterly false; which is a thing altogether impossible: 1. Because it is inconceivable that a man should willingly expose himself to all sorts of punishment—even to death itself, on purpose to testify a matter as fact which he knew to be utterly false.—2. Though, by an unheard-of prodigy, there should have been one single person so disposed, yet it is the height of extravagance to imagine, that there was a great number of persons who suddenly conceived and took that dangerous resolution; especially those whose previous conduct had been quite different, having not only evinced a great degree of caution, but also much timidity—not to say cowardice—on several other occasions.—3. Although a very great number of persons should have agreed together to attest a falsehood, yet it is incredible that *they* should bear witness to it, who considered perfidy and lying as sins that were utterly inconsistent with their salvation: neither could it be supposed or expected of those who, if they allowed the resurrection of Jesus Christ to be a mere fiction, must also allow that they had followed a phantom, a chimerical, imaginary Messiah; and if they acknowledged that they had followed a phantom, they must likewise confess their own mutual extravagance.—4. Such a mutual concert or agreement never could have been so carried on, but that some of them, to avoid punishment, would have discovered the intrigue to the Jews, with all its circumstances; it being most certain that, since Christ had been so very basely betrayed in his lifetime, it is more probable that he would be so served after his death. For they might have expected some reward from him when living, but they could hope for nothing from him after his death, but misery and torments, shame and continual remorse, for having followed an impostor.—5. Lastly, there is no doubt but that the very same principles which had dissolved their mutual *fidelity* would more probably break off their mutual *treachery.* And since their love and affection for their Master, supported by the persuasion that he was the Messiah, could not sustain that mutual fidelity, which made them say, no very long time before, *Let us go also, that we may die with him* (John xi. 16.), so that they fled and left him wholly to the power of his enemies; can it be reasonably supposed that, having been undeceived in the opinion they had entertained concerning the Messiah, they should yet (notwithstanding their shame, fear, and rejected condition), *presently after* unanimously agree to maintain and affirm a horrible lie, for the express purpose of disgracing their nation, by laying an imaginary crime to their charge, and persist in maintaining it, so that not one of them should recant or contradict himself, but all of them should unanimously suffer the severest torments, to affirm that they had seen what they had really never seen? It was, therefore, morally impossible that they should attempt, or succeed in the attempt, to palm an imposition on the world.

(5.) *Observe the* FACTS *which they themselves avow.*

Had they been metaphysical reasonings, depending on a chain of principles and consequences; had they been periods of chronology depending on long and difficult calculations; had they been distant events, which could only have been known by the relations of others; in such cases their reasonings might have been suspected: but they are *facts* which are in question, *real*

[1] Luke xxiv. 9. 11. Other instances of unbelief in the disciples may be seen in verse 12. of the same chapter, also in Mark xvi. 11. and John xx. 5. 25.

[2] Wakefield's Internal Evidences of Christianity, remark xxx. p. 106

[3] See pp. 60. 62—66 *supra*, in which this subject is fully discussed

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facts which the witnesses declared they had seen with their own eyes, at different places, and at several times. Had they seen Jesus Christ? Had they touched him? Had they sat at table with him, and eaten with him? Had they conversed with him? All these are questions of *fact*: it was impossible they could have been deceived in them.

(6.) *Consider, farther, the* AGREEMENT *of their evidence.*

They all unanimously deposed that Christ rose from the dead. It is very extraordinary that a gang of five hundred impostors (we speak the language of infidels),—a company, in which there must necessarily be persons of different capacities and tempers, the witty and the dull, the timid and the bold:—it is very strange that such a *numerous* body as this should maintain an *unity* of evidence. This, however, is the case of the witnesses for the resurrection of Jesus. What Christian ever contradicted himself? What Christian ever impeached his accomplices? What Christian ever discovered this pretended imposture?

(7.) *Observe the* TRIBUNALS *before which they stood and gave evidence*, and the innumerable multitude of people by whom their testimony was examined, by Jews and heathens, by philosophers and rabbies, and by an infinite number of persons who went annually to Jerusalem; for Providence so ordered those circumstances, that the testimony of the apostles might be unsuspected.

Providence continued Jerusalem *forty* years after the resurrection of Christ, that all the Jews in the then known world might examine the evidence concerning it, and obtain authentic proof of the truth of Christianity. The apostles, we repeat, maintained the resurrection of Jesus Christ before Jews and pagans, before philosophers and rabbies, before courtiers, before lawyers, before people who were expert in examining and cross-examining witnesses, in order to lead them into self-contradiction. Had the apostles borne their testimony in consequence of a preconcerted plot between themselves, is it not morally certain that, as they were examined before such different and capable men, some one would have discovered the pretended fraud?

(8.) *Take notice, also, of the* TIME *when this evidence was given.*

If the apostles had *first* published this resurrection several years after the time which they assigned for it, unbelief might have availed itself of the delay. But only three days after the crucifixion of Christ they declared that he was risen again, and they re-echoed their testimony in a singular manner at the feast of Pentecost, when Jerusalem expected the spread of the report, and endeavoured to prevent it; while the eyes of their enemies were yet sparkling with rage and madness, and while Calvary was yet dyed with the blood they had shed there. Do impostors take such measures? Would they not have waited till the fury of the Jews had been appeased; till the judges and public officers had been changed; and till the people had been less attentive to their depositions?

(9.) *Consider the* PLACE *where the apostles bore their testimony to the resurrection.*

Had they published this event in distant countries beyond mountains and seas, it might have been supposed that distance of place rendering it extremely difficult for their hearers to obtain exact information had facilitated the establishment of the error. But the apostles preached in *Jerusalem, in the synagogues, in the prætorium*: they unfolded and displayed the banners of their Master's cross, and set up tokens of his victory, in the very spot on which the infamous instrument of his sufferings had been set up.

(10.) *Consider the* MOTIVES *which induced the apostles to publish the fact of Christ's resurrection.*

It was not to acquire fame, riches, glory, or profit:—by no means. On the contrary, they exposed themselves to sufferings and death, and proclaimed the truth from a conviction of its importance and certainty. "Every where they were hated, calumniated, despised, hunted from city to city, cast into prison, scourged, stoned and crucified. And for what were all these excruciating sufferings endured? Gain, honour, and pleasure are the only gods to which impostors bow. But of these the apostles acquired, and plainly laboured to acquire neither. What then was the end for which they suffered? Let the infidel answer this question. As they gained nothing, and lost every thing, in the present world; so it is certain that they must expect to gain nothing, and suffer every thing, in the world to come. That the Old Testament was the word of God, they certainly believed without a single doubt. But in this book, *lying* is exhibited as a supreme object of the divine abhorrence, and the scriptural threatenings. From the invention and propagation of this falsehood, therefore, they could expect nothing hereafter, but the severest effusions of the anger of God.—For what, then, was all this loss, danger, and suffering incurred? For the privilege of telling an extravagant and incredible story to mankind, and of founding on it a series of exhortations to repentance, faith, and holiness; to the renunciation of sin, and the universal exercise of piety, justice, truth, and kindness; to the practice of all that conduct, which common sense has ever pronounced to be the duty, honour, and happiness of man; and the avoidance of all that which it has ever declared to be his guilt, debasement, and misery? Such an end was never even wished, much less seriously proposed by an impostor. At the same time, they lived as no impostors ever lived; and were able to say to their converts, with a full assurance of finding a cordial belief of the declaration, *Ye are witnesses, and God also, how holily, and justly, and unblamably, we behaved ourselves among you that believe.* That this was their true character is certain from the concurrent testimony of all antiquity. Had they not nobly recorded their own faults, there is not the least reason to believe that a single stain would have ever rested upon their character. If, then, the apostles invented this story, they invented it without the remotest hope or prospect of making it [to be] believed; a thing which was never done by an impostor; propagated it without any interest, without any hope of gain, honour, power, or pleasure, the only objects by which impostors were ever allured; and with losses and sufferings which no impostor ever voluntarily underwent: proposed as their only end, or at least the only end which has ever been discovered to mankind, an object which no impostor ever pursued or even wished; and during their whole progress through life, lived so as no impostor ever lived; and so as to be the most perfect contrast ever exhibited by men, to the whole character of imposition."[1]

(11.) *If Jesus Christ did not rise from the dead, it is impossible to account for the striking* CONTRAST *between the pusillanimous conduct of the prejudiced apostles during their Master's life and the fearlessly courageous conduct of the same apostles after his resurrection.*

During the life of Christ, we see them limited in their conceptions; confounded by whatever was spiritual and sublime in their Master's doctrine; prepossessed by the idea which then prevailed among the Jewish people, that the Law of Moses and the Temple at Jerusalem were to subsist for ever; full of prejudices concerning the nature of Messiah's kingdom; disputing for the chief place in it, at the very time when Jesus Christ was discoursing to them concerning his death; and considering his public death as an obstacle to his reign and an indelible opprobrium. If the apostles had always retained the character which they exhibit in the Gospels, it cannot be doubted, but that Christianity would have been buried in the tomb of its Founder.

But let us prosecute our inquiries, and study the Acts of the Apostles, the narrative of which commences where the evangelical history terminates, viz. *after* the death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ. There we behold the apostles endued with the profoundest knowledge of the Gospel, emancipated from all their obstinate prejudices, notwithstanding these were founded on national self-love, on religious zeal, and on the dazzling prospects which they had conceived for themselves. They have for ever renounced all their gross ideas of earthly elevation; and it is evident that they fully understood that the kingdom which they were commissioned to establish was a spiritual kingdom,—that the Jewish nation were no longer the peculiarly favoured people of God,—that the Levitical worship was about to cease,—that the religion which they preached was to be common to *all* nations,—and that they considered their Master's death in its true point of view, as the best means of proving the truth of his divine mission, as the foundation of the covenant of grace, the most powerful motive to holiness, and his resurrection as the pledge of our resurrection.

During the life of Christ, we see them in a state of uncertainty, incessantly asking for new proofs, exciting impatience by the nature of their questions, and deserving their Master's reproach of being persons of "little faith." Only fifty days *after* his death we see them decided, convinced, persuaded, speaking with that noble firmness which is inspired by a thorough conviction and knowledge of the truth, delivering the doctrine which they taught as certain and indubitable, as resting upon fact

[1] Dwight's System of Theology, vol. ii. p. 529.

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which all their senses had witnessed. No more fluctuation—no more doubt—no more uncertainty. WE KNOW is their expression. "*That which* WE *have seen with our eyes, which* WE *have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the Word of Life,* . . . . . *declare* WE *unto you*" (1 John i. 1. 3.); and they announce it with a tone of authority which well became the ambassadors of heaven, but which was ill suited to persons in their condition and of their education.

Before their Master's death we see them cowardly, trembling, timid in the extreme, feeble sheep, who were scattered the moment their shepherd was smitten. *After* that event they became altogether new men; firm, courageous, and intrepid; they astonished Judæa, Greece, and Asia Minor by their doctrine, and by their eloquence. They spoke before the people; they spoke before the tribunals of justice, and also to kings, with singular boldness and freedom. They confounded the wisdom of the Areopagus; they made a proconsul tremble on his throne; and they extorted from a king, before whom they were accused, a public acknowledgment of their innocence. That very apostle, who had been so intimidated by the voice of a female servant that he denied his Master, a few days after his death, when they were summoned before the very same magistrates who had caused him to be crucified, dared to reproach them to their face with having put to death "the Holy One and the Just, the Prince of Life." The menaces of their judges dismayed them not. "Whether it be right in the sight of God," they said, "to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye, for we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." (Acts iv. 19, 20.) They braved the hatred, and they triumphed over all the power of the synagogue. Unappalled by torments, they rejoiced to be deemed worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus. Labours most abundant, perilous journeys, pains both in body and in mind, renunciation of all property, resignation to every evil, nay, even the sacrifice of their lives,—they accounted nothing hard or difficult. And (which is most astonishing of all) this courage was not a sudden burst of transient enthusiasm: it never relaxed for an instant, notwithstanding the numerous and diversified trials to which they were exposed: on the contrary, it was manifested for many years, and finally was crowned by a violent death.

If, from their public conduct as related in the Acts of the Apostles, we turn to the epistles or letters written by these men after their Master's resurrection, we shall find their whole souls laid open. What noble and elevated sentiments do we read in them! What courage, yet what resignation! What holy joy amid the dangers which menaced them; and the evils that befell them! What profoundness in their doctrine! What sublime and affecting instructions! What tender solicitude for the rising churches! What ardent charity for all men,—yea even for their persecutors!

How was so sudden and so marvellous a change wrought in the apostles? Is it possible to conceive such striking differences in the same individuals? They were less than men, they became more than heroes. But the notion, that the Gospel is the invention of man, assigns no cause for this strange revolution; which, however, may be readily comprehended and accounted for, if Jesus be the Messiah, and if, according to his promise, he poured down upon them the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

In short, the conclusion resulting from the striking contrast in the conduct of the apostles, *before* and *after* their Master's death, is so convincing and persuasive, that, even if the apostles had not informed us that they had received extraordinary gifts, it is impossible to conceive how any other means can or could be imagined, which can account for that astonishing difference.[1]

4. Lastly, *the* MIRACLES *performed by these witnesses in the name of Jesus Christ* (one of which has already been noticed), *after the effusion of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, and the success which attended their preaching throughout the world, are God's testimony to the fact of Christ's resurrection from the dead, as well as to their veracity in proclaiming it.*

No subject was ever more public, more investigated, or better known, than the transactions of the apostles. Luke, an historian of great character, who witnessed many of the things which he relates, published the Acts of the Apostles among the people who saw the transactions. It would have blasted his character to have published falsehoods which must instantly be detected: it would have ruined the character of the church to have received, as facts, notorious falsehoods. Now the Acts of the Apostles were written by Luke, received by the church, and no falsehood was ever detected in that book by Jew or Gentile. The primitive Christian writers attest its truth and authenticity, and heathen authors record some of the important facts which are related by the evangelical historian.

In the second chapter, we are informed that the effusion of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples of Christ took place on the day of Pentecost, at Jerusalem, where they were assembled after his ascension[2] in obedience to his command, waiting for that very performance of his promise (Acts i. 25.), both as a proof of his resurrection from the dead, and also to qualify them to spread the belief of it throughout the world. This was a public FACT,[3] and it produced its proper effect; for, in consequence of it, not fewer than three thousand of those very persons, who but just before had joined in putting Christ to a painful and ignominious death, immediately submitted to be baptized in his name, and made an open profession of their faith in him, as the true Messiah that was to come. To the gift of tongues was added a number of undoubted miracles publicly wrought before Jews and heathens indiscriminately, in confirmation of the apostles' testimony concerning Jesus Christ. These miracles are related in the Acts of the Apostles, and were published among the people who witnessed them. They were not, like the miracles of Christ, confined to Judæa or to Galilee, but they were performed wherever the Gospel was spread, before Jews and heathens indiscriminately, and with the express design of confirming their mission from their Master. Their miracles, too, were subjected, like those of Christ, to the most rigorous investigation; and their adversaries and persecutors were compelled, as we have already seen,[4] to admit them as facts, and to acknowledge among themselves that their publicity rendered it impossible to deny their reality. There was no want of inclination among the chief men of Judæa to deny the apostolical miracles; but the public notoriety of the facts rendered such a denial impossible. Though they did not hesitate to persecute the Christians, their persecution was vain. The people who heard the narratives and doctrines of the apostles, and who saw that both were confirmed by unquestionable miracles, neither did nor could resist their conviction. Upon these proofs and assurances, by the clear evidence and power of truth, "the word of God mightily grew and prevailed" against all that prejudice, malice, and every vice could do to oppose it, in Rome and at Jerusalem itself.[5] For, in that very city, where Jesus Christ had been crucified, and where it would have been impossible to make proselytes, if his resurrection had not been evidently *proved* BEYOND the POSSIBILITY *of a confutation*, great numbers were daily added to the church. A church was immediately founded at Jerusalem; and both the body of the people and their bishops (who were fifteen in number), to the final destruction of Jerusalem by Adrian, were Jews by nation. In other parts of the world, also, the church daily received new accessions of converts; so that, within thirty years after Christ's resurrection, one of those apostles appealed to it as a well-known fact, that the Gospel had been carried into all the countries of the then known world. (Col. i. 6.)

"Collect," says the eloquent Saurin, to whom we are indebted for some of the preceding observations;—"collect all these proofs together; consider them in one point of view, and see how many extravagant suppositions must be advanced, if the resurrection of our Saviour be denied. It must be supposed that guards, who had been particularly cautioned by their officers, sat down to sleep; and that, nevertheless, they deserved credit when they said the body of Jesus Christ was stolen. It must be supposed that men who had been imposed on in the most odious and cruel manner in the world, hazarded their dearest enjoyments for the glory of an impostor. It must be supposed that ignorant and illiterate men, who had neither reputation, fortune, nor eloquence, possessed the art of fascinating the eyes of all the church. It must be supposed, either that five hundred persons were all deprived of their senses at a time, or that they were all deceived in the plainest matters of fact; or that this multitude of false witnesses had found out the secret of never contradicting themselves or one another, and of being always uniform in their testimony. It must be supposed that the most expert courts of judicature could not find out a shadow of contradiction in a palpable imposture. It must be sup-

[1] Anspach, Cours d'Etudes de la Religion Chrétienne, part ii. tom. i. pp. 278—281

[2] On the subject of the Ascension, see the Appendix, No. III.

[3] The circumstances of the effusion of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost are considered in the Appendix, No. IV.

[4] See pp. 81. 82, 83. 103. *supra*.

[5] On the difficulties attendant on the first propagation of Christianity, see the Appendix, No. V.

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posed that the apostles, sensible men in other cases, chose precisely those places and those times which were most unfavourable to their views. It must be supposed that millions madly suffered imprisonments, tortures, and crucifixion, to spread an illusion. It must be supposed that ten thousand miracles were wrought in favour of falsehood, or all these facts must be denied. And then it must be supposed that the apostles were idiots, that the enemies of Christianity were idiots, and that all the primitive Christians were idiots."[1]

When all the preceding considerations are duly weighed, it is impossible not to admit the truth of Christ's resurrection, and that in this miracle are most clearly to be discerned the four first of the criteria already illustrated. And with regard to the two last criteria, we may observe, that Baptism and the Lord's Supper were instituted as perpetual memorials of the death of Jesus Christ; and that the observance of the weekly festival of the Lord's day (or Sunday) commemorates his resurrection. They were not instituted in after-ages, but *at the very time* when the circumstances to which they relate took place; and they have been observed without interruption through the whole Christian world, in all ages, from that time down to the present. Besides, Christ himself ordained apostles, and other ministers of his Gospel, to preach and administer the sacraments, and that *always*, "even unto the end of the world." (Matt. xxviii. 20.) Accordingly, they have continued to this day; so that the Christian ministry is, and always has been, as notorious in point of fact, as the tribe of Levi among the Jews. And as the æra and object of their appointment are part of the Gospel narrative, if that narrative had been a fiction of some subsequent age, at the time of its fabrication no such order of men could have been found, which would have effectually falsified the whole story. The miraculous actions of Christ and his apostles being affirmed to be true no otherwise than as there were at that identical time (whenever the deist will suppose the Gospel history to be forged) not only sacraments or ordinances of Christ's institution, but likewise a public ministry of his institution to dispense them; and it being impossible upon this hypothesis, that there could be any such things before they were invented, it is as impossible they should be received and accredited when invented. Hence it follows, that it was as impossible to have imposed these miraculous relations upon mankind in after-ages, as it would have been to make persons believe they saw the miracles, or were parties concerned in the beneficial effects resulting from them, if they were not.

X. General Summary of the Argument furnished by Miracles.

Such is the diversified and authentic testimony for the miracles recorded in the Scriptures, especially those related in the New Testament; and as the various parts of which this proof of the inspiration of the Bible consists are necessarily placed at some distance from each other, we shall conclude this branch of the evidence by a brief recapitulation of the scattered arguments, together with a few additional suggestions. If, then, we have found, after a minute investigation, that the miraculous *facts* which are proposed for our belief, and upon the credit of which a particular system of doctrines and precepts depends, are such, 1. As do not imply a self-contradiction in them:—2. If they appear to have been done publicly, in the view of a great multitude of people, and with the *professed* intention of establishing the divine authority of the person or persons who performed them:—3. If they were many in number, instantaneously performed, and, independently of second causes, frequently repeated, and repeated for a series of years together:—4. If they were of an interesting nature in themselves, of such a nature that the senses of mankind could clearly and fully judge of them—likely to have made strong impressions on the minds of all who beheld and heard of them, and, for that reason probably, were much attended to, talked of, and investigated at the time when they were wrought:—5. If public ceremonies were instituted in memory of the miraculous facts, and have been observed in all succeeding ages ever since they were so instituted:—6. If the effects produced by them were not transient, but lasting; such as must have existed for many years, and were capable, all the while, of being disproved if they were not real:—7. If they were committed to writing at, or very near, the time when they are said to have been done, and by persons of undoubted integrity, who tell us that they had been eye-witnesses of the events which they relate; by persons, who, having sufficient opportunity of knowing the whole truth of what they bear testimony to, could not possibly be deceived themselves; and who, having no conceivable motive nor temptation to falsify their evidence, cannot, with the least shadow of probability, be suspected of intending to deceive other people:—8. If there be no proof, nor well-grounded suspicion of proof, that the testimony of those, who bear witness to these extraordinary facts, was ever contradicted even by such as professed themselves open enemies to their persons, characters, and views, though the facts were first published upon the spot where they are said to have been originally performed, and among persons, who were engaged by private interest, and furnished with full authority, inclination and opportunity, to have manifested the falsity of them, and to have detected the imposture, had they been able:—9. If, on the contrary, the existence of these facts be expressly allowed by the persons who thought themselves most concerned to prevent the genuine consequences which might be deduced from them; and there were, originally, no other disputes about them, but *to what sufficient cause* they were to be imputed:—10. If, again, the witnesses, from whom we have these facts, were many in number, all of them unanimous in the substance of their evidence, and all, as may be collected from their own conduct, men of such unquestionable good sense as secured them against all delusion in themselves, and of such undoubted integrity and unimpeached veracity as placed them beyond all suspicion of any design to put an imposture upon others,—if they were men, who showed the sincerity of their own conviction by acting under the uniform influence of the extraordinary works which they bore witness to, in express contradiction to all their former prejudices and most favoured notions; in express contradiction to every flattering prospect of worldly honour, profit, and advantage, either for themselves or for their friends; and when they could not but be previously assured that ignominy, persecution, misery, and even death itself most probably would attend the constant and invariable perseverance in their testimony:—11. If these witnesses, in order that their evidence might have the greater weight with a doubting world (each nation being already in possession of an established religion), were themselves enabled to perform such extraordinary works, as testified the clear and indisputable interposition of a divine power in favour of their veracity; and after having undergone the severest afflictions, vexations, and torments, at length laid down their lives, in confirmation of the truth of the facts asserted by them:—12. If the evidence for such miracles, instead of growing less and less by the lapse of ages, increases with increasing years:—13. If those persons, who both testify and admit them, seem, on the one hand, to aim at nothing else but their own salvation and that of their brethren; and, on the other hand, if they are persuaded that their salvation is inconsistent with imposture and deceit:—14. If great multitudes of the contemporaries of these witnesses, men of almost all nations, tempers, and professions, were persuaded by them that these facts were really performed in the manner related, and gave the strongest testimony, which it was in their power to give, of the firmness of their belief of them, both by immediately breaking through all their ancient attachments and connections of friendships, interest, country, and even of religion, and by acting in express contradiction to them:—15. If the revolutions introduced in the moral and religious world, since the period wherein these facts are said to have happened, have been just such as they would, probably, have been, upon a supposition of the truth of them, and cannot possibly be accounted for from any other adequate cause:—16. If those who refuse to acknowledge all these miraculous matters of fact, must unavoidably fall into a great number of self-evident contradictions, as, for instance, to believe that the *wisest* among men are the most *foolish*, and the most *constant* the most deceitful:—17. If all these matters of fact are so strictly united to one another, that it is impossible to admit the one without acknowledging the other also; and so inseparably interwoven with some other indisputable matters of fact, that they cannot be called in question without renouncing our sense and reason:—18. Lastly, if we have all the proof, which the exactest rules of the severest criticism can require, to evince that no alterations have been made in the original records and writings left us by these witnesses in any material article of their evidence, since their first publi

[1] Saurin's Sermons, translated by Mr. Robinson, vol. ii. serm. viii. p. 221. The reader who is desirous of investigating *all* the circumstances of our Saviour's resurrection, will find them considered and illustrated in Mr. West's well-known treatise on the Resurrection, in the late Dr. Townson's Discourses, originally published in 1792, 8vo. and reprinted in the second volume of his works, and especially in Dr. Cook's "Illustration of the General Evidence of Christ's Resurrection." 8vo. 1808.

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cation, either through accident or design; but that they have been transmitted to us in all their genuine purity, as they were left by their authors.——In such a situation of things, where so great a variety of circumstances, where indeed all imaginable circumstances, mutually concur to confirm, strengthen, and support each other's evidence, and concentre, as it were, in attestation of the same interesting series of events, without a single argument on the other side, but the mere extraordinariness of the facts,—shall we not be justly accused of indulging in an unreasonable incredulity in denying our assent to them? And will not such incredulity be as dangerous as it is ridiculous? If facts attested in so clear, decisive, and unexceptionable a manner, and delivered down to posterity with so many conspiring signs and monuments of truth, are, nevertheless, not to be believed; it is impossible for the united wisdom of mankind to point out any evidence of historical events, which will justify a wise and cautious man for giving credit to them,—and, consequently, with regard to past ages, all will be clouds and thick darkness to us; all will be hesitation and scepticism: nor will any thing be credible, which comes not confirmed to us by the report of our own senses and experience. In short, where there is the strongest assurance of the existence of any particular series of past facts, which we are capable of acquiring, according to the present frame of our nature, and the state of things in the world, to reject these facts after all, and to pretend to excuse ourselves from not believing them, upon the bare suspicion of a possibility that they may be false, is a most absurd contradiction to the principles of common sense, and to the universal practice of mankind.[1]

XI. A COMPARISON of the Scripture Miracles with pretended Pagan and Popish Miracles.

Notwithstanding the mass of evidence above adduced, the opposers of revelation have endeavoured to weaken its force, or, rather, to set it aside altogether, by insinuating that there are particular accounts of miraculous facts, which are as well authenticated as those related in the Scriptures, and that the latter are to be rejected as false and incredible. But counterfeited miracles are no proof that there never were real miracles; and the more these pretended miracles are investigated, the more defective is the evidence adduced for them. For,

1. In the *first* place, the scene of most of them is laid in distant countries and remote ages; whereas the miracles, recorded in the Scriptures, were wrought in an age and period whose history is well known, and as fully ascertained as the history of the last century.

2. *Secondly*, the more ancient heathen miracles are acknowledged, by the adversaries of Christianity, to have been performed in ages of gross ignorance, when the common people were very liable to be deceived. They were solitary exertions of power, rarely attempted, which could not be subjected to the test of a rigorous scrutiny, being in almost every instance wrought in secret recesses of the temples, generally in the night-time, and before only one or two persons who had come with the expectation of seeing a miracle, and so might easily be imposed upon; or who, being the accomplices of the priests in their frauds, were hired to announce that a miracle had taken place. Whereas the miracles related in the Scriptures were wrought before multitudes, who had every possible opportunity of investigating them, and most of whom were adversaries to the persons by whom the miracles were wrought.

3. *Thirdly*, the heathen priests, being mostly persons of high rank, were regarded with the utmost veneration by the common people, who would eagerly and implicitly receive every account of miracles said to be wrought by them. In like manner, such miracles, as their sovereigns and legislators pretended to perform, were readily and implicitly received by the multitude; and even persons of better understanding, from fear or flattery, might affect to believe them. This circumstance completely discredits the two miracles *said* to be performed by Vespasian at Alexandria, during his contest for the empire, and which are examined in a subsequent page. In short, it is certain that none of the heathen miracles underwent any proper examination; while those of Christ and his apostles, who had no lustre of birth or dignity to dazzle or procure the veneration of the multitude, were subjected to the strictest possible examination of their adversaries, who in no one instance could gainsay or deny them.

4. *Fourthly*, the heathen miracles were performed for the support of the established religion, and were all engrafted upon the superstitious notions and prejudices of the vulgar, who were therefore, disposed to receive them: hence, they gained an easy reception amongst them. But the miracles recorded in the Bible were opposed to all the then established religions in the world and those wrought by Christ and his apostles actually overthrew the religious establishments of all countries. So that, if they *forced* themselves on the belief of mankind, it was merely by the power of the irresistible evidence with which they were accompanied.

5. In the *fifth* place, the heathen miracles are vouched to us by no such testimony as can induce a prudent man to give them any credit. They are not reported by any eye-witnesses of them, nor by any persons on whom they were wrought. Those who relate them do not even pretend to have received them from eye-witnesses: we know them only by a number of vague reports, the original of which no one can exactly trace. Thus, the miracles ascribed to Pythagoras were not reported until several hundred years after his death, and those of Apollonius one hundred years after his death. If, indeed, any of the heathen miracles, whether ancient or modern, had any witnesses, none of them travelled from country to country; none of them published these miracles under persecution; none of them sealed their testimony concerning them with their blood. In all these respects, the evidence attending the Christian miracles has infinitely the advantage of the proofs by which the heathen wonders are supported. The miracles of Christ are vouched to posterity by the testimony of many eye-witnesses, who preached in every country *immediately after they* were wrought; who all concurred in the same reports; and who had no temptations from interest to forge such stories, but rather innumerable temptations to the contrary, because, by preaching the history of their master, they every where exposed themselves to the severest persecution, and often to death itself. Further, these witnesses to the miracles of Jesus rendered their testimony credible, by performing similar miracles, so that when mankind saw what things they accomplished, they could entertain no doubt concerning the other. These miracles were also recorded by four historians, whose memoirs not only agree in the accounts they give of Christ's miracles, but are also confirmed by the reports given of them by numerous other eye-witnesses, in their discourses to the Gentiles, among whom they travelled and preached.

6. *Lastly*, the more ancient heathen miracles were nowhere credited by the intelligent and judicious; and the belief of them among the vulgar, produced no effects by which the *certain persuasion* entertained by mankind concerning them could be demonstrated. They were wrought to confirm no doctrine, or else to establish idolatry, and consequently could not be done by divine power. On the contrary, the testimony of the apostles and eye-witnesses of the Christian miracles was embraced by thousands in every country, among whom were many persons distinguished by their birth, their learning, and their good sense; and all of whom forsook the religion in which they had been educated, and embraced the Christian profession; though such conduct exposed them to the severest persecutions and sufferings, and even to loss of life.

The preceding facts and reasoning equally destroy the credit of the *lying wonders*,[2] which have been appealed to in behalf of Christianity itself. They were all performed in support of the faith established, and, what is worthy of notice, they happened for the *most part* in the night-time, at the sepulchres of the martyrs, or in deserts, or in the recesses of churches, and before *no* witnesses. Or, if a single witness or two were admitted, they were generally friends to the cause, on account of which the miracle was to be exhibited; and therefore they were in a disposition to be imposed upon by every cunning pretender. Further, as these miracles were performed in support of a religion already believed by the multitude to be divine, the reports of wonders, said to be wrought in its behalf, would have been eagerly credited without examination. Or, if any one, more judicious than the rest, entertained any doubts concerning them, he might refrain from publishing his scruples, out of respect to the cause in which he was engaged. On this account they suffered the reports of such things to pass uncontradicted: or, perhaps, out of a mistaken zeal, they joined the multitude in spreading reports of matters, from which so much credit redounded to the whole body.[3] Such is the evidence of the

[1] Abbadie, Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chretienne, tome ii. pp. 147—149. Squire's Indifference for Religion inexcusable, sect. 48.

[2] 2 Thess. ii. 9. Τέρατα ψευδοῦς; which words, Grotius rightly observes, do not mean *false miracles*, but miracles which establish false doctrines.

[3] The antagonists of Christianity have triumphantly demanded, *at what time* miracles ceased to be performed? And, why are they not *now* wrought? These questions admit of easy and satisfactory answers. The miracles may be said to cease, with respect to our belief, when we can no

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false miracles mentioned by some of the ancient Christians. They can lay claim to none of the proofs by which the miracles of Jesus and his apostles are established; and the miracles *said* to have taken place in modern times are, if possible, still more destitute of evidence.[1] Besides all the marks of evidence above mentioned, by which the ancient frauds are confuted, they have stains peculiar to themselves, by which their credibility is utterly destroyed.[2]

Let us now apply the preceding tests to the principal miracles ascribed to pagans and to the Romish church, which have been brought forward by the opposers of revelation, with the insidious but fruitless design of invalidating the credibility of the Gospel miracles. The chief pretenders to miracles among the ancient heathens were Aristeas, Pythagoras, Alexander of Pontus, Vespasian, and Apollonius Tyaneus: and if we examine the miracles ascribed to them, we shall find that they were either trifling or absurd, and were wrought not to promote the honour of God and the good of mankind; and that these miracles were neither designed to confirm any useful doctrine, nor to reform mankind from superstition and vice, but to gain reputation with the vulgar, and to strike men with astonishment.

[i.] Herodotus relates, that he *heard* a story told at Proconnesus, that Aristeas died there, but that his body could not be found for seven years; that, afterwards, he appeared and made verses, and then disappeared: and that three hundred and forty years after this he was seen at Metapontum, where he erected an altar to Apollo, and a statue for himself close by it, telling them that he had once been the crow which accompanied Apollo into Italy; after which he vanished again. The pretended resurrection of this man was compared by Celsus with that of Jesus Christ; but how absurd is it to compare a story, which has every mark of fiction, with the accounts of Christ's resurrection! For, in the first place, Herodotus, who *first* mentions it, did not write till *four hundred and ten* years after it; secondly, he gives it only on hearsay; and, lastly, it is an idle tale, to which no man of sense can give the least credit; it being impossible that any Metapontine, then living, *could* know a man who had been dead nearly *four centuries* before.[3]

[ii.] Occurrences equally extravagant as these are related of Pythagoras, as that he foretold to some fishermen the exact number of fish which they had caught, and having paid them for them, commanded the men to return them alive to the sea:[4] that he detained the savage Daunian bear, and having fed it with maize and acorns, compelled it by an oath no longer to touch any living thing; that by whispering in the ear of an ox which was eating green beans at Tarentum, he not only caused the beast to refrain from them, but that the latter never after tasted them;[5] and that he showed to the Scythian philosopher, Abaris, his golden thigh, telling him he had come down from heaven, and assumed a human form, for the purpose of remedying and benefiting the condition of mankind.[6] Similar extraordinary things are related of Pythagoras by his biographer Porphyry; who, as well as Iamblichus, affirms, that he communicated the power of working miracles to others. On these assertions we remark. 1. That Porphyry and Iamblichus (who compiled their lives of the philosopher *only something more than eight hundred years* AFTER his death) wrote at a time when the miracles of the Gospel were known throughout the Roman empire, and were every where appealed to as the proofs of the Christian religion;—2. That those authors themselves wrote in the controversy between the Gentiles and Christians;—3. That their principal design in publishing their memoirs of Pythagoras was to discredit the Christian miracles, by placing miracles, equal or greater, as they imagined, in opposition to them. It cannot, therefore, excite astonishment if, while they had this end in view, they made the competition as close as they could, and endeavoured to give the preference to their hero;—4. Lastly, the power of working miracles, pretended to be imparted by Pythagoras, consisted only in the secrets of magic and incantation.

[iii.] In order to show how easy it is for cunning and impudence to impose on the credulity of barbarians, Mr. Hume introduces the story of Alexander of Pontus, an interpreter of Æsculapius and a fortune-teller, and compares this juggler to the apostle Paul. Alexander, however, first practised his impositions, not among the philosophers of Athens, but among the rude and ignorant Paphlagonians; while Paul preached at Corinth, at Rome, and at Athens, before the Stoics and Epicureans, and even before the Areopagus, the most venerable judicature in Greece. Further, Alexander founded his impositions on the established superstitions; while the apostle, by propagating a new religion, encountered the prejudices and incurred the hatred of the heathens. Alexander *enriched* himself, while the apostle (it is well known) laboured with his hands for his own support. Lastly, Paul wrought his miracles, and *preached Christ crucified*, before the enemies of the Gospel, very many of whom were men of learning; while the Pontian juggler exhibited his wonders only before those who were thorough believers in the popular system: and his nocturnal mysteries were always introduced with an *avaunt* to atheists, Christians, and Epicureans; none of whom could have been present at them without exposing themselves to certain danger.[7]

[iv.] But the principal instance noticed by Mr. Hume and his copyists, and which he affirms to be the best attested in all profane history, is that of the miracle said to have been performed by the emperor Vespasian at Alexandria, in Egypt, in curing a blind man by means of his spittle, and a man who was lame in his hand by the touch of his foot. The transaction is thus related by Tacitus:—"One of the com-

longer obtain satisfactory evidence of their continuation. That miraculous powers were exercised after the death of the apostles, on certain occasions, is a fact supported by the unanimous and successive testimony of the fathers down to the reign of the emperor Julian. In the apostolical age miracles were frequent; in the succeeding century their number decreased, but still we have satisfactory evidence, in the appeals made to them by the Christian apologists, that they *were* actually performed. (See particularly Tertullian's Apologia, c. 22., and the Octavius of Minutius Felix, c. 27., and also the references in Mr. Kett's Bampton Lectures, p. iv. of the Notes and Authorities.) In the third century only a few traces remained of supernatural interposition; and after that time we have no authentic testimony for the working of miracles, with the exception of the miraculous frustration of the emperor Julian's mad attempt to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, which is so clearly attested by heathen adversaries as well as by ecclesiastical writers, that the sceptical historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (though he attempts to invalidate some of its proofs, and insinuates a want of impartial authorities) is *compelled* not only to acknowledge the general fact, but also many of the particular circumstances by which it was accompanied and distinguished. In reply to the question—Why are not miracles *now* wrought?—we remark that, the design of miracles being to confirm and authorize the Christian religion, there is no longer any occasion for them, now that it is established in the world, and is daily extending its triumphs in the heathen lands by the divine blessing on the preached gospel. Besides, if they were continued, they would be of no use, because their force and influence would be lost by the frequency of them; for, miracles being a sensible suspension or controlment of—or deviation from—the established course or laws of nature, if they were repeated on every occasion, all distinctions of natural and supernatural would vanish, and we should be at a loss to say, which were the ordinary and which the extraordinary works of Providence. Moreover, it is probable that, if they were continued, they would be of no use, because those persons who refuse to be convinced by the miracles recorded in the New Testament, would not be convinced by any new ones: for it is not from want of evidence, but from want of sincerity, and out of passion and prejudice, that any man rejects the miracles related in the Scriptures; and the same want of sincerity, the same passions and prejudices, would make him resist any proof, any miracle whatever. Lastly, a perpetual power of working of miracles would in all ages give occasion to continual impostures, while it would rescind and reverse all the settled laws and constitutions of Providence. Frequent miracles would be thought to proceed more from some defect in nature than from the particular interposition of the Deity; and men would become atheists by means of them, rather than Christians. The topics here briefly noticed are more fully discussed by Bp. Newton, Works, vol. vi. pp. 193—208., and by Dr. Jenkin in his Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, vol. ii. pp. 481—494.

[1] The most distinguished miracles, which are credited by the church of Rome, are those attributed to Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the order of Jesuits, and to Francis Xavier, one of his earliest associates, who was surnamed the Apostle of the Indies. Neither of these men, during their lives, claimed the power of working miracles. Xavier, indeed, in his correspondence with his friends during his mission, not only made no mention of miracles, but expressly disclaimed all supernatural assistance. Ribadeneira, a Jesuit and contemporary with Loyola, in the earliest account of his life, confessed that Loyola had not wrought any miracles, and anticipated the objections which might be urged from this circumstance against his claims to sainthip; but fifteen years afterwards, when Loyola's canonization was in agitation, he retracted this acknowledgment, and mentioned a variety of miracles which he *said* had been wrought by him. The insincerity and fraud of this statement are severely exposed by Bayle, in his *Dictionary*, art. *Loyola*, note (*N.*) The earliest life of Xavier was not published until about *forty* years *after* his death; and it is to be observed, that, of the numerous miracles which are ascribed to him, the scene of action is laid at a great distance from the country where they were first reported; being *supposed* to have been performed in China and Japan, but reported and believed only in Europe, where the persons to whom they were proposed (being unavoidably deprived of all opportunities of examining them and ascertaining the truth) were liable to be imposed upon by those whose private interests were connected with the propagation of an imposture. On the miracles ascribed to Loyola and Xavier, see Bp. Douglas's Criterion, pp. 64—78. In the Christian Observer for 1817 (vol. xvi. pp. 782—790.), there are some excellent strictures on a popish miracle, pretended to have been wrought on one Winifred White at St. Winifred's Well. And in the British Critic for 1823 (vol. xix. N. S. pp. 43—67.), the reader will find some acute remarks on a pretended miracle, said to have been wrought on an English man, near Chelmsford, in *Essex*, by Prince Alexander Hohenlohe, residing at Bamberg, in *Germany*.

[2] Mackknight's Truth of the Gospel History, pp. 361—373.

[3] Herodot. lib. iv. cc. 14, 15. vol. i. pp. 251, 255. edit. Oxon. Bp. Leng, at the Boyle Lectures, vol. iii. p. 138. folio edit.

[4] Iamblichus's Life of Pythagoras, translated by Mr. Taylor, chap. viii p. 23.

[5] Ibid. chap. xiii. pp. 40, 41.

[6] Ibid. chap. xix pp. 67, 68.

[7] Campbell on the Miracles, part ii. sect. 4. pp. 153—161

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mon people of Alexandria, known to be diseased in his eyes, by the admonition of the god Serapis, whom that superstitious nation worship above all other gods, prostrated himself before the emperor, earnestly imploring from him a remedy for his blindness, and entreating, that he would deign to anoint with his spittle his cheeks and the balls of his eyes. Another, diseased in his hand, requested, by the admonition of the same god, that he might be touched by the foot of the emperor. Vespasian at first derided and despised their application; afterwards, when they continued to urge their petitions, he sometimes appeared to dread the imputation of vanity; and at other times, by the earnest supplication of the patients, and the persuasion of his flatterers, to be induced to hope for success. At length he commanded an inquiry to be made by the physicians, whether such a blindness and debility were vincible by human aid. The report of the physicians contained various points; that in the one, the power of vision was not destroyed, but would return, if the obstacles were removed; that in the other, the diseased joints might be restored, if a healing power were applied; that it was perhaps agreeable to the gods to do this; that the emperor was elected by divine assistance; lastly, that the credit of the success would be the emperor's, the ridicule of the disappointment would fall upon the patients. Vespasian, believing that every thing was in the power of his fortune, and that nothing was any longer incredible, whilst the multitude which stood by eagerly expected the event, with a countenance expressive of joy, executed what he was desired to do. Immediately the hand was restored to its use, and light returned to the blind man. They, who were present, relate both these cures, even at this time, when there is nothing to be gained by lying."[1]

Such is the narrative of the historian, and how little the miracles related by him are entitled to credibility will easily appear from the following considerations:—1. Supposing the fact of this application to Vespasian to have really taken place as Tacitus relates, the *design* of them was both *political* and *interested*: it was to give weight to the authority of Vespasian, then recently elevated to the throne of imperial Rome by the great men and the army, and to induce the belief that his elevation was approved by the gods. Not so the miracles of Christ and the apostles, which alike exposed their property and their persons to ruin. 2. Tacitus did not write from ocular inspection and personal examination of the men; but *twenty-seven years afterwards*, wrote from hearsay at Rome, an account of transactions which had taken place at Alexandria, in Egypt: on the contrary, the narratives of the Christian miracles were published in the very countries, and almost immediately after the time, when the miracles had actually been wrought, and when many persons were living who had witnessed them. 3. Though Tacitus mentions the miracles of Vespasian, he does not say that he saw them, or even believed that they were performed; nay, he very plainly insinuates that he did not believe them to be real. 4. The diseases were not absolutely incurable: this is manifest from the declarations of the physicians, who told Vespasian that the sight of the blind man *was not extinct*, and that the lame man's joints *might* recover their strength; and between whom, the emperor, and the patients, the whole seems to have been concerted. But the miracles wrought by Christ were performed on diseases and other cases which no human skill could relieve. 5. Lastly, consider the witnesses. The miracles of Vespasian were not (like the Christian miracles) performed in the presence of acute and inveterate adversaries, who scrutinized them with the utmost rigour, and yielded a reluctant acknowledgment of their reality; but the witnesses of them were the followers and flatterers of Vespasian, and the ignorant and superstitious Alexandrians, who were wholly devoted to the worship of Serapis, and to his interest.

[v.] The last instance of pagan miracles which we shall notice is that of Apollonius of Tyana, a Pythagorean philosopher, who was born about the time of the Christian æra; but whose life was not written till *more than a century after his death* by Philostratus, who received his information partly from report, and partly from the commentaries of Damis, the companion of Apollonius. In this work, besides a number of monstrous, ridiculous, and silly wonders, Philostratus has related many things which resemble the miracles of Jesus, as that Apollonius cured diseases, expelled demons, gave sight to the blind, raised the dead, and foretold numerous remarkable events. The book of Philostratus was compiled at the request of the empress Julia Domna, who hated the Christians: the remarks, therefore, which have already been made on the biographers of Pythagoras may be applied to him.[2] To which we may add, that Apollonius was ridiculed as an impostor by the heathen philosopher Lucian, who wrote twenty years before Philostratus, and that no use was made of his pretended miracles for the disparagement of Christianity until the commencement of the fourth century: when Hierocles, governor of Bithynia, a man of learning, and a principal instigator of the persecution under Dioclesian, conceived the design of showing the futility of the miracles of Christ as proofs of a divine mission, by opposing to them other performances equally beyond the reach of human powers, and, as he wished it to be believed, equally well authenticated. Hierocles, however, did not attempt either to call in question the genuineness of the books of the New Testament, or to deny that miracles were wrought by Jesus Christ; and his work, which was founded on the narrative of Philostratus, was answered at the time by Eusebius, in a tract that is still extant.

[vi.] The next instance produced by Mr. Hume is the miracle pretended to have been wrought at Saragossa, and mentioned by the cardinal De Retz. His words, literally translated, are,—"In that church they showed me a man, whose business it was to light the lamps, of which they have a prodigious number, telling me, that he had been seen seven years at the gate with one leg only. I saw him there with two."[3] From this relation it is evident that the cardinal did not attach any credit to the story: he did not examine the man himself concerning the fact. This miracle indeed was vouched by all the canons of the church, and the whole company in town were appealed to for a confirmation of it, whom the cardinal found, by their zealous devotion, to be thorough believers of the miracle. But though those ecclesiastics appealed to the company in the town, it is clear from De Retz's own account that he did not ask any man a single question on the subject. It is easy to conceive that such a story, managed by the priests and backed by their authority, would obtain credit with the ignorant populace; especially in a country where the inquisition was then in full power,—where the superstitions and prejudices of the people, and the authority of the civil magistrate, were all combined to support the credit of such miracles,—and where it would not only have been extremely dangerous to make a strict inquiry into them, but even the expressing of the least doubt concerning them might have exposed the inquirer to the most terrible of all evils and sufferings.[4]

[vii.] The last example of pretended miracles to be adduced is, those reported to have been wrought at the tomb of the Abbé de Paris, and in which both Mr. Hume and his copyists in later times have exulted, as if they were alone sufficient to destroy the credit of the miraculous facts recorded in the New Testament. The circumstances of these pretended miracles are as follows:—

While controversies ran high in France between the Jesuits and the Jansenists,[5] about the middle of the eighteenth century, the Abbé de Paris, an opulent and zealous Jansenist, gave the whole of his income to the poor; and, clothing himself in rags, lay on the ground, fed on black bread, water, and herbs, and employed watchings and penances to macerate his body. On his death, in May, 1727, his party canonized him, and pretended that miracles were wrought at his tomb; whither thousands flocked and practised grimaces and convulsions in so disorderly and ridiculous a manner, that the government of France was at length obliged to put a stop to this delusion, by ordering the church-yard, in which he was interred, to be walled up in January, 1732. Accounts of the cures said to have been wrought at the Abbé's tomb were collected and published by M. de Montgeron, a counsellor of the parliament at Paris, in three quarto volumes; which were critically examined, and the delusions were exposed as soon as they appeared. On these pretended miracles (which were paralleled with those of Jesus Christ!) we may remark, 1. That they were extolled as real *before* they were subjected to examination; and that when investigated at first, they

[1] Tacitus, Hist. lib. iv. c. 81. The same is also related by Suetonius in Vespasian, c. 8. who says the man was *lame in his legs*,—not in his *hand*, as Tacitus says.

[2] Campbell on Miracles, pp. 161—169. Bp. Douglas's Criterion, pp. 49—60. Paley's Evidences, vol. i. pp. 351—355. In the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, vol. x. pp. 619—644., there is an able article on the character and pretended miracles of Apollonius Tyanæus, in the course of which the subject of miracles is discussed at considerable length.

[3] Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz. Livre iv. l'an 1654.

[4] Campbell on the Miracles, pp. 170—181.

[5] These were a sect of Romanists, in France, who adopted the opinions of Jansenius concerning grace and predestination, which were opposed by the Jesuits.

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were tried before persons who were predisposed to favour the Jansenists or appellants:—2. Montgeron, who collected the cures said to be wrought at the tomb, produced vouchers for only eight or nine: while some continued there for days and even months, without receiving any benefit:—3. The number reported to be cured was but small; nor is there any proof that this small number was cured by the pseudo-saint's intercession. The imposture of those pretended miracles was detected by the archbishop of Paris in one single instance; and the archbishop of Sens and others, in more than twenty instances, discovered the artifice by which it was supported:—4. The patients were so affected by their devotion, the place, and the sympathy of the multitude, that many were thrown into convulsions, which in certain circumstances might produce a removal of disorders occasioned by obstruction:—5. All who implored the aid of the Abbé were not cured; while Christ and the apostles never failed in any case, and were never convicted of imposture in a single instance: and it was objected at the time, and never refuted by his friends, that the prostrations at his tomb *produced* more diseases than they *cured*:—6. Christ's miracles were wrought in a grave and decent, in a great but simple manner, becoming one sent of God, without any absurd or ridiculous ceremonies, or superstitious observances. But the miracles of the Abbé de Paris were attended with circumstances that had all the marks of superstition, and which seemed designed and fitted to strike the imagination. The earth of his tomb was often employed, or the water from the well of his house. *Nine* days' devotion was constantly used, and frequently repeated again and again by the same persons:—7. All the cures recorded by Montgeron as duly attested were partial and gradual, and were such as might have been effected by natural means. *Not one of them was instantaneous.* The persons at the Abbé's tomb never attempted to raise the dead, nor is there any evidence that either the blind or the deaf were actually cured there. The notary, who received affidavits relative to those miracles, was not obliged to know the names of the persons who made them, nor whether they gave in their own or only fictitious names:—8. The cures wrought at the tomb were not independent of second causes; most of the devotees had been using medicines before, and continued to use them during their applications to the supposed saint; or their distempers had abated before they determined to solicit his help:—9. Some of the cures attested were *incomplete*, and the relief granted in others was only *temporary*; but the cures wrought by Christ and his apostles were *complete* and *permanent*:—10. Lastly, the *design* of the miracles ascribed to the Abbé de Paris was neither important nor was it worthy of God. The miracles of Christ and of his apostles, as we have already seen, were intended to prove the divine authority of the most excellent religion: those reported of the Abbé to answer the purposes of a party. The former answered the end for which they were designed: the latter raised a prejudice against Jansenism, and divided its adherents, several of whom were provoked at the frauds of their party, and bitterly reproached and accused each other. The moment the civil power interfered to put an end to the impostures they ceased; but all the powers on earth, both civil and sacerdotal, could not arrest the progress of Christianity, or put a stop to the wonderful works wrought in confirmation of it. To conclude, with regard to the attestations given to Christianity, all was wise, consistent, worthy of God, and suited to the end for which it was designed; but the other is a broken incoherent scheme, which cannot be reconciled to itself, nor made to consist with the wisdom and harmony of the divine proceedings. The miracles of Christ, therefore, are indisputably true; but those ascribed to the Abbé de Paris are totally destitute of reality, and are utterly unworthy of belief.[1]

SECTION III.

ON PROPHECY.

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I. PROPHECY defined.

The various criteria and considerations which have been stated in the preceding section will enable the impartial inquirer to distinguish between true and false miracles. We add, that it is equally easy to distinguish between true and false prophecies; for PROPHECY *is a miracle of knowledge, a declaration, or description, or representation of something future, beyond the power of human sagacity to discern or to calculate, and it is the highest evidence that can be given of supernatural communion with the Deity, and of the truth of a revelation from God.*

The knowledge of future events is that object, which man, with the greatest desire, has the least ability to attain. By tracing cause and effect in their usual operations, by observing human characters, and by marking present tendencies, he may form some plausible conjectures about the future; and an experienced politician, who is thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances, interests, and tempers both of his own community and of those who are his neighbours, will frequently anticipate events with a sagacity and success, which bears some resemblance to direct prescience, and excites the astonishment of less penetrating minds. Still, however, he is limited to a kind of contact with present circumstances. That which he foresees must have some connection with what he actually beholds, or some dependence on it: otherwise his inquiries are vain, and his conjectures idle and delusive; and even within those narrow limits, how often is his penetration baffled, and his wisdom deceived! The slightest intrusion of uncommon circumstances, the smallest possible deviation from rules, which cannot by any means be rendered exact, destroys the visionary chain which he has constructed, and exposes his ignorance to himself and others. The prescience of the most experienced politician, in short, bears a close resemblance to that of an experienced general or a skilful chess-player. Judging how he himself, were he in his adversary's place, would act in consequence of one of his own movements, he builds upon his adversary's acting in the same manner, when placed in the same circumstances; and thence, on the presumption of his thus acting, he provides against what he foresees must be the result of it; anticipating in this manner the final winding up of the affair, even when he is at a considerable distance from its termination. Prescience, then, of the present description, will extend just so far as the principle upon which it is built. But the deducing of effects from a combination of causes can never be carried forward to any very remote period: because new causes, which themselves again must be combined, will

[1] Campbell on Miracles, pp. 181—203. Vernet, Traité de la Vérité de la Relig. Chrét. tom. vi. pp. 63—135. Leland's View of the Deistical Writers, vol. i. pp. 319—335. 4th edit. Bp. Douglas's Criterion, pp. 122—233.: in pp. 233—236. he has some observations on the pretended miracles of the French prophets.

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perpetually spring up; and consequently, as those new causes are as yet unknown, no human sagacity can deduce events from *such* causes.

To foresee and foretell future events is a *miracle* of which the testimony remains in itself. It is a miracle, because to foresee and foretell future events, to which no change of circumstances leads, no train of probabilities points, is as much beyond the ability of human agents, as to cure diseases with a word, or even to raise the dead, which may properly be termed *miracles of power*. That actions of the latter kind were ever performed can be proved, at a distant period, only by witnesses, against whose testimony cavils may be raised, or causes for doubt advanced: but the man, who reads a prophecy and perceives the corresponding events, is *himself* the witness of the miracle; he sees that thus it is, and that thus by human means it could not possibly have been. A prophecy yet unfulfilled is a miracle at present incomplete; and these, if numerous, may be considered as the seeds of future conviction, ready to grow up and bear their fruit, whenever the corresponding facts shall be exhibited on the theatre of the world. So admirably has this sort of evidence been contrived by the wisdom of God, that in proportion as the lapse of ages might *seem* to weaken the argument derived from miracles long since performed, that very lapse serves only to strengthen the argument derived from the completion of prophecy.

If the books of the Old and New Testament be genuine and authentic, that is, were written by the persons to whom they are ascribed, and at or about the times when they profess to have been written (and these points have already been proved to demonstration), the very numerous predictions which they contain must necessarily be divine. For they are a regular chain, extending almost from the beginning to the end of time; and many of them relate to events so distant, so contingent, and so apparently improbable, that no human foresight could ever anticipate them. Some relate to dates and circumstances that require the most exact accomplishment, and some are fulfilling to the present time, and before our eyes: so that, though this kind of evidence might be rendered doubtful or suspicious, yet it is daily accumulating, and gathering strength as it accumulates.

II. On the DIFFERENCE between the pretended predictions of heathen oracles and the prophecies contained in the Scriptures.

When we meet with a prophecy, the avowed end of which is to satisfy some trivial curiosity or abet the designs of some ambitious leader, suspicion must necessarily take the alarm. This was evidently the character of the ancient oracles. However directed, whether by evil men or evil spirits, they certainly spoke as they were paid or intimidated; and the long continued history of ancient times has completely informed us of the practices by which the priests of the false gods endeavoured to gain credit for their idols, and profit for themselves, by foretelling things to come. "But how did they conduct this difficult traffic? Did they make it hazardous as well as difficult, by pledging their lives on the truth of their predictions? Far otherwise:—they had very different arts and plans, much more compatible with the consciousness of being extremely liable to error. In the first place, unless a direct appeal to their inspiration was made by direct inquiry, they usually observed a prudent silence. They uttered no spontaneous prophecies. In saying nothing, they exposed themselves to no detection; and when they were obliged to speak, it was always with sufficient precaution. Obstacles were first thrown in the way of inquiry. By magnificent and repeated sacrifices, it was rendered extremely expensive. This preliminary had a double advantage: it lessened the number of inquirers, and at the same time secured abundant advantage to the priests. These sacrifices were preceded, attended, and followed by many prescribed ceremonies;[1] the omission or mismanagement of any one of which was sufficient to vitiate the whole proceeding. The gods were not at all times in a humour to be consulted. Omens were to be taken, and auguries examined, which, if unfavourable in any particular, either precluded the inquiry for the present, or required further lustrations, ceremonies, and sacrifices to purify the person who consulted, and rendered him fit to receive an answer from the gods, or to bring their wayward deities to a temper suitable to the inquiry."[2] When indeed answers were given, the heathen oracles had no determinate scheme, and related to detached, unconnected events; while the prophecies of Scripture respect one great scheme, and point to one person, whose family, country, character, and circumstances, they announce, long before he was born. The heathen oracles spoke what rulers dictated, or what tended to advance the interest of the priests: precepts of morality, and rules of just conduct, were seldom—if ever—delivered from the cave, or from the consecrated tripos. The purest sentiments prevalent among the pagans were either delivered by the philosopher (who had no means of enforcing them), or adorned the pages of the poet: while the Hebrew prophets, on the contrary, boldly reproved kings, enforced the purest morality by the most solemn sanctions, and suffered rather than gained by the predictions which they uttered.[3] They did not prophesy in compliance with the wishes or natural propensities of their countrymen; but opposed their prejudices, by predicting the impending calamities, the humble state of the Messiah, the rejection of the Jews, and the call of the Gentiles. Their prophecies tended to one end; and the total cessation of them, when that end was answered, proves that they did not owe their accomplishment to chance or to imposture.

Further, when no means of evasion remained, the answers given by the heathen oracles were frequently delusive, and capable of quite contrary interpretations; and the most celebrated of them concealed their meaning in such ambiguous terms, that they required another oracle to explain them. Of this ambiguity several authentic instances are recorded. Thus, when Crœsus consulted the oracle at Delphi relative to his intended war against the Persians, he was told that he would destroy a great empire.[4] This he naturally interpreted of his overcoming the Persians, though the oracle was so framed as to admit of an opposite meaning. Crœsus made war against the Persians, and was ruined; and the oracle continued to maintain its credit. The answer given to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, many ages after, was of yet more doubtful interpretation, being conceived in terms so ambiguous, that it might either be interpreted thus:—*I say that thou son of Æacus canst conquer the Romans. Thou shalt go, thou shalt return, never shalt thou perish in war*;[5] or thus, *I say that the Romans can conquer thee, son of Æacus. Thou shalt go, thou shalt never return, thou shalt perish in war.* Pyrrhus understood the oracle in the former sense; he waged an unsuccessful war with the Romans, and was overcome: yet still the juggling oracle saved its credit. Another remarkable instance of the ambiguity of the pretended prophets occurs in 1 Kings xxii. 5, 6. Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and Ahab, king of Israel, having united their forces against the Syrians, in order to recover Ramoth-Gilead, the latter monarch *gathered the* false *prophets together, about four*

[1] Van Dale, De Oraculis, tom. i. p. 3.

[2] Dr. Nares's Connected View of the Prophecies relative to the Christian Church, p. 14.

[3] "Happy had it been for the heathen world, if, upon the subject of morality, their oracles had been invariably silent. The few sentiments which they did deliver were not always grounded upon the severe principles of reason and truth: they varied with the fluctuation of human opinions, and were even accommodated to the prejudices, the passions, and the vices of their votaries. Nay, they frequently even commanded the grossest violations of morality and decorum, and veiled, under the prostituted name of religion, the most flagitious and horrible abominations, which have ever been permitted to pollute the annals of the human race. The prophets of the true God were inspired by the purest principles. They actively and invariably exerted themselves in the cause of virtue. The system of morality which they sanctioned was pure, severe, and founded upon determinate and acknowledged principles. They tempered its severity, however, with the love of mercy and the gentle feelings of benevolence. With all the warmth of zeal, and energy of eloquence, they recommended the cause of the stranger, the widow, and the orphan. Neither the pomp of station, nor the tyranny of power, could shield the offender from their manly and indignant rebukes: and exhibiting a boldness, which, perhaps, is unparalleled in the whole history of mankind, and which could only be inspired by the confidence of truth and the certainty of divine assistance, they even chastised a powerful monarch for the unlawful indulgence of his passions; and openly denounced the vengeance of the High Being, by whom they were inspired, against a formidable tyrant, who had murdered for the sake of plunder the poor possessor of a neighbouring vineyard. The piety which they required was not the cold and inefficient duty of an external ritual: it was the religion of the heart, the control of the internal feelings of the soul, and an inward and ever-active persuasion of the existence and providence of an all-judging God. It earnestly excited gratitude for his favours, supplication for his forgiveness, and reliance on his protection. These moral and religious duties were not varied with the progress of civilization, nor made to bend to temporal occurrences, to the will of a favoured monarch, or the caprices of contending parties. They were independent of human events regular as the order of nature, and eternal as the Fountain of inspiration. Their influence was the most extensive which the imagination can conceive. They were not calculated to aggrandize a favourite state, nor appropriated to the inhabitants of a particular climate; but they were equally useful to all countries, and obligatory on the whole human race." Dr. Richards's Bampton Lectures, for 1800, pp. 241—244.

[4] Herodotus, lib. i. c. 53. Though the identical words of the oracle have been lost from the text of Herodotus, yet they have been preserved by various writers, and particularly by Suidas, (Lexicon, voce Κροῖσος, tom iii. p. 382. edit. Kuster), according to whom they run thus: Κροῖσος Ἅλυν διαβὰς μεγαλην αρχην καταλυσει.

[5] The oracle in question has been thus translated:

Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere posse.
Ibis, redibis, nunquam in bello peribis

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hundred men, and said unto them, Shall I go against Ramoth-Gilead to battle, or shall I forbear? And they said, Go up, for the Lord shall deliver [*it*] *into the hands of the king.* It is to be observed, that the word [*it*] is not in the original, and that the reply of the pseudo-prophets is so artfully constructed, that it might be interpreted either *for* or *against* the expedition; as thus,—*the Lord will deliver* (it) Ramoth-Gilead *into the king's* (Ahab's) *hand;* or, *the Lord will deliver* (Israel) *into the king's hand*, that is, into the hands of the king of Syria.[1] Relying upon this ambiguous oracle, the monarchs of Judah and Israel engaged the Syrians, and were utterly discomfited.

Whenever the oracles failed, the priests, who officiated at them, were never at a loss for subterfuges for preserving their credit. If the event happened not to correspond with the prophecy, it was discovered, when too late, that some indispensable ceremony or observance had been omitted; that the gods were averse to the inquirer; or that he had not been in a proper state for consulting them. If an *evil* event took place when a *good* one had been promised, it was the fault of the inquirer. If, on the contrary, the result was more favourable than the prediction, this was owing to the intercession of the priests, to the prayers they had offered, or to the rites they had performed for propitiating the offended powers. But notwithstanding all these and other precautions, the heathen priests succeeded very imperfectly in maintaining the credit of the oracles. The wiser and more sagacious heathens, especially in later times, held them in utter contempt.[2] They were ridiculed by the comic poets; and the pretendedly inspired priestess was, in several instances, even popularly accused of being bribed to prophesy according to the interests of a particular party. Such was the success of false prophecy, even with all the aids of art, and a systematic plan of imposture to preserve it from detection.[3]

How widely different from these pretended predictions are the prophecies contained in the Scriptures! They were delivered without solicitation, and pronounced openly before the people; and the prophet knew himself by law exposed to capital punishment, if any one of his predictions were to be overthrown. The events which were foretold were often both complicated and remote, depending on the arbitrary will of many, and arising from a great variety of causes, which concurred to bring them to pass. Some of them were accomplished shortly after they were delivered; others had their accomplishment somewhat later, but the prophets who delivered them saw the event. Others again had a more distant object which exceeded the prophet's life; but the different events which he foretold were so connected together, that the most distant bordered pretty nearly upon some others, the accomplishment of which was preparatory to the last. The fulfilment of the first prophecies served to raise an expectation of those which were distant; and the accomplishment of the last confirmed the first. The predictions of Isaiah will furnish an illustration of the correctness of these remarks; and whoever reads the prophets with attention will readily find many more instances.

The kings of Syria and Israel,[4] who separately had done great damage to the kingdom of Judah, united together absolutely to destroy it, and came to lay siege to Jerusalem. Ahaz, king of Judah, and all his subjects, being seized with terror, the prophet Isaiah came to him, and publicly assured him that the enterprise of the two kings should be frustrated: that in a short time they would both die; and that, before a child, that was to be born in about ten months, could say, "My father and my mother," Damascus, the capital of Syria, and Samaria, the capital of the kingdom of Israel, should be subject to the king of Assyria. Within *three* short years the event justified the prophecy in all its parts, though it was without any natural probability.[5]—The destruction of Sennacherib's army, together with all the minute circumstances of his previous advance, was announced by Isaiah a long time before it happened, with this additional circumstance, that such destruction should take place in the night; and that the noise of the thunder that should roll over the Assyrians should be to Jerusalem an harmonious sound, and like a melodious concert, because it would be followed with public thanksgivings.[6] It was these precise and circumstantial predictions that supported the hope of Hezekiah, notwithstanding every thing that seemed to oppose it. Nor can it excite our astonishment that, after their accomplishment, the pious monarch and his people were persuaded that Isaiah was a prophet, to whom the Almighty revealed his designs, and that he spoke by his command.—In like manner, after the departure of the ambassadors, whom Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, had sent to congratulate Hezekiah on his recovery from sickness, the same prophet was commissioned to tell the Jewish sovereign that all his treasures (which in the secret pride of his heart he had shown to his ambassadors) should be conveyed to Babylon; that princes descended from him should be made captives; and that they should be employed by the conqueror in menial offices.[7] This prediction was apparently contrary to all probability: the kings of Babylon and Judah were then allies and united in interest. The former seemed in no respect formidable, when compared with the kings of Assyria, whose yoke he had but just shaken off, and to whom he was, perhaps, still tributary; and yet the prophecy is positive, and Hezekiah entertained no doubt of it. It was literally accomplished, and then the Jews hoped for their return from captivity, which Isaiah had not only foretold many times, and in the most magnificent terms,[8] but also marked out the conqueror of Babylon, and the deliverer of the Jews by name,[9] considerably more than one hundred years before Cyrus became king of Persia, and liberated the captive Jews.—Lastly, Isaiah clearly declared the ruin of Babylon, after he had seen, in prophetic spirit, all its splendour and glory under Nebuchadnezzar;[10] and it is astonishing with what exactness all the parts of his predictions were accomplished; so that the *precise* site of Babylon cannot now be ascertained.

Once more, a large proportion of the Scripture prophecies was committed to writing, and preserved in books which were always left open to public examination, and all persons were enjoined to peruse them. This is a test which the spurious predictions of the heathens *never* could endure. Their oracles were never collected in any authentic records; never brought into one view, with even a pretence to prove the prescience of their deities. Certain officers only were allowed to superintend them. In Egypt, the oracular books were kept by the priests exclusively, and written in a peculiar character; and at Rome, the Sibylline books were allowed to be consulted only by the quindecemviri, and not even by these privileged few without an order from the senate. And when at length a compilation was offered to the world, professing to contain the Sibylline oracles, it was so gross and clumsy a forgery as never to impose on any man of sense, who exerted even the smallest skill in bringing it to the test of criticism.[11]

It is a remark, which holds alike in every circumstance of divine revelation, *that impostors never did attempt to produce their credentials in such a manner as the real messengers of God.* Yet does the malice or the blindness of its opposers continually endeavour to confound them. Because there have been lying prophets, the true must be suspected; because

[1] Dr. A. Clarke on 1 Kings xxii. 15.

[2] Thus Aristotle observes, with his usual accuracy and penetration, that "*pretended prophets* express themselves in *general* language. In a game of odd and even, a man may say, whether the number be odd or even, much sooner than *what* it is; and that such a thing *will* happen, than *when*. Therefore those who deliver oracles never define *when*." (Aristot. Rhet. lib. iii. c. 5. § 4. Op. tom. iv. edit. Bipont.)—Cicero likewise has the following remark: "If this be foretold, *Who* is the PERSON meant and *what* is the THING? The writer has conducted himself so dexterously, that *any* event whatever will suit his *prophecy*, since there is NO *specification of men and times*." (De Divinat. lib. ii. c. 54. Op. tom. xi. p. 287. edit. Bipont.) Horace also ridicules with great humour the pompous nothingness of the heathen oracles in the following verses:—

O Lærtiade, quicquid dicam, aut erit, aut non;
Divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo. Sat. lib. ii. sat. 6. v. 59, 60.

O son of Laertes, what I now foretell, will either come to pass, or it will not;
For the great Apollo gives me to divine.

Lastly, Lucian, in his history of Alexander, after relating in what manner that impostor pretended to answer the sealed questions delivered to him, without opening the seal, adds:—"Thus he delivered oracles, and gave divine responses, but with great prudence, and *giving perplexed, doubtful, or obscure answers, according to the custom of oracles.* Some he encouraged; others he dissuaded, replying as he thought proper. To some he prescribed plain remedies and diets, for he knew many useful medicines. But, with respect to the hopes (of advancement), the increase of property, and successions to inheritances, *he always deferred* giving an answer, adding, "*All things shall be done when I am willing, and when my prophet Alexander shall entreat me, and shall offer prayers in your behalf.*"—It is to be observed that this impostor spoke in the name of the god Æsculapius; and that he did not give his responses for *nothing*, his stated price being one drachma and two oboli (about 10½d. sterling) for each answer. Luciana Alexander seu Pseudomantis. Op. tom. v. pp. 85, 86. edit. Bipont.

[3] Nares on Prophecy, p. 16.

[4] Isa. vii. 1. 9—16.

[5] Isa. viii. 2—4. 2 Kings xv. 29, 30. xvi. 9. Isa. viii. 7, 8.

[6] Isa. x. 26. 28. *et seq.* xxix. 6—8. xxx. 29. 31, 32.

[7] Compare Isa. xxxix. 5—7. and 2 Kings xx.

[8] See particularly Isa. lii. 2. and xlii. 4.

[9] Isa. xliv. and xlv.

[10] Isa. xlvii. 1. 7, 8, 9. 12, 13. xiii. 4. 19, 20. 21. *et seq.* xiv. 22—24.

[11] Dr. Jortin has examined the pretended Sibylline oracles, and has shown that they are to be rejected as forgeries and impostures. Remarks on Eccl. Hist. vol. i. pp. 188—217.

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there have been false prophets—pretenders to inspiration—therefore they to whom the Spirit of God has truly spoken cannot obtain a candid hearing. Yet, if the things considered differ most essentially in the mode, in the circumstances, in the proof,—in all respects, indeed, except the name,—where is the candour, or even the common sense, of involving them in one sentence of rejection?[1] The false pretensions to prophecy that have appeared in the world are no more a proof that there never were true predictions, than the circulation of base coin proves that there is no pure gold or silver employed in commerce and manufactures.

III. The USE AND INTENT OF PROPHECY may be considered in various lights. Some have represented it as designed to meet and accommodate the natural anxiety and impatience of men to know futurity—to relieve and soothe the troubled mind—to repress the vain and forward—to discourage schemes of vice—to support desponding virtue. Some have argued, that prophecy was designed to cherish and promote a religious spirit—to confirm the faith of God's sovereignty and particular providence. Some men, measuring the thoughts and ways of God by those of men, have fancied, that an obscure people, a carpenter's son, his birth, and acts, and ignominious death, were subjects beneath the attention of the Supreme Ruler; and have substituted, as more becoming objects of prophecy, the splendid events, as they supposed, of the rise and fall of kingdoms, and the revolutions of mighty states and empires. But the ways of God are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts. The events which to us appear magnificent and interesting are trivial in his sight, and those which we might overlook or despise form the principal figures in the plan of his infinite wisdom and goodness. There were intermediate events predicted, as subordinate ends of prophecy, as the state and history of Abraham's, and Jacob's, and David's family; but the great use and intent of prophecy, to which all others were subservient, was to maintain the faith of the Messiah, and to prepare the world for his appearance and mediation. At the same time, it was calculated to serve as an evidence of the divine origin of Scripture. Considering it in this light, we should first satisfy ourselves that it was given, not after, but long before the events took place; and then carefully compare the facts and circumstances predicted with the events accomplished. If they correspond, the conclusion is unavoidable, that the prophet was commissioned by Omniscience to utter the prophecy, and that it has been fulfilled by sovereign and almighty power. Have Jacob and Moses, David and Isaiah, Daniel and the other prophets, many hundreds of years before, accurately described times, places, characters, and ends, with their relative circumstances and contingencies? And have these descriptions been verified in subsequent and exactly corresponding events?—then they must have been divinely inspired, and their record and testimony must be true and divine. By these prophecies, interspersed with the greater part of the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament, the sacred writers have established their claim to inspiration, that *they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but that they spoke and wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.* The use and intent of prophecy, then, was to raise expectation, and to soothe the mind with hope,—to maintain the faith of a particular providence, and the assurance of the Redeemer promised, and particularly to attest the divine inspiration of the Scriptures.[2]

IV. ON THE CHAIN OF PROPHECY.

The prophecies recorded in the Scriptures respect contingencies too wonderful for the powers of man to conjecture or to effect. Many of those, which are found in the Old Testament, foretold unexpected changes in the distribution of earthly power; and, whether they announced the fall of flourishing cities, or the ruin of mighty empires, the event minutely corresponded with the prediction. This chain of predictions is so evident in the Scriptures, that we are more embarrassed with the selection and arrangement of them, than doubtful of their import and accomplishment. To a superficial observer, they may seem to be without order or connection; but, to a well-informed mind, they are all disposed in such a mode and succession as to form a regular system, all the parts of which harmonize in one amazing and consistent plan, which runs parallel with the history of mankind, past, present, and to come: and furnishes a perfect moral demonstration, that the book which contains such predictive information is indeed divine. The prophecies contained in the Scriptures may be referred to four classes, viz. Prophecies relating to the Jewish nation in particular,—Prophecies relating to the neighbouring nations or empires,—Prophecies directly announcing the Messiah,—and Prophecies delivered by Jesus Christ and his apostles.

[1] Nares on Prophecy, p. 22.

[2] Dr. Ranken's Institutes of Theology, pp. 346, 347. See also Bp. Sherlock's Discourses on the Use and Intent of Prophecy

CLASS I.

Prophecies relating to the Jewish Nation in particular.

1. WE begin with ABRAHAM, the great progenitor of the Jews. At a time when he had no child, and was greatly advanced in years, it was foretold that his posterity should be exceedingly multiplied above that of other nations. The chief of these predictions are to be found in Gen. xii. 1—3 xlvi. 3. Exod. xxxii. 13. Gen. xiii. 16. xv. 5. xvii. 2 4—6. xxii. 17.

The fulfilment of these predictions will be found as it respects the Jews (to omit the vast increase of Abraham's other posterity) in Exod. i. 7. 9. 12. Numb. xxiii. 10. Deut. i. 10. x. 22. Ezek. xvi. 7. Heb. xi. 12. In less than five hundred years after the first of the above predictions was delivered, the number of the Israelites amounted to six hundred thousand men, besides women and children; and the Scripture accounts of their numbers are so confirmed by the testimonies of profane authors, that no doubt *can* arise as to the exactness of the completion.

2. ISHMAEL's name and fortune were announced before he was born; particularly, that his descendants should be very numerous, and that he should beget twelve princes. The whole came to pass precisely as it was foretold. Compare Gen. xvi. 10—12. xvii. 20. and xxv. 12—18. *I will make him a great nation*, said Jehovah to Abraham (Gen. xvii. 20.); and this prediction was accomplished as soon as it could be in the regular course of nature.

From Ishmael proceeded the various tribes of Arabs (also called Saracens, by Christian writers), who anciently were, and still continue to be, a very powerful people. They might, indeed, be emphatically styled a *great nation*, when the Saracens made their rapid and extensive conquests during the middle ages, and erected one of the largest empires that ever was in the world. *He will be a wild man* (Gen. xvi. 12.), literally, *a wild ass-man*, that is, as wild as a wild ass; and the account of that animal, in Job xxxix. 5—8., affords the best possible description of the wandering, lawless, and freebooting lives and manners of the Arabs. *Who hath sent out the wild ass free? or who hath loosed the bands of the wild ass? Whose house I have made the wilderness, and the barren land his dwellings. He scorneth the multitude of the city, neither regardeth he the crying of the driver. The range of the mountains is his pasture, and he searcheth after every green thing.* God himself has *sent them out free*, and *has loosed them* from all political restraint. The same *wilderness*, in which their ancestor, Ishmael, dwelt more than three thousand seven hundred years ago, is still *their habitation*, and *in the barren land*, where no other human beings could live, they *have their dwellings*. They *scorn the city*, and therefore have no fixed habitations. For their *multitude*, they are not afraid. When they make depredations on cities, towns, or caravans, they retire into the desert with such precipitancy, that all pursuit is eluded; and in this respect, *the crying of the driver is disregarded.* They may be said to have no lands, and yet the range *of the mountains is their pasture*; they pitch their tents and feed their flocks wherever they please; and they *search after every green thing*, are continually looking after prey, and seize every kind of property that comes in their way. It was further foretold that Ishmael's *hand should be against every man, and every man's hand against him.* Sesostris, Cyrus, Pompey, Trajan, and other ancient sovereigns vainly attempted to subjugate the wandering Arabs: though they had temporary triumphs over some tribes, they were ultimately unsuccessful. From the commencement of the Ishmaelites to the present day, they have maintained their independency: and if there were no other argument to evince the divine origin of the Pentateuch, the account of Ishmael, and the prophecy concerning his descendants, collated with their history and manner of life during a period of nearly four thousand years, would be sufficient; it may, indeed, be pronounced absolutely demonstrative.[1]

3. It was foretold that the POSTERITY OF ABRAHAM, ISAAC,

[1] For a full account and exposition of the prophecies concerning Ishmael, see Bishop Newton's second Dissertation.

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AND JACOB, should possess the land of Canaan; so that, though they should be expelled thence for their sins, yet their title should endure, and they should be resettled in it, and there continue in peace to the end of the world. (See Gen. xii. 7. xiii. 14, 15. 17. xv. 18, 19, 20, 21. Exod. iii. 8. 17. Gen. xvii. 7, 8.) In unison also with these original promises are the predictions, that this land of Canaan should be to the children of Israel an everlasting possession. (See Deut. xxx. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Jer. xxx. 3.)

The completion of these predictions has been as remarkable and exact as the predictions themselves. (See Num. xxi. Deut. ii. and Josh. iii.) The Israelites enjoyed this land for above a thousand years; and when, for their wickedness, God sent the tribes of Judah and Benjamin into captivity, he declared it should be but for seventy years, which accordingly was true; and they continued six hundred years together, till by their rejection and murder of the Messiah they were again doomed to a more lasting captivity, begun by Titus Vespasian, and continued to this day. And though the ten tribes carried away captive by Shalmaneser, and the body of the two tribes by Titus, are not now in Canaan; yet since the period of their final restoration is not yet come, their present case is so far from being an objection against these ancient prophecies before us, that it would be a great one against the others if it were so. And he who considers that the prediction, now under consideration, has hitherto been exactly fulfilled in all the periods already past, cannot doubt of the fulfilling of what remains to come in its proper season, and will not question but that God will ultimately and completely, as he promised, give to the seed of Abraham all the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession. See Ezek. xxxvii. 25.

4. The twenty-eighth chapter of the book of Deuteronomy contains a series of most striking predictions relative to the Jews, which are fulfilling to this very day. Bp. Newton and Dr. Graves have shown its accomplishment at great length.[1] To specify a very few particulars:—

(1.) Moses *foretold that they should be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth,—"scattered among all people, from one end of the earth even unto the other,—find no ease or rest,—be oppressed and crushed always,—be left few in number among the heathen,—pine away in their iniquity in their enemies' land,—and become an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word unto all nations."*

These predictions were literally fulfilled during the subjection of the Jews to the Chaldeans and Romans; and in later times, in all nations where they have been dispersed. Moses foretold that their enemies would besiege and take their cities; and this prophecy was fulfilled by Shishak king of Egypt, Shalmaneser king of Assyria, Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus Epiphanes, Sosius, and Herod, and finally, by Titus. Though dispersed throughout all nations, they have remained distinct from them all; and notwithstanding the various oppressions and persecutions to which they have in every age been exposed in different parts of the world, "there is not a country on the face of the earth where the Jews are unknown. They are found alike in Europe, Asia, America, and Africa. They are citizens of the world, without a country. Neither mountains, nor rivers, nor deserts, nor oceans,—which are the boundaries of other nations,—have terminated their wanderings. They abound in Poland, in Holland, in Russia, and in Turkey. In Germany, Spain, Italy, France, and Britain, they are more thinly scattered. In Persia, China, and India,—on the east and the west of the Ganges,—they are *few in number among the heathen.* They have trod the snows of Siberia, and the sands of the burning desert; and the European traveller hears of their existence in regions which he cannot reach,—even in the very interior of Africa, south of Timbuctoo.[2] From Moscow to Lisbon,—from Japan to Britain,—from Borneo to Archangel,—from Hindostan to Honduras,—no inhabitant of any nation upon earth would be known in all the intervening regions but a Jew alone."[3]

(2.) *Moses foretold that such grievous famines should prevail during the sieges of their cities, that they should eat the flesh of their sons and daughters.*

This prediction was fulfilled about six hundred years after the time of Moses, among the Israelites, when Samaria was besieged by the king of Syria; again, about nine hundred years after Moses, among the Jews, during the siege of Jerusalem before the Babylonish captivity; and finally, fifteen hundred years after his time, during the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans.

(3.) *Though the Hebrews were to be as the stars of heaven for multitude, Moses predicted that they should be few in number.*

This prophecy was literally fulfilled in the last siege of Jerusalem, in which Josephus tells us that an infinite multitude perished by famine; and he computes the total number who perished by it and by the war in Jerusalem, and other parts of Judæa, at one million two hundred and forty thousand four hundred and ninety, besides ninety-nine thousand two hundred who were made prisoners, and *sold unto their enemies for bondmen and bondwomen:* and after their last overthrow by Hadrian, many thousands of them were sold; and those, for whom purchasers could not be found (Moses had foretold that *no man would buy them*) were transported into Egypt, where multitudes perished by shipwreck or famine, or were massacred by the inhabitants. Since the destruction of Jerusalem, they have been scattered among all nations, *among whom they have found no ease, nor have the soles of their feet had rest:* they have been *oppressed and spoiled ever more,* especially in the East, where the tyranny exercised over them is so severe, as to afford a literal fulfilment of the prediction of Moses, that *thy life shall hang in doubt before thee, and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt* HAVE NONE *assurance of thy life.* (Deut. xxviii. 66.)[4] Yet, notwithstanding all their oppressions, they have still continued a separate people, without incorporating with the natives; *and they have become an astonishment and a by-word among all the nations,* whither they have been carried, since their punishment has been inflicted. The very name of a Jew has been used as a term of peculiar reproach and infamy. Finally, it was foretold that *their plagues should be wonderful, even great plagues, and of long continuance.* And have not their plagues continued more than seventeen hundred years? In comparison of them, their former captivities were very short: during their captivity in Chaldæa, Ezekiel, and Daniel prophesied; but now they have no true prophet to foretell the end of their calamities. What nation has suffered so much, and yet endured so long? What nation has subsisted as a distinct people in their own country so long as the Jews have done in their dispersion into all countries? And what a *standing miracle* is thus exhibited to the world, in the fulfilment, at this very time, of prophecies delivered considerably more than three thousand years ago! What a permanent attestation is it to the divine legation of Moses!

5. JOSIAH was prophetically announced by name, three hundred and sixty-one years before the event (1 Kings xiii. 2.) by a prophet, who came out of Judah on purpose to de-

[1] Bishop Newton on the Prophecies, vol. i. diss. vii. Dr. Graves on the Pentateuch, vol. ii. pp. 417—443. See also Mr. Kett's History, the Interpreter of Prophecy, vol. i. pp. 87—122.

[2] Lyon's Travels in Africa, p. 146.

[3] Keith's Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion from the Fulfilment of Prophecy, p. 84. (8vo. edition.) In pp. 80—160. there is a compendious and excellently arranged digest of the predictions respecting the Jews, and their accomplishment.

[4] "The condition of the Jews in Palestine is more *insecure*, and exposed to insult and exaction, than in Egypt and Syria, from the frequent lawless and oppressive conduct of the governors and chiefs." (Carne's Letters from the East, p. 305.) The quarter of Jerusalem, now inhabited by the Jews (all travellers attest), presents nothing but filth and wretchedness. "Poor wretches! every thing about them exhibited signs of depression and misery: outcasts from the common rights and sympathies of men; oppressed and despised alike by Mahometans and Christians; living as aliens in the inheritance of their fathers,—what an awful lesson of unbelief do they hold out!" (Three Weeks in Palestine, p. 69.) The Rev. Mr. Jowett, speaking of the actual state of the Jews in the East, relates the following circumstances (on the authority of a gentleman who had for some years been the British consul at Tripoli), which strikingly illustrate the accomplishment of prophecy, as well as the state of degradation in which the Jews there live. "The life of a man seems to be there valued no more than the life of a moth. If the Bey has a fear or jealousy of any man, he sends some one to put a pistol to his head and shoot him. If it happens to be a Christian remonstrance is made by the consul of his nation; the Bey is quite ready to give satisfaction; he sends some one to shoot the first agent of his cruelty; and then, with an air of great regret, asks the consul if he is satisfied; if not, he is ready to give him satisfaction still further. But if the object of his wrath be a Jew, no one would think of demanding satisfaction for his death. This people feel the curse in full, that, among the nations where they are scattered, they should *find no ease, and have none assurance of their life.* They are known, by their being compelled to wear a particular dress, which they sometimes change IN THEIR OWN HOUSES, on occasion of their merry-makings; but even in these they are not free, the Moors exercising the privilege of free ingress at any time. When a vessel comes into port, the merchant (a Mahometan) compels every Jew, whom he meets by the way, to come and help in unlading, carrying, &c.; nor do they dare to resist." (Jowett's Christian Researches in the Mediterranean, p. 231. London, 1822, 8vo. See also his Christian Researches in Syria, pp. 232—234. London, 1825. 8vo.) Nor is the situation of the Jews in Persia much better. "It is disgusting," says a recent intelligent traveller, "to see the way in which the Persians abuse and oppress the unfortunate Israelites. When a Persian wishes to have the snow cleaned from his flat-roofed house, he goes into a street, and catches a Jew, and obliges him to perform the office. For the murder of a Jew, a Persian has only to cut round a finger, so as to draw blood, and the offence is expiated." (Alexander's Travels from India to England, p. 178. London, 1827. 4to.) On the degraded and insecure state of the Jews in Turkey, Mr. Hartley has collected some painfully interesting anecdotes. (Researches in Greece, pp. 202—208.)

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nounce the judgments of God upon the priests of the altar, and upon the altar itself, which Jeroboam had then recently erected at Bethel.

The delivery of this prediction was accompanied with two miracles: one wrought upon Jeroboam, by the drying up of his hand, which he had raised against the prophet, at whose prayer it was restored to him again; the other miracle was performed upon the altar by rending it and pouring the ashes from it. The fulfilment of this prophecy was no less remarkable, plainly showing it to be, —not from man, but from God. (2 Kings xxxiii. 15.)

6. ISAIAH predicted the utter subversion of idolatry among the Jews. (ii. 18—21.)

On their return from the Babylonish captivity, more than two hundred years afterwards, they were perfectly cured of this strange infatuation.—The same prophet foretold, that general distress and ruin would befall the Jewish people, on account of their extreme wickedness; and within two hundred years afterwards the calamities denounced overtook them. (Isa. iii. 1—14. compared with 2 Chron. xxxvi.) On the capture, however, of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans, a few poor persons were left to till the land, precisely as Isaiah had prophesied. (Isa. xxiv. 13, 14. compared with Jer. xxxix. 10.)

7. JEREMIAH foretold the conquests of Nebuchadnezzar, and the captivity of the Jews by him, in so remarkable and solemn a manner, that it was notorious to all the neighbouring nations.

According to the custom of delivering prophecies by visible signs, as well as words, he sent bonds and yokes "to the kings of Edom, Moab, the Ammonites, Tyre, and Zidon, by the hand of the messengers which came to Jerusalem (from these several kings) unto Zedekiah king of Judah;" and foretold, "that all these nations should serve Nebuchadnezzar, and his son, and his son's son." (Jer. xxvii. 3—7.)—And the Jews put him in prison for this prophecy; where he was kept, when Nebuchadnezzar took the city, and set him at liberty. (xxxix. 11—14.) This prophet was opposed and contradicted by several false prophets, who prophesied deceitful and flattering delusions to the people, persuading them that no evil should come upon them; of whom Jeremiah foretold, that Hananiah should die that same year in which he uttered his false prophecies (xxviii. 16, 17.), and that Ahab the son of Kolaiah, and Zedekiah the son of Maaseiah, should be taken captive by Nebuchadnezzar, and slain in the sight of the people of Judah, and roasted in the fire. (xxix. 21, 22.)—And thus distinctly foretelling the time and manner of the death of those false prophets, he vindicated his own prophecies, which were at first so unwillingly believed, beyond all contradiction. But that which seemed most strange, and was most objected against, in the prophecies of Jeremiah, was his prediction concerning the death of Zedekiah; in which he and Ezekiel were thought to contradict each other.—Jeremiah prophesied in Jerusalem, at the same time when Ezekiel prophesied in Babylon, and concerning the same things; and Jeremiah's prophecy was sent to the captives in Babylon, and Ezekiel's to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Now these two prophets, writing of the captivity of Zedekiah, enumerate all the circumstances of it between them, in such a manner, that they were believed to contradict each other; and thus the expectation and attention of the people were then more excited to observe the fulfilment of their prophecies. (Compare Jer. xxxiv. 2—7. and Ezek. xii. 13.)—Jeremiah said that he should see the king of Babylon, and be carried to Babylon; Ezekiel, that he should not see Babylon: Jeremiah, that he should die in peace, and be buried after the manner of his ancestors; Ezekiel, that he should die at Babylon. And if we compare all this with the history, nothing ever was more punctually fulfilled: for Zedekiah saw the king of Babylon, who commanded his eyes to be put out, before he was brought to Babylon; and he died there, but died peaceably, and was suffered to have the usual funeral solemnities. (Jer. xxxix. 4, 7. 2 Kings xxv. 6, 7.) Therefore *both* prophecies proved true in the event, which before seemed to be inconsistent. And so critical an exactness in every minute circumstance, in prophecies delivered by two persons, who were before thought to contradict each other, was such a conviction to the Jews, after they had seen them so punctually fulfilled, in their captivity, that they could no longer doubt but that *both* were from God.

8. While EZEKIEL was a captive in Chaldæa, he prophesied that the Jews, who still remained in Judæa, should be severely chastised for their wickedness; that one-third part of them should die with the pestilence and famine; that another third part should perish by the sword; and that the remainder should be scattered into all the winds; and that even then the sword should follow them. In a very few years all these evils came upon them by the hand of the Chaldæans.[1]

9. The PROFANATION OF THE TEMPLE by Antiochus Epiphanes, together with his death, and a description of his temper, and even of his countenance, was clearly foretold by Daniel, four hundred and eight years before the accomplishment of his prediction. (Dan. viii.) He likewise prophesied the destruction of the city of Jerusalem, the desolation of that city, and also of Judæa, and the cessation of the Jewish sacrifices and oblations. (ix. 26, 27.) The accomplishment of these predictions is attested by all history.

10. Lastly, Hosea foretold the PRESENT STATE of the people of Israel, in these remarkable words:—*They shall be wanderers among the nations.* (ix. 17.)

The preceding are only a small number in comparison of the multitude of predictions (nearly two hundred) that might have been adduced; and which refer to the Israelites and Jews, and other descendants of Abraham. We now proceed to

CLASS II.

Prophecies relating to the Nations or Empires that were neighbouring to the Jews.

1. TYRE was one of the most flourishing and opulent cities of ancient times. The inhabitants became very wicked and abandoned; and the Hebrew prophets were commanded to foretell its ruin. At the time their predictions were uttered, the city was extremely prosperous, successful in commerce, and abounding in riches and glory. These predictions were extremely minute and circumstantial;[2] and announced that the city was to be taken and destroyed by the Chaldæans (who, at the time of the delivery of the prophecy, were an inconsiderable people), and particularly by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon; that the inhabitants should flee over the Mediterranean into the adjacent islands and countries, and even there should not find a quiet settlement; that the city should be restored after seventy years, and return to her gain and merchandise; that it should be taken and destroyed a second time; that the people should, in time, forsake their idolatry, and become converts to the worship and true religion of God; and, finally, that the city should be totally destroyed, and become a place only for fishers to spread their nets upon. All these predictions were literally fulfilled:[3] for want of room, we are compelled to notice here only those predictions which denounce its utter destruction.

Thus saith the Lord God, Behold I am against thee, O Tyrus, and will cause many nations to come up against thee, as the sea causeth his waves to come up; and they shall destroy the walls of Tyrus and break down her towers; I will also scrape her dust from her, and make her like the top of a rock. It shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea: for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God. (Ezek. xxvi. 3—5.) To show the certainty of the destruction, the prophet repeats it: (ver. 14.) *I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon; thou shalt be built no more, for I the Lord have spoken it.* And again, *I will make thee a terror, and thou shalt be no more; though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again, saith the Lord God.* (ver. 21.) *All they that know thee among the people, shall be astonished at thee; thou shalt be a terror, and never shalt thou be any more.* (xxviii. 19.)

These various predictions received their accomplishment by degrees. Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the old city; and Alexander the Great employed its ruins and rubbish in making a causeway from the continent to the island whereon it had been erected, both of which were henceforth joined together. "It is no wonder, therefore," as a learned traveller has remarked,[4] "that there are no signs of the ancient city; and as it is a sandy shore, the face of every thing is altered, and the great aqueduct in many parts is almost buried in the sand." So that, as to this part of the city, the prophecy has literally been fulfilled, "Thou shalt be built no more: though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again." It may be questioned, whether the new city ever after arose to that height of power, wealth, and greatness, to which it was elevated in the times of Isaiah and Ezekiel.

[1] Ezek. v. 12. and viii. and, for the fulfilment, see Prideaux's Connection, part i. book i. sub anno 588. vol. i. pp. 80—84. 8th edit.

[2] See Isa. xxiii. Jer. xxv. Ezek. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii. Amos i. 9, 10. Zech. ix. 1—8.

[3] See a copious illustration of them in Bp. Newton's eleventh Dissertation, and in Rollin's Ancient History, book xv. sect. 6. vol. v. pp. 94—102.

[4] Bp. Pococke's Description of the East, vol. ii. pp. 81, 82.

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it received a great blow from Alexander, not only by his taking and burning the city, but much more by his building of Alexandria in Egypt, which in time deprived it of much of its trade, and thus contributed more effectually to its ruin. It had the misfortune afterwards of changing its masters often, being sometimes in the hands of the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt, and sometimes of the Seleucidæ, kings of Syria, till at length it fell under the dominion of the Romans. It was taken by the Saracens[1] about the year of Christ 639, in the reign of Omar their third emperor. It was retaken by the Christians[2] during the time of the holy war, in the year 1124, Baldwin, the second of that name, being then king of Jerusalem, and assisted by a fleet of the Venetians. From the Christians[3] it was taken again, in the year 1289, by the Mamelukes of Egypt, under their Sultan Alphix, who sacked and razed this and Sidon, and other strong towns, in order that they might never afford any harbour or shelter to the Christians. From the Mamelukes it was again taken in the year 1516, by Selim, the ninth emperor of the Turks; and under their dominion it continues at present. But, alas, how fallen, how changed from what it was formerly! For from being the centre of trade, frequented by all the merchant ships of the east and west, it is now become a heap of ruins, visited only by the boats of a few poor fishermen. So that, as to this part likewise of the city, the prophecy has literally been fulfilled: —*I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon.*[4]

How utterly this once flourishing city is now destroyed, agreeably to the divine predictions, every traveller attests who has visited its site. We select two or three of the most striking.

Dr. SHAW, who travelled in the former part of the last century, says, "I visited several creeks and inlets, in order to discover what provision there might have been formerly made for the security of their vessels. Yet notwithstanding that Tyre was the chief maritime power of this country, I could not observe the least token of either *cothon* or harbour that could have been of any extraordinary capacity. The coasting ships, indeed, still find a tolerably good shelter from the northern winds under the southern shore, but are obliged immediately to retire, when the winds change to the west or south: so that there must have been some better station than this for their security and reception. In the N. N. E. part likewise of the city, we see the traces of a safe and commodious basin, lying within the walls; but which at the same time is very small, scarce forty yards in diameter. Neither could it ever have enjoyed a larger area, unless the buildings which now circumscribe it were encroachments upon its original dimensions. Yet even this port, small as it is at present, is notwithstanding so choked up with sand and rubbish, that the boats of these poor fishermen, who now and then visit this once renowned emporium, can with great difficulty only be admitted."[5]

"This city," says MAUNDRELL, who travelled nearly about the same time, "standing in the sea upon a peninsula, promises at a distance something very magnificent. But when you come to it, you find no similitude of that glory, for which it was so renowned in ancient times, and which the prophet Ezekiel describes, chap. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii. On the north side it has an old Turkish ungarrisoned castle; besides which you see nothing here, but a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there being not so much as one entire house left: its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly upon fishing, who seem to be preserved in this place by Divine Providence, as a visible argument how God has fulfilled his word concerning Tyre, viz. that *it should be as the top of a rock, a place for fishers to dry their nets on.*"[6]

"Of this once powerful mistress of the ocean," says a recent traveller, "there now exist scarcely any traces. Some miserable cabins, ranged in irregular lines, dignified with the name of streets, and a few buildings of a rather better description, occupied by the officers of government, compose nearly the whole of the town. It still makes, indeed, some languishing efforts at commerce, and contrives to export annually to Alexandria cargoes of silk and tobacco, but the amount merits no consideration. —'*The noble dust of Alexander, traced by the imagination till found stopping a beer barrel,*' would scarcely afford a stronger contrast of grandeur and debasement than Tyre, at the period of being besieged by that conqueror, and the modern town of Tsour erected on its ashes."[7]

2. EGYPT was one of the most ancient and powerful kingdoms in former ages; and at one period is *said* to have contained eighteen thousand cities and seventeen millions of inhabitants. The revolutions and state of this kingdom were minutely described by the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.[8] The last-mentioned prophet, among other most striking denunciations, expressly says, that *Egypt shall be the basest of kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations: for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations. I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from the tower of Syene even under the border of Ethiopia. The pride of her power shall come down: from the tower of Syene shall they fall in it by the sword. And I will make the rivers dry, and sell the land into the hand of the wicked, and I will make the land waste, and all that is therein, by the hand of strangers. I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause their idols to cease out of Noph* (or Memphis, Ezek. xxix. 15. 10. xxx. 6. 12, 13).

It is now upwards of two thousand four hundred years since this prophecy was delivered; and what likelihood or appearance was there, that so great a kingdom, so rich and fertile a country, should for so many ages bow under a foreign yoke, and never during that long period be able to recover its liberties, and have a prince of its own to reign over them? But as is the prophecy, so is the event. For, not long afterwards, Egypt was successively attacked and conquered by the Babylonians and Persians: on the subversion of the Persian empire by Alexander, it became subject to the Macedonians, then to the Romans, and after them to the Saracens, then to the Mamelukes, and is now a province of the Turkish Empire; and the general character of its inhabitants is a compound of baseness, treachery, covetousness, and malice.[9] Syene is in ruins; and the idols of Egypt are scattered. And all modern travellers attest that the numerous canals with which this country was anciently intersected are (with the exception of a few in Lower Egypt) now neglected. The consequence is, that a very large proportion of the country is abandoned to sand and to unfruitfulness, while the effect is a fulfilment of the threatening, *I will make her rivers dry.* The annual supply of enriching and fertilizing water being now lost to an immense tract of country on both sides of the Nile, sand, the natural soil, prevails: vegetation, which once bound together the earth by the roots and fibres of grass, is burnt up. And what was once a fruitful field has become desolate, overwhelmed by flying blasts of sand, and consigned to ages of solitude.[10]

3. ETHIOPIA was a very considerable kingdom of Africa, bordering upon Egypt. Its doom was denounced by the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel;[11] and Nahum, *after* its accomplishment, declares what that doom was:—*Art thou better*, says he to Nineveh, *than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite; Put and Lubim were thy helpers. Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity; her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets: and they cast lots for her honourable men.* (Nah. iii. 8—10.)

Ethopia was invaded and most cruelly ravaged by Sennacherib king of Assyria, or Esarhaddon his son, and also by Cambyses king of Persia. About the time of our Saviour's birth, the Romans ravaged part of this country; and since the subversion of their empire, it has been ravaged successively by the Saracens, Turks, and Giagas.

4. NINEVEH was the metropolis of the Assyrian empire, *an exceeding great city*, according to the prophet Jonah (iii. 3.), whose statement is confirmed by profane historians, *of three days' journey* in circuit, and containing a population of more than six hundred thousand inhabitants. Though the Ninevites repented at the preaching of Jonah, yet that repentance was of no long continuance: for soon after, Nahum predicted not only the total destruction of that city, which was accomplished one hundred and fifteen years afterwards, but also the manner in which it was to be effected.

[1] Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 340.
[2] Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 250. Vers. Pocockii. Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut, vol. i. p. 26.
[3] Savage's Abridgment, vol. i. p. 95. Pococke's Description of the East, vol. ii. book i. chap. 23. p. 83.
[4] Bp. Newton on the Prophecies, vol. i. p. 198. edit. 1792.
[5] Shaw's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 30, 31. 3d edit.
[6] Maundrell's Travels, p. 48.
[7] Jolliffe's Letters from Palestine, p. 13. 1820. 8vo.
[8] See Isa. xix. Jer. xliii. 8—13. and xlvi. and Ezek. chapters xxix.—xxxii
[9] The prophecies concerning Egypt are minutely considered and illustrated by Bishop Newton in his twelfth Dissertation.
[10] Jowett's Christian Researches, p. 164.
[11] See Isa. xviii. 1—6. xx. 3—5. xlii. 3. Ezek. xxx. 4—6

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While they were folden together as thorns, they were devoured as the stubble full dry. (i. 10.)

The Medians, under the command of Arbaces, being informed of the negligence and drunkenness that prevailed in their camp, assaulted them by night, and drove such of the soldiers as survived the defeat, into the city. *The gates of the river shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved;* which, Diodorus Siculus informs us, was literally fulfilled. And its utter destruction foretold by Nahum (i. 8, 9. ii. 8—13. iii. 17—19.) and Zephaniah (ii. 13—15.), has been so entirely accomplished, that no vestiges whatever have remained of it. Such an *utter end* has been made of it, and such is the truth of the divine predictions.[1]

5. Concerning BABYLON, it was foretold that it *should be shut up by the Medes, Elamites*, and other nations (Isa. xiii. 4. Jer. li. 7.); that *the river* Euphrates *should be dried up* (Isa. xliv. 27. Jer. l. 38. li. 36.); and that the *city should be taken by surprise during the time of a feast, when all her rulers and mighty men were drunken.* (Jer. l. 24. li. 39. 57.)

All which was accomplished when Belshazzar and his thousand princes, who were drunk with him at a great feast, were slain by Cyrus's soldiers (men of various nations) after Cyrus had turned the course of the Euphrates, which ran through the midst of Babylon, and so drained its waters, that the river became easily fordable for his soldiers to enter the city. Further, it was particularly foretold, that *God would make the country a possession for the bittern,*[2] *and pools of water* (Isa. xiv. 23.); which was accordingly fulfilled, by the country being overflowed, and becoming boggy and marshy, in consequence of the Euphrates being turned out of its course in order to take the city, and never restored to its former channel. Could the correspondence of these events with the predictions be the result of chance? But suppose these predictions were forged after the event, can the following also have been written after the event, or with any reason be ascribed to chance?

The wild beasts of the desert shall dwell there,—and the owls shall dwell therein; and it shall be no more inhabited for ever, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation. As God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and the neighboring cities therof,—so shall no man dwell there, neither shall any son of man dwell therein.—They shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for foundations; but thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the Lord.—Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment and a hissing, without an inhabitant.—Babylon shall sink and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her. Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there,—and dragons in their pleasant places.[3]

It is astonishing with what exactness these various predictions have been accomplished. After its capture by Cyrus, it ceased to be a metropolis. It was afterwards dispeopled by the erection of the new cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon (B. C. 293), which were built with this design in its neighbourhood, and which completed the ruin and desolation of Babylon,—a desolation that continues to this day.[4]

6. Daniel predicted the fate of the FOUR GREAT MONARCHIES, viz. the subversion of the Babylonian empire by the Medo-Persians, and of the Persian empire by the Grecians, under Alexander the Great; the division of his empire into four parts, which accordingly took place after the death of Alexander; and the rise of the Romans, who were to reduce all other kingdoms under their dominion, and form one vast empire, that was to be different from all former kingdoms.

The Romans *did* arise, and reduce all other kingdoms under their dominion; and did actually form one vast republic, which was different from all other governments that had preceded it. The prophecies of Daniel, and his history of the four monarchies, are so exactly parallel, that the celebrated infidel Porphyry, in the second century, could only evade the force of them by asserting, contrary to all evidence, that they were written long after the events: which is as absurd as if any one should maintain that the works of Virgil were not written under Augustus, but after his time; for the book of Daniel was as public, as widely dispersed, and as universally received, as any book could ever possibly be.

Here let us pause, and consider the series of predictions exhibited in the preceding pages, which indeed form only a small part in comparison of those which might have been adduced. Let the reader carefully and impartially survey them, and contrast them with their respective accomplishments; and let him then say, whether the prophecies do not contain information *more than human?* Not to dwell on general prophecies, let him select the five first of those contained in this second class, and compare and meditate fully on these five predictions. "The priority of the records to the events admits of no question; the completion is obvious to every inquirer. Here then are five facts. We are called upon to account for those facts upon rational and adequate principles. Is human foresight equal to the chance? Enthusiasm? Conjecture? Chance? Political contrivance? If none of these—neither any other principle that may be devised by man's sagacity—can account for the facts; then true philosophy, as well as true religion, will ascribe them to the inspiration of the Almighty. Every effect must have a cause. But if God is the author of these predictions, then the book which contains them is stamped with the seal of heaven: a rich vein of evidence runs through the volume of the Old Testament; the Bible *is* true; infidelity is confounded for ever; and we may address its patrons in the language of Saint Paul—*Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish!*"[6]

CLASS III.

Prophecies directly announcing the Messiah.

IF we turn from the prophecies respecting the circumstances of individuals, as well as the empires and kingdoms of the world in ancient times, to those predictions in which we ourselves are more immediately concerned, we shall find that they are not less remarkable, and astonishingly minute.

The great object of the prophecies of the Old Testament is the redemption of mankind. This, as soon as Adam's fall had made it necessary, the mercy of God was pleased to foretell. And, as the time for its accomplishment drew near, the predictions concerning it gradually became so clear, that almost every circumstance in the life and character of the most extraordinary personage that ever appeared among men was most distinctly foretold. The connection of the predictions belonging to the Messiah, with those which are confined to the Jewish people, gives additional force to the argument from prophecy; affording a strong proof of the intimate union which subsists between the two dispensations of Moses and of Jesus Christ, and equally precluding the artful pretensions of human imposture, and the daring opposition of human power. The plan of prophecy was so wisely constituted, that the passions and prejudices of the Jews, instead of frustrating, fulfilled it, and rendered the person, to whom they referred, the suffering and crucified Saviour who had been promised. It is worthy of remark, that most of these predictions were delivered nearly, and some of them more than three thousand years ago. Any one of them is sufficient to indicate a prescience more than human: but the collective force of all taken together is such, that nothing more can be necessary to prove the interposition of omniscience, than the establishment of their authenticity; and this, even at so remote a period as the present, we have already seen, is placed beyond all doubt. For the books, in which they are contained, are known to have been written at the time to which, and by the persons to whom, they are respectively assigned, and also to have been translated into different languages, and dispersed into different parts, long *before* the coming of Christ. It is absurd, therefore, to suppose that any forgery with respect to them, if attempted by the first Christians

1 Bp. Newton, vol. i. Diss. ix.

2 The Hon. Capt. Keppel, who visited the ruins of Babylon in the year 1824, thus describes the scene:—"As far as the eye could reach, the horizon presented a broken line of mounds: the whole of this place was a desert flat; the only vegetation was a small prickly shrub thinly scattered over the plain, and some patches of grass where the water had lodged in pools, occupied by immense flocks of *bitterns*: so literally has the prophecy of Isaiah been fulfilled respecting devoted Babylon, that it should be 'swept with the besom of destruction,' that it should be made 'a possession for the *bittern* and pools of water.'" Narrative of a Journey from India to England, vol. i. p. 125. (London, 1827. 8vo.) In pp. 171—188. Capt. Keppel has described the present state of the ruins of Babylon.

3 Jer. l. 39, 40. li. 26. 37. 64. Isa. xiii. 19—22.

4 Bp. Newton, vol. i. Diss. x. See also Kett's History, the Interpreter of Prophecy, vol. i. pp 123. *et seq.*

5 Dan. ii. 39, 40. vii. 17—24. viii. and ix. Bp. Newton, 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th Dissertations, and Brown's Harmony of Scripture Prophecy chapters xii.—xiv. pp. 141—174. Edinburgh, 1800. Religionis Naturalis et Revelatæ Principia, tom. ii. pp. 142—158.

6 A Key to the Prophecies, by the Rev. David Simpson, p. 76.

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should not have been immediately detected: and still more absurd, if possible, to suppose that any passages thus forged should *afterwards* have been admitted universally into their Scriptures by the Jews themselves; who, from the first application of these predictions to Jesus Christ, have endeavoured by every method to pervert their meaning. Surely, if the prophecies in question had not been found at that time in the writings to which the first propagators of Christianity appealed, the Jews needed only to produce those writings, in order to refute the imposition: and since no refutation was then attempted, it was a demonstration to the men of that age; and the same prophecies, being found there *now*, without the possibility of accounting for it if they were forged, convey in all reason as forcible a demonstration to ourselves at present, that they were written there from the beginning, and, consequently, by divine inspiration.[1]

The prophecies which respect the Messiah are neither few in number, nor vague and equivocal in their reference; but numerous, pointed, and particular. They bear on them those discriminating marks, by which divine inspiration may be distinguished from the conjectures of human sagacity; and a necessary or probable event from a casual and uncertain contingency. They are such as cannot be referred to the dictates of mere natural penetration; because they are not confined to general occurrences, but point out with singular exactness a variety of minute circumstances relating to times, places, and persons which were neither objects of foresight nor conjecture, because they were not necessarily connected with the principal event, or even probable either in themselves or in their relation. They were such as could only have occurred to a mind, that was under the immediate influence of the Divinity, by which distant periods were revealed, and the secrets of unborn ages disclosed. The scheme of prophecy, considered in its first opening, its gradual advance, and its final and full completion in the advent, the ministry, the death, and resurrection of the Messiah, and the extensive progress of the gospel among the Gentiles, together with its blessed influence on individuals, societies, countries, and the whole race of mankind—is an object, the greatest and most sublime that imagination can conceive, and the most pleasing and important that the human mind can contemplate. *To Jesus give all the prophets witness;* and around him they throw the beams of their united light. In illustration of these remarks, we shall now select a *few* of the most striking predictions relative to the Messiah, and shall show their accomplishment in the person of Jesus Christ; referring the reader to the Appendix for a more copious series of prophecies, with their fulfilment in the very words of the writers of the New Testament.[2]

We behold the promise of a Redeemer given to our first parents, immediately after the fall, in obscure and general terms. (Gen. iii. 15.) It foretold a victory which would be gained over the enemy that had deceived and conquered them; a victory the most illustrious in its effects and consequences, and which should amply revenge on the serpent's head the evils and miseries which he had introduced into the world. Further, we behold the promise renewed, in somewhat clearer language, to the patriarchs, particularly to Abraham, the great father of the faithful, and the precise line indicated from which the Messiah was to be descended; the fulfilment of which prophetic promise may be seen in the genealogies of Jesus Christ, taken from the public registers by Matthew and Luke.

The prophets have not only foretold, in general terms, a great revolution that would take place in the world by the coming of the Messiah; but they have delineated some particular circumstances attending it, which only the eye of Omniscience could have foreseen. They have marked out the precise time and place of the Messiah's birth; they have described with wonderful exactness the distinguishing features of his office and character; they have displayed with equal beauty and truth the effects and consequences of his advent; and, through all their predictions, something pointing to the Messiah, either by direct application, or by secondary and distant reference, is so interwoven with the general contexture, the universal scheme of prophecy, that, by keeping it in our eye, we shall be furnished with a clue to trace out their ultimate design, and contemplate their mutual connection with, and dependence on, each other: for *the testimony of Jesus is*, clearly and eminently, *the spirit of prophecy*. This is its ruling and vital principle. Divested of this, it loses its spirit and its power. We behold no consistency: the impression of its dignity is weakened; its object is debased; its end is darkened. But, viewed in this light, we behold in it a harmony which delights, a grandeur which astonishes, and from the result of the whole arises such evidence as carries conviction to the understanding.[3] More particularly,

1. The prophecies of the Old Testament distinctly announced that the MESSIAH WAS TO COME, when the government should be utterly lost from Judah. *The sceptre* (peculiar prerogative and dignity) *shall not depart from Judah till Shiloh come.* (Gen. xlix. 10.) This prediction all the ancient Jews applied to the Messiah.

The tribe of Judah is no longer a political body; it has no authority or magistrates of its own, but is dispersed and confounded among the other tribes of Jews; its present condition, therefore, is an evident mark that Shiloh, or the Messiah, is already come.

2. Daniel points out the precise TIME in which he was to come, to make an end of sin, to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in an everlasting righteousness.[4] He fixes the seventy weeks (of years, that is, four hundred and ninety years), on one side, at the edict of Artaxerxes, for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, which was accomplished by Nehemiah; and, on the other, at the death of the Messiah, and the establishment of his church. The two points of this duration are therefore known, and one determines the other: the term at which a revolution of four hundred and ninety years commences necessarily shows where it ends. The prophets Haggai and Malachi[5] foretold that the Messiah, *the desire of all nations, whom they were seeking*, should come before the destruction of the second temple, and that his presence should fill it with a glory which the first temple had not, though it was far richer and more magnificent.

Jesus Christ preached in that temple, which was totally destroyed, within forty years afterwards. This second temple has been destroyed upwards of seventeen centuries; whence it is manifest that more than seventeen centuries have elapsed since the Messiah came.

3. The PLACE where the Messiah was to be born,—viz. Bethlehem,—and the TRIBE from which he was to spring (that of Judah), were literally predicted by Micah.

Both these circumstances are recorded by the evangelists as fulfilled; the providence of God so ordering it that Augustus should then command a general census to be taken, which caused Joseph and Mary to go to Bethlehem, not only that she might be delivered there, but that, their names being there entered, their family might be ascertained, and no doubt might afterwards arise as to their being of *the line of David*. All the evangelists have mentioned that Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa, and that this is an undoubted *fact* we are informed by Paul, when he asserts that *it is evident our Lord sprang out of Judah.*[6]

4. The prophet Isaiah has particularly foretold, that the Messiah should be BORN of a virgin (Isa. vii. 14.), and that he should descend from the family of David (ix. 6, 7. xi. 1, 2.), which was a particular branch of the tribe of Judah. While he points out his miraculous birth, and describes his descent, he portrays his character in colours so striking and distinguishing, as to render its appropriation to Christ obvious to every one who compares the picture with the original. It was this holy prophet that foretold that the Messiah should be (liii. 1, 2, 3.) destitute of outward power or influence to attract the esteem and insure the attachment of the world; that though in the eye of God he should be (xxviii. 16.) *the chief corner-stone*, elect, precious; yet that he should be (viii. 14, 15.) *a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence* to men who were guided by the springs which in general actuate the human breast, such as interest, ambition, and the love of sensual enjoyments: and particularly it was foretold, that the Jews *should fall on this rock;* should refuse to build on him as the only foundation of their hopes; but should, in their attempt to shake and overthrow it, be themselves scattered and broken to pieces. The same prophet declared that he should (vi. 9, 10, 11.) veil the eyes of the wise and learned, and preach the gospel to the poor and illiterate; that he should (xlii. 1, &c.) restore sight to the blind, health to the diseased, and light to those who had been oppressed with darkness; that he should teach the true and perfect way, and should be the great instructor of the Gentiles; that (lx. 10)

[1] Dr. Evelyn's Bampton Lectures for 1792, pp. 210, 211.
[2] See the Appendix to this volume, No. VI. chapter i.
[3] Dr. White's Bampton Lectures, p. 291. 2d edit.
[4] Dan. ix. 24—27.
[5] Haggai ii. 6—9. Mal. iii. 1
[6] Micah v. 2. Matt. ii. 1 Heb. vii. 14.

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kings should fall down before him, and all nations pay him homage and obedience; that his reign should be gentle and benevolent; and that the influence of his gospel should harmonize the jarring (lv. 13.) passions of mankind, and, together with the knowledge and worship of the true God, establish peace and purity on the earth. (lvi. 6, 7, 8.)

5. In the fifty-third chapter, the prophet gives a most striking and affecting picture of the temper and behaviour of the Messiah amidst the most distressing and humiliating scenes through which he passed. His DEATH, considered as the great propitiation for the sins of the whole world, was an object of such vast importance, that it pleased the Divine Being strongly to mark the more distinguished circumstances of it in prophetic language; to the end that our faith in him might have every evidence to confirm it that was necessary to give satisfaction to modest and impartial inquirers.

The fact in every respect corresponded with the prediction; and so far was the prophet introduced into the secret counsels of the divine mind, that when he spoke of future events, he appears to be relating their past history: for to that omniscient God, whose light directed the prophet's eye through the darkest recesses of distant ages, prescience and accomplishment are the same; and the future and the past form but one object. Hence the most striking scenes of Christ's passion are delineated by the prophetic pencil with the same truth and exactness as if they had been drawn on the spot when the secret volume of the divine decrees was unrolled, and when that which had been foreseen in vision was exhibited in reality.[1]

In addition to these prophecies of Isaiah, we may remark, that long before his time David foretold the change of the order of the priesthood by the Messiah,—the office he should sustain,—the sufferings which he should undergo,—and the glorious triumphs he should enjoy from his resurrection, his ascension, and the extensive propagation of his gospel.[2]

6. The Messiah was NOT to lie in the grave and see corruption,[3] but was to be raised from the dead on the third day after his interment,[4] and to ascend into heaven, there to reign at his Father's right hand, invested with universal dominion.[5]

How exactly all these things were accomplished in the person of Christ is obvious to every one that carefully compares these predictions with their fulfilment.

[1] Compare Mark xx. 27, 28.—White's Bampton Lectures, pp. 291—294. So striking is the prediction of Isaiah above referred to, and with such precision has it been fulfilled in the person of Jesus Christ, that the modern opposers of revelation are obliged to have recourse to the most absurd and contradictory assertions in order to evade the forcible argument which it affords to the truth of the Scriptures. Thus some have affirmed, that the prophecy in question was composed *after* the commencement of the Christian æra. Not to repeat the evidence already adduced (see pp. 27—33. *supra*) for the genuineness of Isaiah's writings as a component part of the Old Testament, we may remark that this assertion is completely refuted by the *fact* of his prophecy being extant in the Septuagint Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures, which was executed *only* 282 years BEFORE the Christian æra. Other opposers of revelation assert that Jeremiah is the person to whom the prophet referred. This opinion was first asserted by the Jewish rabbi Saadiah Gaon (in Aben Ezra's commentary on Isaiah), and was adopted by Grotius, from whom it has been copied by Collins, Paine, and other infidel writers. But the characters given of the person, who is the subject of this prophecy, by no means agree with Jeremiah. For this person is represented as one without guilt, entirely free from sin, and who had never gone astray like other men; as one who was to suffer for the sins of others, which sufferings he was to bear with the utmost patience,—nay, he was even to make intercession for those transgressors who were the cause of his sufferings; and though he was to be *cut off*, or die, yet he was to live again, have a large number of disciples and followers, and be highly exalted and dignified. Now none of these characters are applicable to Jeremiah, who was subject to the *same* sinful infirmities as other men are; he was *not* wounded or bruised, nor did he die for the sins of his people; and the sufferings which he underwent on their account he was so far from bearing with patience, that he even *cursed the day wherein he was born* (Jer. xx. 14.) on account of them; and prayed that he might *see the vengeance* of God upon his countrymen (xx. 12.), and that God would *pull them out like sheep for the slaughter, and prepare them for the day of slaughter.* (xii. 3.) Further, Jeremiah had not a large number of disciples, neither was he exalted and extolled as the person described by Isaiah is said to be. But all and every part of this prophecy exactly agrees with the Messiah, Jesus, whose first appearance was mean and abject; on which account he was despised by men, from whom he suffered many things with inexpressible patience, and at last endured an ignominious death, which was an expiatory sacrifice for the sins of the world: and being raised from the dead, he is now exalted high, on his Father's right hand, where he ever lives to make intercession for transgressors; and has ever since had a large number of disciples, who have embraced his doctrines and espoused his cause,—a *seed* which has served him and will continue to serve him until time shall be no more. For an account of other evasions, to which the modern Jews have recourse in order to elude the force of Isaiah's prophecy, see Bp. Pearson on the Creed, pp. 183, 184, folio. 10th edit.; also Paley's Evidences, vol. ii. pp. 1—11., and Religionis Naturalis et Revelatæ Principia, tom. ii. pp. 431—443.

[2] Psal. ii. 6, &c. xxii. cx.

[3] Compare Psal. xvi. 10. with Matt. xxviii. 6.

[4] Compare Hos. vi. 2. with Matt. xx. 19. xxviii. 1—7. and 1 Cor. xv. 4.

[5] Compare Psal. xvi. 11. lxviii. 18. and Isa. ix. 7. Luke xxiv. 50, 51. Acts i. 9. and Matt. xxviii. 18.

7. Lastly it was foretold that the Messiah should ABOLISH THE OLD, and introduce a NEW COVENANT or dispensation with his people; and accordingly, Jesus Christ brought in a more perfect and rational economy.[6]

The old covenant is abolished, and its observance rendered impossible by the expulsion of the Jews from Judæa and Jerusalem, and the destruction by fire of that temple and altar, on which the whole of the Jewish public worship depended. It is, therefore, as impossible to doubt that the mediator of the new covenant is come, as to question those external *facts* which prove that the ancient covenant subsists no longer.

The manner in which the evangelical historians showed the fulfilment of the prophecies by Christ is remarkable, for they did not apply them with hesitation, as if they were doubtful concerning their sense, or undecided as to their object. Their boldness of assertion bore the stamp and character of truth. They had the clearest proofs, more particularly from miracles, that their master was the promised Messiah, and therefore were fully persuaded that all the prophecies centred in him. They appear to have had no conception, that this evidence could, in the nature of things, be referable to any one else; and therefore they pressed the arguments drawn from the Old Testament upon the minds of the unconverted, with all the sincerity of conviction, and all the authority of truth.[7]

The preceding is a *concise* view of the predictions contained in the Old Testament, concerning the advent, life, doctrine, sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ. Such a variety of circumstances, therefore, predicted concerning one person so many years before he was born, and of such an extraordinary nature,—all accomplished in Christ, and in no other person that ever appeared in the world,—point him out with irresistible evidence as the Messiah, the Saviour of mankind. If only *one* single man had left a book of predictions concerning Jesus Christ, and had distinctly and precisely marked out the time, place, manner, and other circumstances of his advent, life, doctrine, death, resurrection, and ascension;—a prophecy, or series of prophecies, so astonishing, so circumstanced, so connected, would be the most wonderful thing in the world, and would have infinite weight. But the miracle is far greater: for, here is a succession of men, for four thousand years, who were widely separated from each other by time and place, yet who regularly, and without any variation, succeeded one another to foretell the same event. Here, therefore, the hand of God is manifest; and Jesus Christ is evidenced to be the Messiah. Since the beginning of the world, all the prophecies have been present to his mind: he has taken from them all that seemed contradictory, when not considered in respect to him; he has equally accomplished them, whether the thing they predicted concerning him were humiliating or divine; and has demonstrated that he is the centre and end of them all, by reducing them to unity in his own person.

Further, by the accomplishment of the prophecies, which is the particular and incommunicable character of Jesus Christ, all seducers or pretended messiahs, whether past or future, are convicted of imposture. A few considerations will fully prove this point.

There is but one deliverer promised, and to one only do the Scriptures bear testimony. Whoever, therefore, has neither been promised nor foretold, can be nothing but an impostor; and whoever cannot ascend as high as the first promise, or grounds himself upon Scriptures less ancient than those of the Jews, stands convicted of imposture by that circumstance alone, either because he has *no* title, or has only a *false* one.

All the prophets foretell what the Messiah is to do and suffer: there can, therefore, be no doubt between him who has done and suffered what the prophets foretold, and him who has had *no knowledge* of their predictions, or has *not* fulfilled them.

Among the predictions of the prophets there are some that cannot be repeated, and which are so annexed to certain times and places, that they cannot be imitated by a *false* Messiah. It was necessary, for instance, that the *true* Messiah should come into the world before the destruction of the second temple, because he was to teach there. It was necessary that he should lay the foundations of the church in Jerusalem, because from Mount Sion it was to be diffused over the whole world. It was necessary that the Jews

[6] Compare Jer. xxxi. 31—34. with Heb. viii 6—13.

[7] Kett on Prophecy, vol. i. p. 198.

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should reject him before their dispersion, because it was to be the punishment of their wilful blindness. Finally, it was necessary that the conversion of the Gentiles should be his work or that of his disciples, since it is by this visible mark that the prophets point him out.

Now the temple is no more; Jerusalem is possessed by strangers; the Jews are dispersed, and the Gentiles are converted. It is clear, therefore, that the Messiah is come; but it is not less manifest that no one else can repeat the proofs which he has given of his coming; and consequently, *no one else can accomplish what the prophets foretold would be fulfilled by the Messiah.*

Bishop Hurd's fine view of prophecy will terminate this class of the Old Testament predictions with great propriety and force. "If," says that very learned and elegant writer, "we look into those writings, we find,—

1. "That prophecy is of a prodigious extent; that it commenced from the fall of man, and reaches to the consummation of all things: that for many ages it was delivered darkly, to few persons, and with large intervals from the date of one prophecy to that of another; but, at length, became more clear, more frequent, and was uniformly carried on in the line of one people, separated from the rest of the world, among other reasons assigned, for this principally, to be the repository of the divine oracles; that, with some intermission, the spirit of prophecy subsisted among that people to the coming of Christ; that he himself and his apostles exercised this power in the most conspicuous manner; and left behind them many predictions, recorded in the books of the New Testament, which profess to respect very distant events, and even run out to the end of time, or, in St. John's expression, to that period, *when the mystery of God shall be perfected.* (Rev. x. 7.)

2. "Further, besides the extent of this prophetic scheme, the dignity of the *person* whom it concerns deserves our consideration. He is described in terms which excite the most august and magnificent ideas. He is spoken of, indeed, sometimes as being *the seed of the woman*, and as *the son of man;* yet so as being at the same time of more than mortal extraction. He is even represented to us, as being superior to men and angels; as far above all principality and power, above all that is accounted great, whether in heaven or in earth; as the word and wisdom of God; as the eternal Son of the Father; as the heir of all things, by whom he made the world; as the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person. We have no words to denote greater ideas than these: the mind of man cannot elevate itself to nobler conceptions. Of such transcendent worth and excellence is that Jesus said to be, to whom all the prophets bear witness.

3. "Lastly, the declared *purpose*, for which the Messiah, prefigured by so long a train of prophecy, came into the world, corresponds to all the rest of the representation. It was not to deliver an oppressed nation from civil tyranny, or to erect a great civil empire, that is, to achieve one of those acts which history accounts most heroic. No: it was not a mighty state, a *victor people*—

"'*Non res Romanæ perituraque regna*—'

that was worthy to enter into the contemplation of this divine person. It was another and far sublimer purpose, which He came to accomplish: a purpose, in comparison of which all our policies are poor and little, and all the performances of man as nothing. It was to deliver a world from ruin; to abolish sin and death; to purify and immortalize human nature: and thus, in the most exalted sense of the words, to be the Saviour of all men, and the blessing of all nations.

"There is no exaggeration in this account. I deliver the undoubted sense, if not always the very words, of Scripture.

"Consider then to what this representation amounts. Let us unite the several parts of it and bring them to a point. A spirit of prophecy pervading all time; characterizing one person, of the highest dignity; and proclaiming the accomplishment of one purpose, the most beneficent, the most divine, that imagination itself can project.—Such is the scriptural delineation, whether we will receive it or no, of that economy which we call Prophetic!"[1]

CLASS IV.

Prophecies delivered by Jesus Christ and his Apostles.

THE predictions delivered by Jesus Christ and his apostles, and which are recorded in the books of the New Testament, are not less evidently the inspiration of Omniscience than those contained in the Old Testament.

The prophecies of Christ, indeed, were such as gave additional evidence to his divine character, and clearly proved him to be filled with a spirit more than human. He uttered numerous predictions of events, altogether improbable on the ground of present appearances, and such as the most penetrating mind could never have foreseen, nor conjectured, much less have described with all their peculiarities, and marked out the several incidents that attended them. Thus, Jesus Christ foretold his own death and resurrection with an enumeration of many circumstances attending them,—the descent of the Holy Spirit,—the astonishing (and to all human views improbable) fate of the temple of Jerusalem, and the total destruction of the city,—and the universal spread of his gospel, together with its extraordinary and glorious triumph over the power and policy of the world, notwithstanding all the violent opposition to which it would be exposed.[2]

1. Jesus Christ foretold his own DEATH several times, with an enumeration of many of the circumstances that were to attend it.

In Matt. xvi. 21. he told his disciples *that he must go to Jerusalem, and there suffer many things of the elders, and chief priests, and scribes, and be killed.* In Mark x. 33, 34. and Matt. xx. 18, 19. he foretells, more particularly, the manner in which they would proceed against him, viz. that *the chief priests and scribes would condemn him to death*, but that they would not put him to death, but *deliver him to the Gentiles, to mock, and scourge, and crucify him*, which was afterwards done by Pilate, the Roman governor. He likewise predicted in what manner this was to be accomplished, as that he would be *betrayed into the hands of men, and by the man who dipped his hands with him in the dish, and that all his disciples would forsake him.* (Matt. xx. 18. xxvi. 23. 31.) And when Peter declared his resolution to adhere to him, Christ foretold that the apostle would deny him, with very particular circumstances of the time and manner of his denial. *This night before the cock crew twice, thou shalt deny me thrice* (Matt. xiv. 30.); all which was punctually accomplished.

2. Jesus Christ also distinctly predicted his RESURRECTION, with its circumstances, viz. that *he should rise again the third day* (Matt. xvi. 21.), and that *after he was risen he would go before them into Galilee* (Matt. xxvi. 32.), which was fulfilled. (Matt. xxviii. 16.)

3. He likewise foretold the DESCENT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT on the apostles, in miraculous powers and gifts, and specifies the place where the Holy Spirit should descend.

Behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you; but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem until ye be endued with power from on high. (Luke xxiv. 49.) And he particularly declares what the effects of such descent should be:—*And these signs shall follow them that believe; in my name shall they cast out devils, and they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.* (Mark xvi. 17, 18.) All which was punctually fulfilled in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and in the following part of that history.

4. The next instance of Christ's prophetic spirit is, his FORETELLING THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM, and of its celebrated temple, with all its preceding signs, and concomitant and subsequent circumstances. He not only predicted the period when this awful event should take place, but described the very ensigns of those arms which were to effect the direful catastrophe; and also foretold the various calamities that should befall the Jewish nation, and the total ruin in which their ecclesiastical and civil policy should be involved: and the very generation, that heard the prediction, lived to be the miserable witnesses of its fulfilment.[3] Of the prophecies, indeed, that respect the Jews (and which are common to the New as well as to the Old Testament), some have long since been accomplished; others are every day receiving their accomplishment before our eyes, and all of them abundantly prove the divine origin of the Gospel prophecy. The destruction of Jerusalem, with its unparalleled circumstances of horror, is not more clearly recorded by

[1] Bp. Hurd's Introduction to the Study of the Prophecies, Serm. ii. Works, vol. v. pp. 36—37.)

[2] On the predictions of Jesus Christ, see the Appendix to this Volume. No. VI. chap. ii.

[3] See the particulars of this prophecy, with the historical evidence of its fulfilment, *infra*, in the Appendix, No. VI. chapter ii.

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Josephus,[1] than it is foretold by Daniel, and by Jesus Christ. Nor did the latter prophesy only, in the most definite language, the destruction of Jerusalem (Matt. xvi. 28.), and particularly that not one stone of the temple (Mark xiii. 2.) should be left upon another; he also expressly foretold that Jerusalem, thus destroyed, should be trodden under foot by the Gentiles, till the time of the Gentiles should be fulfilled; while the Jews were to be carried away captive into all lands: and according to the denunciation of their great lawgiver (Deut. xxviii. 37.), were to become an astonishment and a by-word.

Jerusalem WAS taken by the Romans, and the temple was levelled to the ground. Whatever the distinguished affection of the Jews for their religion and country could suggest, and whatever infidelity and hatred of Christianity could help forward in their favour, was tried in vain, with the malignant view of confronting and defeating these prophecies. The apostate Julian,—an emperor qualified for the attempt by his riches, power, and persevering hostility to the name of Christ,—collected the Jews from all countries, and led them on, under his favourite Alypius, to rebuild their temple. Every human power co-operated with them, and every difficulty appeared to have vanished: when on a sudden, the work was broken up with terror and precipitation; and an enterprise of which the execution was so zealously desired and so powerfully supported, was at once deserted. As the influence of human means was entirely engaged in its favour, the miscarriage of it must be ascribed to supernatural interposition. What this was, we are informed by contemporary and other writers, and particularly by Ammianus Marcellinus; whose testimony as a pagan, a philosopher, and a bosom friend of the apostate prince, infidelity would fully and readily admit, were it not beforehand apprized of its contents. He declares, that "horrible balls of fire, breaking out near the foundation, with frequent and reiterated attacks, rendered the place from time to time inaccessible to the scorched and blasted workmen; and that the victorious element continuing in this manner obstinately bent, as it were, to repel their attempts, the enterprize was abandoned."[2] So satisfactory and decisive is this evidence of the impartial heathen writer, that the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, although he attempts with stubborn scepticism to invalidate some of its proofs, and insinuates a want of impartial authorities, is compelled not only to acknowledge the general fact, but many of the particular circumstances by which it was accompanied and distinguished.[3]

How literally the latter part of the above-noticed prediction, relative to the dispersion and degradation of the Jews, has been fulfilled, from the days of Titus and Hadrian to the *present* time, every historian informs us: that it is so *now*, we have the evidence of our own senses and personal knowledge. The nations, that once shook the world with their arms, have in their turns disappeared, and mingled again with the common mass of mankind: but the Jews, though exiles in every country under heaven, and in every country oppressed, hated, and despised, have yet, by a peculiar fate, of which the world affords no second instance, survived, for more than seventeen centuries, the loss of their country and the dissolution of their government, have preserved their name and language, their customs and religion, in every climate of the globe; and, though themselves not a people, have yet subsisted a separate and distinct race in the midst of every other nation. Having totally lost the *sceptre*, and having no *lawgiver* independently of a foreign tribunal, they afford a standing proof that *the Shiloh* IS COME, *to whom the gathering of the people should be;* and thus exhibit a wonderful example of the truth of *their own* prophetic Scriptures, and in consequence a continual and increasing evidence of the divine authority of *ours*.

5. Further, Jesus Christ foretold that he should have a CHURCH AND PEOPLE, not only by express prophecies, but also by monuments or ordinances of perpetual observance, instituted by him for his church, and which, as we have already seen,[4] subsist to the present day. He commanded his apostles to go and teach all nations; and accordingly *they went forth*, after his ascension, and *preached the Gospel every where*, with great success, *the Lord working with them and confirming the words with signs* or miracles *following*.

Both sacred and profane historians bear testimony to the rapid propagation of the Gospel, after the death of its author. In a few days after the ascension, there were at Jerusalem about *one hundred and twenty* disciples (Acts i. 15.): on the day of Pentecost, which was ten days afterwards, there were added to them about THREE THOUSAND SOULS (ii. 41.); and soon after the number of the men was about *five thousand* (iv. 4.): after this we are told that *multitudes of believers, both men and women, were added to the Lord;* that the number of the *disciples were multiplied in Jerusalem greatly*, and *that a great company of priests were obedient to the faith.* (v. and vi.) This rapid diffusion of Christianity among the Jews was accomplished within the short space of two years after the ascension. In the course of the seven following years, the Gospel was preached to the Gentiles in Cæsarea; and, a year after this, a great number of them was converted at Antioch. The words of the historian are—A GREAT NUMBER *believed and turned to the Lord;*—MUCH PEOPLE *was added to the Lord;*—and, *the apostles Barnabas and Saul taught* MUCH PEOPLE. (xi. 21. 24. 26.) On the death of Herod (which happened next year), *the word of God* GREW *and* MULTIPLIED (xii. 24.); and, in the three following years, when Paul preached at Iconium, *a* GREAT MULTITUDE *both of Jews and also of the Greeks believed* (xiv. 1.); and he afterwards *taught* MANY at Derbe, a city of Lycaonia. (21.) In three years after this, or in sixteen years after the ascension, Paul found the Gentile converts of Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, *established in the faith, and* INCREASING IN NUMBER daily. (xvi. 5.) In Thessalonica, *some* of the Jews *believed, and of the devout Greeks a* GREAT MULTITUDE, *and of the chief women* NOT A FEW. (xvii. 4.) At Berea MANY of the Jews *believed; also of honourable women which were Greeks, and of men* NOT A FEW (12.): at Corinth, MANY *hearing, believed and were baptized* (xviii. 8.); and the remark of the historian Luke—*so mightily grew the word of God and prevailed* (xix. 20.)—proves the success of Paul's preaching at Ephesus; as also does the complaint of Demetrius, that *throughout all Asia this Paul hath persuaded and turned away* MUCH PEOPLE. (26.) At Athens *certain men clave unto him, and believed.* (xvii. 34.)

What the evangelical historian here relates is further confirmed by history to be plain and undoubted matter of fact: for the apostle Paul wrote epistles *to all the saints at Rome, to the churches at Corinth, in Galatia, at Ephesus, Colossæ, and Thessalonica, and to all the saints at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons;* which he neither would nor could have done, if there had not been a considerable number of Christians in all these places. Further, he stationed Timothy at Ephesus, and gave him directions for the government of the church there; and he *left Titus in Crete*, with a commission to *set in order the things that were wanting, and ordain elders in every city.* (Tit. i. 5.) Peter directs his epistle *to the elect, scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia.* (1 Pet. i. 1, 2.) In Paul's Epistle to the Colossians (i. 6. 23.) he represents the Gospel as then already preached *in all the world*, and *to every creature which is under heaven.* This was nearly thirty years after the ascension of Jesus Christ, or about the year 62 of the vulgar æra. We also learn from ecclesiastical history that, soon after the first preaching of the Gospel, churches were established, and bishops settled, in every part of the then known world; the names of many of whom are recorded. There were also Christian writers,[5] many of whose works are still ex-

[1] The sixth and seventh book of Josephus's History of the Jewish War with the Romans, contain a detailed narrative of the events, which were predicted by Jesus Christ in a *few words*.

[2] Ammian. Marcell. Hist. lib. xxiii. c. i. tom. i. p. 332. edit. Bipont.

[3] Decline and Fall, vol. iv. p. 108. Bp. Warburton has fully examined, and vindicated, the history of the event above noticed, in his treatise entitled "Julian; or, a Discourse concerning the Earthquake and fiery Eruption, which defeated that Emperor's Attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem," in the eighth volume of the 8vo. edition of his works.

[4] See pp. 67. *supra*

[5] "It may help to convey to us some notion of the extent and progress of Christianity, or rather of the character and quality of many early Christians, of their learning and their labours, to notice the number of Christian *writers* who flourished in these ages. Saint Jerome's catalogue contains *sixty-six* writers within the first three centuries, and the first six years of the fourth; and *fifty-four* between that time and his own, viz. A. D. 392. Jerome introduces his catalogue with the following just remonstrance:—'Let those, who say the church has had no philosophers, nor eloquent and learned men, observe who and what they were who founded, established, and adorned it: let them cease to accuse our faith of rusticity, and confess their mistake.' (Jer. Prol. in Lib. de Sacr. Eccl.) Of these writers several, as Justin, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Bardesanes, Hippolitus, Eusebius, were voluminous writers. Christian writers abounded particularly about the year 178. Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, founded a library in that city, A. D. 212. Pamphilus, the friend of Origen, founded a library at Cæsarea, A. D. 294. Public defences were also set forth, by various advocates of the religion, in the course of the first three centuries. Within one hundred years after Christ's ascension, Quadratus and Aristides, whose works, except some few fragments of the first, are lost; and about twenty years afterwards, Justin Martyr, whose works remain, presented apologies for the Christian religion to the Roman emperors; Quadratus and Aristides to Adrian, Justin to Antoninus Pius, and a second to Marcus Antoninus. Melito, bishop of Sardis, and Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, and Miltiades, men of great reputation, did the same to Marcus Antoninus, twenty years afterwards (Euseb. Hist. lib. iv. c. 26

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tant, in all parts of the world, as at Antioch, Smyrna, Sardis, Edessa, Athens, Corinth, Alexandria, Carthage, Rome, and in Gaul; and who have already furnished us with striking testimonies to the genuineness and authenticity of the Christian Scriptures

In considering the testimonies above cited from the historian Luke, it is worthy of remark, that his account is a very *incomplete* narrative of the propagation of Christianity; a very small part of it only being appropriated to the history of the twelve apostles, more particularly of Peter, and the remainder (forming about two-thirds of the Acts of the Apostles) being occupied with the relation of Paul's conversion and apostolic labours:—not to mention that, in this history, large portions of time are passed over with a very slight notice. If, therefore, what we read in the Acts of the Apostles be true, much more than is contained in that history must be true also. We are, moreover, indebted for the information, which it presents to us respecting the spread of the Gospel, more to incident or occasion than to any design in the historian to magnify the number or rank of the converts. Thus, Luke is totally silent concerning some of the apostles, as well as the number of converts to the Christian name and faith, at Philippi, Galatia, and other places and countries; nor is it likely that we should have known any thing of the number in many places, had not incidents occurred, which made it necessary for the historian to mention them.[1]

Besides the intimations contained in the New Testament respecting the progress of Christianity, its wonderful and speedy propagation throughout the world is attested by the joint consent of contemporary pagan and of Christian writers.

Thus, the historian TACITUS, speaking of the persecutions by Nero, A. D. 65, says, that *this pestilent superstition* (so he terms the Christian religion) spread itself not only through Judæa, but even in the city of Rome, and that a *vast multitude* of Christians was seized and put to death by the emperor. Here then is a most incontestable proof of the wonderful propagation of Christianity. In the time of Nero, scarcely more than thirty years from the first publication of the Gospel at Jerusalem, there was not only a VAST MULTITUDE at Rome, who embraced the Christian religion, but also a large number of Christians who were arraigned and condemned to death for the profession of their faith. But most strong is the testimony of the younger PLINY in his epistle to the emperor Trajan, A. D. 107, from which we learn that, during his proconsulate in Pontus and Bithynia, the Christians abounded in those provinces; that informations had been lodged against many on this account; and that he had made diligent inquiry, even by torture, into the nature of the charge against them, but could not discover any crime of which they were guilty, besides (what he terms) *an evil and excessive superstition*. He adds, that he thought it necessary, on this occasion, to consult the emperor, "*especially on account of the* GREAT NUMBER *of persons, who are in danger of suffering: for many, of all ages and of every rank, of both sexes, are accused and will be accused; nor has the contagion of this superstition seized cities only, but the lesser towns also, and the open country.*" And he further intimates that *the temples had been almost deserted, the sacred solemnities discontinued, and that the victims had met with but few purchasers.*[2] Thus *mightily grew the word of God and prevailed* in a province far distant from Judæa, within *seventy* years after its first promulgation.

The CHRISTIAN FATHERS attest the same rapid and extensive progress of the Gospel.

CLEMENT, the fellow-labourer of Paul (Phil. iv. 3.), testifies that this apostle preached "*both in the east and west, taught the* WHOLE WORLD *righteousness, and travelled to the utmost parts of the west.*"[3] JUSTIN MARTYR, who flourished in the second century (A. D. 140, about thirty years after the date of Pliny's letter), says, that in his time "*there was* NO PART *of mankind, whether Barbarians or Greeks, among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered up to the Creator of the world, through the name of the crucified Jesus.*"[4] IRENÆUS, who later in the same century (A. D. 170) was bishop of Lyons in Gaul, assures us that "*the Gospel was preached* THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE WORLD, *to the extreme parts of the earth, by the apostles and their disciples;*[5] and that, in his time, there were *churches founded in Germany, Spain, Gaul, and in the East, Egypt, and Lybia.*"[6] After fifty years (A. D. 190) TERTULLIAN, another Christian father, appeals to the Roman governors, saying—"We were but of yesterday, and we have filled your cities, islands, towns, and burghs; the camp, the senate, and the forum;—every sex, age, rank, and condition are converts to Christianity."[7] Thirty years farther down, ORIGEN (A. D. 220) represents Christianity as now triumphant. "By the good providence of God," says he, "the Christian religion has so flourished and increased, continually, that it is now preached freely and without molestation, although there were a thousand obstacles to the spreading of the doctrines of Jesus in the world."[8] About eighty years after this, A. D. 306, Christianity, under Constantine, became the established religion of the Roman empire.[9]

The *Character of the Age* in which the Christian faith was first propagated also demands a distinct consideration.

It was not a barbarous and uncivilized period, but was remarkable for those improvements by which the human faculties were strengthened. In most countries knowledge was diffused further and more universally than it had been at any former time: there never was a more learned, more philosophical, or more discerning age, than that in which the Christian religion was proposed to mankind; and when, from the profound peace which the world enjoyed under the Roman government, an easy communication subsisted between all countries, so that wise men could not only judge of such extraordinary events as had happened, but could also freely impart to one another their sentiments concerning them. Now, in such an enlightened age as this was, if the *facts* and doctrines preached by the apostles had been false, they would instantly have been discerned to be so; and the confutation of them would have quickly passed from one country to another, to the utter confusion of the persons who had endeavoured to propagate the belief of them. The generality of the first converts, it is true, were men in the middle and lower stations of life; but even these, in an age of such knowledge and intercourse, were sufficiently secured against false pretensions of any kind. Indeed, supposing even that their minds were but imperfectly imbued with knowledge, their attachment to their first religious notions would be strong in proportion to their ignorance, and no argument would be sufficient to induce persons of this character and rank to change their principles but evident miracles. Wherefore, this class of persons being converted in such numbers, and so early, is an absolute demonstration that many and great miracles were every where wrought by the first preachers of the Gospel. But the first converts to Christianity were not confined to the middle and lower ranks of life; even in the earliest age, we find among them men of character, rank, learning, and judgment, whose offices and stations rendered them conspicuous; courtiers, statesmen, chief priests and rulers, governors of cities, proconsuls, consuls, and heathen philosophers;[10] many of whom wrote learned and able apologies for the Christian faith, which are still extant. In process of time, it was not a *single* distinguished person, in this city, or in that nation, who obeyed the Gospel; but vast multitudes of the noble, the learned, the wise, and the mighty, as well as

See also Lardner, vol. ii. p. 666); and ten years after this, Apollonius, who suffered martyrdom under the emperor Commodus, composed an apology for his faith, which he read in the senate, and which was afterwards published. (Lardner, vol. ii. p. 687.) Fourteen years after the apology of Apollonius, Tertullian addressed the work, which now remains under that name, to the governors of provinces in the Roman empire; and about the same time, Minucius Felix composed a defence of the Christian religion, which is still extant; and shortly after the conclusion of this century, copious defences of Christianity were published by Arnobius and Lactantius." Paley's Evidences, vol. ii. pp. 231. 233.

[1] The incidents above alluded to are, "the murmuring of the Grecian converts; the rest from persecution; Herod's death; the sending of Barnabas to Antioch, and Barnabas calling Paul to his assistance; Paul coming to a place, and finding there disciples; the clamour of the Jews; the complaint of artificers interested in the support of the popular religion; the reason assigned to induce Paul to give satisfaction to the Christians of Jerusalem. Had it not been for these occasions, it is probable that no notice whatever would have been taken of the number of converts, in several of the passages in which that notice now appears. All this tends to remove the suspicion of a design to exaggerate or deceive." Paley's Evidences, vol i. p. 214.

[2] See the testimonies of Tacitus and Pliny at length, pp. 82, 83, 84. supra.

[3] Clement, Epist. i. ad Corinth. § 5.

[4] Justin. Dial. cum Tryphone, p. 345.

[5] Irenæus, adv. Hæres, lib. i. c. 2.

[6] Ibid. c. 4.

[7] Apol. c. 37.

[8] In Cels. lib. i.

[9] For a full view of the universal and rapid propagation of Christianity with the various testimonies of Christian, and especially of pagan, authors, see M. Vernet's elaborate Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne, tomes viii. ix. x. See also Dr. Benson's History of the Propagation of Christianity.

[10] Arnobius, who flourished in the former part of the third century, urging the triumphant efficacy of the Christian faith, says, "Who would not believe it, when he sees in how short a time it has conquered so great a part of the world; when men of so great understanding, *orators, grammarians, rhetoricians, lawyers, physicians, and philosophers*, have renounced their former sentiments, and have embraced the doctrines of the Gospel?" Adv. Gentes, lib. ii. p. 21

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others, in every country (though they could have no temptation or inducement whatever to forsake the religions in which they had been educated), voluntarily embraced Christianity, and worshipped Jesus Christ as God, constrained by the irresistible force of truth in the evidences of the Gospel.

A circumstance that adds weight to the preceding facts, and which therefore deserves particular attention, is, that the *profession of Christianity was followed by no worldly advantage*, that could induce men to renounce their native religions, and embrace a form of worship so different from every thing that was then practised.

On the contrary, those who renounced heathenism not only denied themselves many gratifications in which their respective religions had formerly indulged them, but also voluntarily subjected themselves to a rigid and severe course of life, widely different from that to which they had been accustomed, and to the forfeiture of the favour of their families and friends, as well as exposed themselves to the loss of honour, fame, and fortune, yea, even to the most excruciating and terrible sufferings. By the magistrates they were subjected to heavy fines, their property was confiscated, and they were made to suffer a variety of ignominious punishments, which to generous minds are more grievous than death itself. They were imprisoned and proscribed; they were banished; they were condemned to work in the mines; they were thrown to be devoured by wild beasts, or made to fight with them in the theatres for the diversion of the people; they were put to the torture; they were placed in redhot iron chairs; they were crucified, impaled, burnt alive; in short, they were subjected to all the torments which cruelty and barbarity, refined and inflamed by revenge, could invent; torments, the bare mention of which excites horror in the human mind.[1] Now, as all these things are most repugnant to human nature, it follows that whatever was the cause of them would be received with the utmost reluctance and difficulty. Nothing therefore but evidence, the most convincing and resistless, could make men, in such circumstances, acknowledge the truth of the Gospel history, and receive a religion founded thereon, which plunged them into such certain and terrible misfortunes. The blood of the martyrs became the seed of the church: their constancy under the tortures to which they were exposed excited the attention of many distinguished philosophers,[2] and made them inquisitive into the nature of that religion, which could endue the mind with so much strength, and overcome the fear of death, nay, even raise an earnest desire of it, though it appeared in all its terrors. This, they found, had not been effected by all the doctrines of those philosophers, whose writings they had carefully studied, and who had been labouring at this great point. The sight of these dying and tormented martyrs engaged them to search into the history and doctrines of him for whom they had suffered. The more they investigated, the more they were convinced; until their conviction grew so strong, that they themselves embraced the same truths, and either actually laid down their lives, or were always in readiness so to do, rather than depart from the faith and hope of the Gospel. To adopt the declaration of one, whose hatred of Christianity will acquit him of intentional exaggeration on this point:—"While that great body" (the Roman empire) "was invaded by open violence or undermined by slow decay, *a pure and humble religion* gently insinuated itself into the minds of men; grew up in silence and obscurity; derived new vigour from opposition; and finally erected the triumphant banner of the cross on the ruins of the capitol. Nor was the influence of Christianity confined to the period or to the limits of the Roman empire. After a revolution of thirteen or fourteen centuries, that religion is still professed by the nations of Europe, the most distinguished portion of human kind in arts and learning, as well as in arms. By the industry and zeal of the Europeans, it has been widely diffused to the most distant shores of Asia and Africa; and by means of their colonies has been firmly established from Canada to Chili, in a world unknown to the ancients."[3]

The success of the Gospel, independently of its being a literal and most signal fulfilment of prophecy, affords a most striking proof of its truth and divine origin, when we consider the weakness and meanness of the instruments that were employed in this great work. "Destitute of all human advantages, protected by no authority, assisted by no art, not recommended by the reputation of its author, not enforced by eloquence in its advocates, *the word of God grew mightily and prevailed.* Twelve men, poor and artless, and illiterate, we behold triumphing over the fiercest and most determined opposition—over the tyranny of the magistrate, and the subtleties of the philosopher; over the prejudices of the Gentile, and the bigotry of the Jew." They offered violence to no man; they did not go about to compel any, by force, to entertain the doctrine which they preached, and to enlist under their banner; they were not attended with legions of armed men, to dispose men for the reception of their doctrine, by plunder, by violence, by tortures; neither did they go about to tempt and allure men to their way of thinking and acting by the promises of temporal rewards, and by the hopes of riches and honours; nor did they use any artificial insinuations of wit and eloquence to gain upon the minds of men. On the contrary, they utterly disclaimed, both in word and deed, all violent and harsh measures of proceeding, all force and compulsion upon the human conscience, and all conversions made by the terror of punishment or the sword. The weapons of their warfare were the purity, spirituality, and reasonableness of the doctrines which they delivered, the authority of the high name by whose commission they preached, and the miraculous works which they were enabled to perform; nor did they use any other arms to conquer the virulence of their enemies, and to gain proselytes to the faith, except patience, meekness, humility, submission to the civil power in all things lawful, and universal good will to mankind. The followers of Jesus were numerous enough, long before the empire became Christian, to have attempted the way of force, had it been permitted to them; and the insults, the oppressions, the persecutions which they suffered, from their pagan enemies, were enough to have provoked the most passive tempers to some acts of hostility and resistance. But every one knows that they had recourse to no arms, besides those of the Spirit; they took no advantage of distracted times, to raise commotions in behalf of the *new* religion, or to suppress the old one: yet with meekness, and patience, and suffering; by piety, by reason, by the secret influence of the divine blessing on these feeble efforts, the doctrine of the cross insensibly gained ground, spread itself far and wide; and in the end became victorious over all the rage, and power, and sophistry of an unbelieving world. It succeeded in a peculiar degree, and in a peculiar manner: it derived that success from truth; and obtained it under circumstances where falsehood must have been detected and crushed: and the Christian religion has remained to this day in full vigour, notwithstanding its adversaries have every where strenuously attacked it both with arguments and with arms. But vain have been the efforts of its antagonists: all that they have written and said has only contributed to elucidate and confirm those parts of Scripture, which had not before been fully examined. Driven from the field by the overpowering weight and evidence of *facts*, the insidious ingenuity of the infidel and sceptic has been employed in the futile and preposterous endeavours of accounting for the miraculous success of Christianity from causes merely human.

Accordingly, a late eminent historian (the elegance of whose style has conferred an alarming popularity on the licentiousness of his opinions)—though he affects to admit that the propagation of the Gospel was owing to the convincing evidence of its doctrine, and to the ruling providence of its great Author, has assigned the reception of Christianity to *five causes*; each of which he has represented as in reality unconnected with any divine interposition. And as his account of the spread of Christianity has been industriously circulated, in a detached form, by the enemies of divine revelation, a few remarks on this historian's five causes may properly claim a place here. The causes in question are as follow:—"I. The Inflexible and Intolerant Zeal of the first Christians, derived from the Jews, but purified from the unsocial spirit which had deterred the Gentiles from embracing the law. II. The Doctrine of a Future Life, improved by every additional circumstance which could give weight and efficacy to that important truth. III. The Miraculous Powers ascribed to the primitive church. IV. The Pure and Austere Morals of the first Christians. V. The Union and Discipline of the Christian Republic, which gradually formed an independent and increasing state in the heart of the Roman empire."[4] Such are the historian's five causes; which, unhappily for his sagacity, are totally inadequate to the effects he supposes them to have produced: for they could not operate till Christianity had obtained a considerable establishment in the world; and the FACT is (as we have already shown from the

[1] See an examination of the difficulties attendant on the first propagation of Christianity, in the Appendix, No. V. *infra*.

[2] Justin Martyr, Quadratus, Aristides, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Lactantius, Arnobius, and others.

[3] Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. ii. p. 265.

[4] Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. ii. p. 267.

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testimonies of heathen as well as of Christian writers),[1] that *the first and greatest miracle, in the propagation of Christianity, had been wrought* BEFORE *the causes assigned by him could begin to operate.* "Were it, indeed, even to be conceded, as in reason it never will be, that the causes assigned by Mr. Gibbon for the rapid extension of Christianity were adequate and true, one difficulty, great as it is, would only be removed for the substitution of a greater. For, what human ingenuity, though gifted with the utmost reach of discrimination, can ever attempt the solution of the question, how were all these occult causes (for hidden they must have been), which the genius of Gibbon first discovered, foreseen, their combination known, and all their wonderful effects distinctly described for many centuries prior to their existence, or to the commencement of the period of their alleged operation?"[2]

Let us, however, briefly examine these secondary causes, and see if they really are adequate to the effects ascribed to them.

1. The first is "*the Inflexible and Intolerant Zeal of the first Christians.*"

But how an inflexible and intolerant zeal, such as condemned even those practices, which, in the opinion of the historian, "might perhaps have been tolerated as mere civil institutions," could invite pagans, amidst all their prejudices, to embrace Christianity, does not seem altogether easy to explain. It might, indeed, produce the only effect, which the historian in the recapitulation of his argument might assign to it; viz. it might supply Christians with that "invincible valour," which should keep them firm to their principles, but it could hardly be of service in converting pagans. Is not then this secondary cause *inadequate to its declared effect?* But we deny the fact that any kind or any degree of intolerance existed among the primitive Christians; on the contrary, *they* experienced every possible kind of suffering and torture from the intolerance of their heathen persecutors. And, as to their zeal, we maintain that it did not bear the slightest similitude to the fierceness and bigotry of the Jews, from whom it is insinuated that they derived it. "It was derived from very different causes, and aimed at far nobler ends. It was not the narrow and temporal interests of *one* nation, but the general reformation and the spiritual happiness of the *whole world*, which the teachers of Christianity were anxious to promote. That firmness which may be construed into intolerance, and that activity which we are content to call by the name of zeal, had, in the usual course of human affairs, a tendency to retard rather than to facilitate the propagation of the Gospel. The Christian, instead of falling into the fashionable and popular intercommunity of worship, disdained—amid the terrors of impending death—to throw incense on the altar of Jupiter: he boldly pronounced the whole system of pagan mythology imposture; and charged the whole ritual of its external devotions with grovelling superstition and profane idolatry."

2. To the next secondary cause alleged we may certainly attribute more force; and the friends of Christianity will very readily acknowledge "*the Doctrine of a Future Life*" (delivered as it was with the demonstration of the spirit and of power) to have had its share in spreading the belief of it.

But the success, perhaps, was owing rather to this demonstration of spirit and of power than to the doctrine itself, which was by no means suited either to the expectations or wishes of the pagan world in general: for it was offensive to the Epicureans, by the punishments it denounced against the voluptuous and the wicked; and it was not attractive to the vulgar by the very rewards which it proposed. The pride of the philosopher was shocked by the doctrine of a resurrection, the mode of which he was unable to comprehend; and the imaginations of other men were feebly impressed by the representations of a future state, which did not hold out the serene sky, and the luxurious enjoyments, of an elysium. Men, indeed, must have believed the Gospel in general, before they believed the doctrine of futurity on its authority: they must have been Christian believers before they admitted that doctrine; so that this doctrine could not have been a cause of the propagation of Christianity.

3. "*The Miraculous Powers ascribed to the primitive church*" are assigned as a third cause by the historian, who proceeds in a style of the most contemptuous and bitter derision, to insinuate that these powers were never possessed.

The considerations already offered on the subject of miracles,[3] to which the reader is referred, prove that miraculous powers were not merely ascribed, but actually possessed by the apostles and first preachers of Christianity; to which we may add, that neither Porphyry, Celsus, Julian, nor any other of its most virulent enemies, denied, or attempted to deny, the existence and reality of those miracles; and Christianity has nothing to fear from the improbable cause (magic) to which they ascribed them. Besides, the Christian miracles were liable to peculiar difficulties, which obstructed their reception: so that if they had not really and indisputably been performed, they neither could nor would have been credited. "The multitude of popular gods admitted among the heathens did, by necessary consequence, occasion such a multitude of *pretended* miracles, that they insensibly *lost* their force, and *sunk* in their esteem. Though the philosophers in general, and men of reading and contemplation, could not but discover the grossness and absurdity of the civil religion, yet this could have little effect on the *vulgar* or *themselves*:—not on the *vulgar*, because it was the business of the wisest and most politic heads zealously to support and encourage them in their practices not on *themselves*, because if they despised their gods, they must despise their miracles too."[4] Now, under these circumstances, miracles *ascribed* to the first propagators of Christianity must have created an immediate and stubborn prejudice against their cause; and nothing could have subdued that prejudice but miracles really and visibly performed. Mr. Gibbon's third cause, therefore, is as inadequate as the two preceding.

4. A fourth cause is "*the Pure and Austere Morals of the first Christians,*" which he reduces to a mean and timid repentance for former sins, and to an impetuous zeal in supporting the reputation of the society in which they were engaged

"But surely in the eyes of the haughty and jealous Romans, such repentance and such zeal must have equally excited *opposition* to Christianity. The first would have provoked contempt among persons of their daring self-sufficiency; and the other would have awakened the jealousy of the magistrate. True it is, that the Christians had virtues of a nobler kind. It is also true that those virtues did ultimately triumph over the scorn and malice of their foes; and it is true, that a religion, producing such effects on its followers, and deriving success from such means, carries with it a presumptive proof of which imposture never could boast." Though the historian ascribes the growth of Christianity to the exemplary virtues of its first converts, which encouraged others to join their communion, he does not account for the exemplary virtues of the first converts themselves; nor for the conversion of abandoned heathens to the Gospel of Christ, and to holiness of heart and in life. The virtues of the first Christians arose from their faith, and not their faith from their virtues. Nothing but a conviction of its truth could have induced its first converts to repent, and to require their proselytes to repent, as a condition of salvation.

5. The last secondary cause, mentioned by this writer, is "*the Union and Discipline of the Christian*" church, or "*Republic,*" as he is pleased to term it.

It must be acknowledged that union essentially contributes to secure order and stability, and to enlarge the interests of *every* society, but it is an incontrovertible fact, that the Gospel was propagated (though perhaps thinly) before its professors were sufficiently numerous to establish a discipline, or to form themselves into societies. And when they increased, their divisions (for divisions early rent the church of Christ) must have checked its progress; and their strict discipline was more likely to deter men from their communion, than to invite or allure them to it. If the Gospel succeeded, not only amidst the furious assaults of its enemies, but the no less violent contentions of its friends, we must look for its success in some other cause than those which the sceptical historian has assigned, and which the enemies of Christianity have so industriously circulated.[5] The universal prevalence, therefore, of the despised doctrine of a crucified lawgiver, against the allurements of flesh and blood, the blandishments of the world, the writings of the learned, and the sanguinary persecutions of the great and powerful, must ever be regarded by every sincere and candid inquirer as an irrefragable argument that its original was divine, and its protector almighty.

Notwithstanding the force and variety of the evidence

[1] See pp. 130—131. *supra.*
[2] Keith's Evidence from Prophecy, p. 51. note.
[3] See p. 91, 92. 83. 103. *supra.*
[4] Weston on the Rejection of Christian Miracles by the Heathen, p. 348.
[5] White's Bampton Lectures, pp. 138—144. Chelsum's Remarks on Mr. Gibbon's Decline and Fall, pp. 8—13. Bp. Watson's Apology for Christianity, in a series of letters to Mr. Gibbon, letters i.—v. The wilful misrepresentations and blunders of the sceptical historian are likewise exposed with equal learning and elegance in Mr. Kett's Bampton Lectures for 1790, 8vo. 1792 (2d edition); and in the late learned and Rev. J. Milner's treatise, entitled, "Gibbon's Account of Christianity considered," 8vo. 1808. (2d edit.)

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in behalf of Christianity, its opposers continue to object, that *they* do not see realized the prophecies and intimations relative to the universality of the Christian religion;—that it was rejected by the greater part of the Jews in the time of Christ, and also by the greater part of the Gentiles;—that a large portion of the world *at present* receives the Koran;—that Christianity is known only to a small portion of mankind; and, finally, that if the Christian revelation came from God, no part of the human race would remain ignorant of it, no understanding would fail to be convinced by it. These objections are plausible; but, like those already noticed in the course of this volume, they fall to the ground as soon as they are subjected to the test of critical examination. That the victorious propagation of the Gospel has not been, hitherto, so complete, as to answer the promise of *an absolute universality*, we readily acknowledge, but are in no pain for the event;[1] as the same oracles which have thus far been verified suppose the present condition of things; and, what is more, assure us of a time to come, *when the fulness of the Gentiles* SHALL *come in*.

(1.) *The rejection of the Gospel by the unbelieving* JEWS, *who were contemporary with Christ and his apostles*, is no argument against the divine original *of Christianity*.

The Almighty never acts towards his accountable creatures in such a manner as to *force* their judgment, and irresistibly to influence their moral conduct; but on the contrary, leaves them in all such instances to the application of their rational powers, and to that freedom of will, which are essential to a right faith and practice. It depends wholly on ourselves, on the affections of the heart, rather than on the acuteness of the understanding, whether we will seriously and earnestly advert to the evidence, which is offered in proof of religious truth, and candidly give it a fair, honest, and impartial examination. To argue, therefore, either for the credibility, or falsehood, of any point of history or doctrine, merely from the numbers who receive or reject it, is a very fallacious way of informing the judgment; and he must be very little acquainted with the usual course of the world, who has not found by his own experience, that, as there are some men capable of believing the grossest absurdities, so there are others equally notorious for questioning, denying, and opposing the plainest truths. If, therefore, in the case before us, we consider the circumstances and prejudices of the Jews, during the time of Christ, we shall be able to account most satisfactorily for their infidelity then, as well as for their continuance to the present day in rejecting him as the Messiah; and shall further derive additional evidence to the truth of the Gospel. It is certain that great numbers of Jews and devout proselytes were converted at first to Christianity;[2] which plainly showed that it was not destitute of proof or truth, and that it was not rejected for want of evidence, but for some other reasons, which it is not difficult to assign.

One great and general cause, to which the infidelity of the Jews is to be ascribed, is their *wickedness*; which certainly is a cause sufficient to produce such an effect. If a man be vicious, he is disposed to reject evident truths, and to embrace ridiculous opinions. That vice weakens the understanding, infatuates the judgment, and hinders it from discerning between truth and falsehood, especially in matters of morality and religion, is a truth not more constantly affirmed in the Scriptures than confirmed by reason and experience. How wicked the Jews were, is evident from many passages of the New Testament;[3] and Josephus, their own historian and a priest of Jerusalem, informs us of the enormous villanies practised by them. "It is," says he, "impossible to give a particular account of all their iniquities. Thus much, in general, it may suffice to say, that there never was a city which suffered such miseries, or a race of men from the beginning of the world who so abounded in wickedness." . . . . . "I verily believe that if the Romans had delayed to destroy these wicked wretches, the city would have either been swallowed up by an earthquake, or overwhelmed by the waters, or struck with fire from heaven like another Sodom; for it produced a far more impious generation than those who suffered such punishment."[4] Can it then be a matter of astonishment, that the Gospel should meet with no better reception amongst such monsters of iniquity? How could the voluptuous Sadducee digest the doctrines of mortification and self-denial, of taking up his cross, and following the Captain of his salvation through sufferings? How could the proud and haughty Pharisee condescend to be meek and lowly, and instead of worshipping God in *show*, learn to worship him in spirit and in truth? What methods could be taken to win those who were resolved to quarrel with every one? What reason could prevail on them who were never disposed to hear reason, who were always cloudy and sullen, self-willed and obstinate, and "exceedingly mad" against those who differed from them? What more could be done for them who had withstood the last, the utmost means of conviction, and had rendered themselves incapable of mercy, by blasphemy against the Holy Spirit of God, by ascribing to the power of the devil those miracles which had manifestly been wrought by the power of God? *No man*, said Jesus Christ, *can come unto me except the Father, which has sent me, draw him*. (John vi. 44.) No man can embrace the Christian religion without the help of divine grace (which neither forces the mind, nor controls the moral liberty of man); and divine grace is justly withheld from those who have made themselves unworthy of it. In short, a judicial infatuation seized the Jews. God left them to that blindness and hardness of heart, which they by their sins had brought upon themselves; so that *they could not see with their eyes, and understand with their hearts, and be converted and healed*. (John xii. 40.)

A still more evident cause of the rejection of Jesus Christ by the Jews is to be found in their strong prejudice, and adherence to former opinions and practices: by which their understandings were blinded and unable to see the evidence produced. They were offended at the meanness of his life and the ignominy of his death. The prophets had employed the loftiest images to set forth the glories of the Messiah; and in describing his spiritual kingdom, had borrowed their metaphors from earthly kingdoms. What was thus figuratively spoken, the Jews had expounded literally; and these traditionary expositions, being transmitted from generation to generation, produced in the Jews a notion of a mighty temporal prince; a notion highly gratifying to a people whose affairs were on the decline, and whose polity seemed to be tending towards dissolution. Impressed with this expectation, the Jews would not recognise the Messiah in Jesus Christ; they looked for a prince of they knew not what high extraction; but, with respect to Jesus, they took it for granted that he was the carpenter's son. Having learned from their prophets that Bethlehem was to be the place of the Messiah's nativity, because Jesus resided at Nazareth, they hastily concluded, that he was born there, and that *no good thing could come out of Galilee*. They were pleasing themselves with gaudy dreams of greatness, with the prospect of conquest and empire; but he declared that his *kingdom was not of this world*, and accordingly he taught them,—not how to shake off the hated Roman yoke, but how to liberate themselves from the greater yoke and tyranny of sin;—no how to triumph over foreign enemies, but how to subdue their domestic adversaries, their lusts and vices. They hoped to enjoy certain rights and privileges above the rest of mankind; but Christ came to break down the wall of partition, and to unite both Jews and Gentiles as one body, under one head. They expected to become lords of the nations, and to have Jerusalem for their seat of empire; and were shocked to hear that their city and temple would be destroyed, and that *all who will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution*.—We know also that, about the time of Christ, there arose many false Messiahs and false prophets, who drew away much people after them. And even those persons, who were too wise to lend an ear to these impostors, would yet many of them become unreasonably suspicious, and mislead themselves for very fear of being misled by others. Seeing so many impostors abroad, they would be apt to regard all men as impostors, and reject the true Messiah among so many false ones. At length, when they saw him put to an ignominious death, that very thing was sufficient to cancel all his miracles, and to convince them that he could not be their Messiah, little considering that he was the *Lamb of God, that was thus to take away the sins of the world*.

Besides the preceding prejudices, which were common to the Jewish nation collectively, the chief priests, scribes, and Pharisees, had particular motives for rejecting the Gospel. They hated Christ, because he had reproved and openly exposed their pride, their hypocrisy, their uncharitableness their covetousness, their zeal for traditions; and their ha

[1] "The vision is yet for an appointed time, but at the end it *shall* speak and not lie; though it tarry, wait for it, because it *shall* surely come, it *will not* tarry." Habakkuk ii. 3.

[2] See the proofs of this fact, *supra*, p. 130.

[3] See an account of the extreme corruption of the Jewish people, *infra*, vol. ii. part iii. chap vi. sect. iii.

[4] Josephus, De Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 11. § 5. and c. 13. § 6. The whole of his fourth, fifth, and sixth books abound with instances of the consummate depravity and desperate wickedness of the Jews

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tred against him disposed them to think ill of him, and to do him all ill offices. We need not wonder when we find them upon all occasions opposing and calumniating him, if we consider that they were a wicked set of men, and that he had publicly and frequently reproved them. They were highly incensed against him, and in the judgment which they made of him, they were directed by their passions, not by their reason. Nor did anger and resentment only furnish them with prejudices against Christ, but self-interest also and worldly policy. The people who had seen the miracles of Christ, particularly that miracle by which he had fed a great multitude, had at one time, as St. John relates, a design to make him their king, concluding, reasonably enough, that under such a leader they should be victorious. Therefore Christ, if he had been a deceiver, and had entertained ambitious designs, might easily have made himself a prince, and might have incited the people to shake off the Roman yoke, which was grievous to them.

The chief priests and principal persons among the Jews thought, that if Christ should make such an attempt they should be ruined, whatsoever the consequences of it were. If the Jews under his conduct should endeavour to recover their liberties, and fail in it, they knew that the nation would be severely punished by the Romans. Nor was their prospect less bad, if Christ should deliver the people from their subjection to a foreign power, and rule over them himself; for though they hated the Romans, yet doubtless they thought that Christ would be a worse ruler for them than any Roman governor. They knew that he had a bad opinion of them, and that he had exposed their vices; and therefore they concluded that the establishment of his authority would be the ruin of theirs. Thus they were incited not only by resentment, but, as they fancied, by interest, to deny that Christ was the Messiah, to oppose him, and to destroy him; for since they were persuaded that the Messiah should be a temporal king, they could not acknowledge Christ to be the Messiah, unless at the same time they owned him to be their king.

They succeeded in their endeavours, they stirred up the people, they intimidated the governor, they prevailed to have Christ crucified, and by his death they thought themselves at last secure from all these evils. But he arose again, and his disciples appeared openly in Jerusalem, working miracles, and teaching that Jesus was the Messiah. One would at first think that no man could withstand such evidence; but we shall not so much wonder at their obstinacy, if we observe that their fears, and, as they thought, their interests, led them again to oppose the truth. They considered that they were the persons who had represented Christ as a man who had lost his senses, a demoniac, an impostor, a magician, a violator of the law, a seditious teacher, a rebel, an enemy to Cæsar, and a false Messiah; who had instigated the people, and who had persuaded Pilate to crucify him; they heard that the apostles wrought miracles in the name of Christ, and they concluded that, if the apostles were permitted to proceed in this manner, they would convert a great part of the Jews; and they feared that, if the doctrines taught by Christ's disciples were received, they who had been his implacable enemies should be accounted not only ignorant and blind guides, but dishonest men; that they should not only lose their credit and authority, but be exposed to the resentment of the incensed multitude; and therefore they thought that the best way to secure themselves was to deter and hinder the apostles from appearing any more in public, and from preaching the Gospel. And when the disciples continued to perform the functions of their ministry, the high-priest asked them, saying, *Did we not straightly command you that you should not teach in this name? And behold, ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this man's blood upon us.* (Acts v. 28.)

Miracles were wrought to convince them; but when a man is violently bent to believe or disbelieve, he is more than half persuaded that things are as he desires. They hastily concluded that those miracles were either delusions and impostures, or wonderful works performed by the aid of evil spirits.

From these ill dispositions proceeded suitable effects; for they persecuted the first Christians, they accused them to the Roman magistrates of sedition, they beat them in their synagogues, they imprisoned them, they banished them, they put many of them to death, and strove to the utmost of their power to destroy this rising sect. Some[1] ancient writers assure us, that the Jews took the pains to send persons from Jerusalem into all countries, to accuse the Christians of atheism and other crimes, and to make them as odious as they possibly could.[2]

Such were the principal causes of the infidelity of the Jews, and of their rejection of Christ as the Messiah, *at first*: nor is it difficult to conceive what may be the reasons of their persisting in the same infidelity *now*. In the first place, *on the part of the Jews*, most (if not all) of the same reasons which gave birth to their infidelity continue to nourish it, particularly their obstinacy, their vain hopes and expectations of worldly greatness, and the false christs and false prophets, who at different times have arisen up among them. To which may be added their want of charitableness towards the Christians, and continuing to live insulated from all the rest of mankind. All these circumstances, together, present great difficulties to their conversion. Secondly, *on the part of the world*, the grand obstacles to the conversion of the Jews are, the prevalence of Mohammedism and other false religions, the schisms of Christians, the unholy lives of *nominal* Christians, and particularly the cruelties which, on various pretexts and at different times, have been most unjustly inflicted on this unhappy people.

From the account which we have given of the obstinacy of the Jews, and of the causes whence it arose, it appears that their unbelief is no objection to the truth of the Gospel. The modern Jews, therefore, reason weakly when they say, that their ancestors would not and could not have rejected Christ, if the miracles related in the Gospel had been really wrought. Against this argument we may also observe, that it can do no service to a Jew, because it would prove too much. It would prove that Moses wrought no miracles, since the whole people of Israel often rebelled against him: it would prove that many of the prophets recorded in the Old Testament were false prophets, because they were persecuted by the Jews. The Jews are not able to give any reason why they acknowledge the law of Moses to be a divine revelation, which will not directly and more strongly establish the truth and authority of the Gospel.

So far indeed is the infidelity of the Jews from being an objection to the argument from prophecy concerning the spread of Christianity, that, on the contrary, it corroborates that evidence for the truth of the Gospel. For, by their infidelity, we gain a great number of unsuspected witnesses to the truth of the Old Testament; and, by their dispersion, these witnesses abound in the richest and most commercial parts of the world. Had the body of the Jews been converted to Christianity, they might have been supposed to conspire with the Christians in forging and corrupting the prophecies relating to the Messiah; but now their infidelity cuts off all cavils and suspicions of that kind, and makes their testimony, like that of sworn enemies, the more favourable, the more unquestionable.

Again, by the infidelity of the Jews, and their dispersion in consequence of it, many predictions of Moses and the prophets, of Christ and his apostles, are remarkably fulfilled; so that instead of doing disservice to the Christian cause, it does it real honour, and tends wonderfully to promote and advance it in the world. And after all the changes and revolutions, after all the persecutions and massacres which they have seen and undergone for more than seventeen hundred years, they still subsist a distinct people in order to the completion of other prophecies, that (Rom. xi. 25, 26.) "when the fulness of the Gentiles is come in, all Israel may be saved." There is nothing parallel to this to be found in history from the creation of the world down to this time, and it is no less than a standing miracle in all ages and countries for the truth of the Christian religion.

Besides, it is a great advantage to the Christian religion to have been first preached and propagated in a nation of unbelievers, as it frees the account of the facts from all suspicion of fraud and imposture. Designing men may easily be supposed to carry on a trick among their creatures and dependants, among those of the same side and party, of the same profession and interest; but how was it possible for a small number of poor illiterate fishermen and tent-makers to succeed in an attempt of this nature among thousands of secret spies and open enemies? Nothing but truth, nothing but divine truth, and upheld by a divine power, could have

[1] Justin Martyr and Eusebius. See Justin, p. 171. and Thirlby's Notes, and Fabricius de Ver. Rel. Christ. n. 666

[2] Jortin's Discourses concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion, disc. i. Bp. Newton's Works, vol. v. dissertation xxix. See also Bp. Conybeare's Sermons, vol. i. serm. 2. and Bp. Kidder's Demonstration of the Messias. (Boyle Lectures, vol. i. pp. 105 112.)

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stood the trial and borne down so much malice and opposition before it.[1]

(2.) *The rejection of the Gospel by the unbelieving* GENTILES, *who were contemporaries with Christ and his apostles, is no objection to the truth of Christianity.*

Many of the arguments which have been stated in the preceding pages, with reference to the infidelity of the Jews, may be applied with respect to the Gentile nations, who had many prejudices in common with the Jews, and some that were peculiar to themselves.

The causes of unbelief, which were common to them with the Jews, were, a great corruption of manners; the prejudice of education, which led the Gentiles to despise the doctrines and religious rites of Christianity previously to examination;[2] the purity of the precepts of the Gospel, which were entirely opposite to their vicious inclinations and practices; the temporal inconveniences which attended the profession of Christianity, and the temporal advantages which might be secured or obtained by rejecting or opposing it; the mean appearance which Christ had made in the world, and his ignominious death, which they knew not how to reconcile with the divine power ascribed to him by his disciples; and the contempt entertained by the philosophers for the rank, acquirements, sufferings, and martyrdoms of the first Christians. All these things produced in the greater part of the Jews an aversion for the Gospel, and they had the same effect on the unconverted Gentiles.

But besides these causes of unbelief, the Gentiles had many others peculiar to themselves. They entertained a high notion of the efficacy of magic, of the strength of charms and incantations, and of the almost uncontrollable power of their demons and demi-gods; and this notion led the greater part of them to reject the Christian miracles. They were, moreover, extremely careless and indifferent about all religions in general; consequently they had only very imperfect notions of the Divine Being, and of the spiritual adoration which was due to him alone; and they were offended at the unsociableness of Christianity, and its utter incompatibility with the established worship of their several countries.

Further, the great and powerful men among the Gentiles, for want of attending to the intrinsic merits of the new doctrine, and of understanding it thoroughly, were not able to reconcile it with their particular views and interests; much less was it to be expected that the priests, artificers, and artizans, who lived by the profits of idolatry, would readily open their eyes and ears to receive a faith so utterly subversive of their present gain. Nor would the bad opinion, which other nations in general had conceived of the Jews, permit them easily to pass a favourable judgment upon the Christians, between whom and the Jews they did not, for a considerable time, make a sufficient distinction; accounting Christianity to be only a particular sort of Judaism, and calling the Christians *atheists*, because they taught that the gods of the nations were either nothing at all, or dead men, or demons, and because they worshipped a spiritual Deity in a spiritual manner, and had neither temples nor altars. Afterwards, when the Gospel began to spread, and false teachers and vicious professors infested the church (as Christ had foretold), the Gentiles would not distinguish between the factious heretics (who wished to make themselves heads of parties) and the true disciples of Christ: and, as the ancient Christians frequently complained, they laid the crimes of these false and immoral brethren to the charge of Christianity: nor could the singular innocence and piety of the Christians secure them from malicious and false accusations.

Lastly, the antiquity of paganism, and the many distinguished blessings which (it was imagined) the propitious influence of their heroes and gods had from time to time conferred upon their several countries, together with the simple and artless manner in which the apostles and first Christians, and their followers, propagated a religion that had nothing in its external appearance to recommend it,—concurred, in addition to the causes already stated, to lessen the force of the miracles wrought by Jesus Christ and his apostles; and prevented no small number of the rich, the great, and the learned, from giving in their names among the earliest converts to the faith and obedience which is in Jesus Christ. "Such were the prejudices of the Jews and Gentiles, which made so many of them unwilling and unfit to receive the Christian religion. But there is reason to think that the number of unbelievers, among those to whom the Gospel was first preached, was not altogether so great as is commonly imagined. Besides those who professed Christianity, and those who rejected and opposed it, there were in all probability multitudes between both, neither perfect Christians, nor yet unbelievers; they had a favourable opinion of the Gospel, but worldly considerations made them unwilling to own it. There were many circumstances which inclined them to think that Christianity was a divine revelation, but there were many inconveniences which attended the open profession of it; and they could not find in themselves courage enough to bear them; to disoblige their friends and families, to ruin their fortunes, to lose their reputation, their liberty, and their life, for the sake of this new religion. Therefore they were willing to hope, that if they endeavoured to observe the great precepts of morality, which Christ had represented as the principal part, the sum and substance of religion, if they thought honourably of the Gospel, if they never spake against it, if they offered no injury to the Christians, if they did them all the services that they could safely perform, they were willing to hope that God would accept this, and that he would excuse and forgive the rest.

The account which we have of those times is very short, but enough is said in the New Testament to show that this supposition is not groundless, and that many thought and acted in this manner; for we are there told that several believed in Christ, but durst not own it, some because they loved the praise of men, others because they feared the Jews, because they would not be put out of the synagogue, others because they would not part with their possessions. Joseph of Arimathea is said to have been secretly his disciple; Nicodemus seems to have had the same disposition; and afterwards Gamaliel, and other Pharisees who opposed the persecution and the punishment of the apostles, were probably not a little inclined to Christianity. Thus it was then, and thus it hath been ever since. Truth has had concealed and timorous friends, who, keeping their sentiments to themselves, or disclosing them only to a few, complied with established errors and superstitions, which they disliked and despised. They who are at all acquainted with history know that a great number of such examples might be produced.

"The opposition which the Gospel experienced from the Jews and Gentiles arose principally from their vices. To this cause the Scriptures ascribe their unbelief, and observe that truth is hidden from those who love darkness rather than light, whose deeds are evil, who hate to be reformed, whose minds are carnal and cannot be subject to the law of God,

[1] Bp. Newton's Works, vol. v. p. 142. "The case of the Jews may be useful in correcting a vain opinion which every one almost is sometimes apt to entertain, that had he lived in the time of our Saviour and conversed with him personally, had he been an ear-witness to his words, an eye-witness to his works, he should have been a better Christian, he should have resigned all his scruples, and have believed and obeyed without doubt and without reserve. Alas! they, who are infidels now, would in all probability have been infidels then. The Jews saw the miracles of our blessed Lord and yet believed not: 'Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed.'" (John xx. 29.) Ibid. p. 144. The unbelief of the Jews is discussed in a clear and conclusive manner, in the three last discourses of Mr. Frank's excellent "Hulsean Lectures for 1821, on the Evidences of Christianity, as they were stated and enforced in the discourses of our Lord: comprising a connected view of the claims which Jesus advanced, of the arguments by which he supported them, and of his statements respecting the causes, progress, and consequences of infidelity." Cambridge, 1821. 8vo.

[2] The state of religion among the Greeks and Romans had a tendency to induce this disposition. Christianity had nothing in it to attract their notice: it mixed with no politics;—it produced no fine writers;—the nature, office, and ministry of Jesus would be alien to their conceptions. Its connection with Judaism would injure it with the learned heathen, who regarded Jehovah himself as the idol of the Jewish nation, and this would preclude all inquiry among men of education, which accounts also for their silence on the subject. In this manner Christianity *was* treated by Tacitus and by Pliny the Elder. *Without inquiry*, Tacitus disposes of the whole question (see p. 83. *supra*), by calling it a *pestilent superstition*,—a proof how little he knew or concerned himself about the matter. Let the reader peruse the instructions of Paul to the Roman converts (Rom. xii. 9. xiii. 13.), and then judge of this *pestilent superstition*: or, let him take Pliny's description of the conduct and principle of the Christians (see p. 84. *supra*), and then call Christianity a *pestilent superstition*. On the words of Tacitus, Dr. Paley founds these observations:—1. The learned men of that age beheld Christianity in a distant and obscure view;—2. But little reliance can be placed on the most acute judgments, in subjects which they are pleased to despise. If Christianity had not survived to tell its own story, it must have gone down to posterity as a *pestilent* or *pernicious superstition*;—3. This contempt, prior to examination, is an intellectual vice, from which the greatest faculties of the mind are not free;—and, 4. We need not be surprised that many writers of that age did *not* mention Christianity, when those who *did* appear to have misconceived its nature and character. See Paley's Evidences, vol. ii. pp. 307—320. where the preceding hints are illustrated at length.

[3] Erasmus, Epist. 583. says, Quid ego potuissem opitulari Luthero, si me periculi comitem fecissem, nisi ut pro uno perirent duo?—Multa quidem præclare et docuit et monuit, atque utinam sua bona malis intolerabilibus non vitiasset! Quod si omnia pie scripsisset, non tamen erat animus ob veritatem capite periclitari. Non omnes ad martyrium satis habent roboris. Vereor, ne, si quid inciderit tumultûs, Petrum sim imitaturus.

Father Paul, being asked by a friend how he could hold communion with the church of Rome, replied, *Deus non dedit mihi spiritum Luthero*. See Burnet's Life of Bedell, p. 16 and Bayle's Dict. art. Weidnerus.

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and who have pleasure in unrighteousness. Of such persons it is said, that none of them shall understand."[1]

(3.) A third objection to the prophecies that announce the universality of the Christian religion, is founded on the fact, that a *considerable part of mankind, both in Europe and Asia, now embrace Mohammedism, and receive the Koran of Mohammed as an inspired book: which they would not do if Christianity were really from God.*

Answer. We conceive that the prophecies are fulfilled when all parts of the world shall have *had the offer of Christianity;* but by no means that it shall be upheld among them *by a miracle.* This is contrary to the whole analogy of nature. God gives increase to the tree, but does not prevent its decay. He gives increase to a man, but does not prevent his growing infirm. Thus religion, when planted in a country, is left to the natural course of things; and if that country grows supine, and does not cherish the blessing, it must take on itself the consequence. We conceive, therefore, that, with regard to all those countries which receive the Koran, where the Gospel once flourished, the prophecy has already been fulfilled. Indeed, their *present* state is an accomplishment of prophecy, inasmuch as it was foretold that *such a falling away should take place.* Not to enter into too minute details, it may be remarked, that the seven churches of Asia *lie, to this very day,* in the same forlorn and desolate condition which the angel had signified to the apostle John (Rev. ii. iii.); *their candlestick* is *removed out of its place,* their churches are turned into mosques, and their worship into the grossest superstition. The prevalence of infidel principles on the Continent is notorious; and equally notorious are the attempts making to disseminate them in this highly favoured country. Yet *all these countries have had the Gospel,* and if they should hereafter expel it, as the French did a few years since, it will be their own fault. The prophecy *has been* fulfilled.

The opposers of revelation have not failed to contrast the rapid progress of Mohammedism with the propagation of Christianity; and have urged it as an argument, to show that there was nothing miraculous in the extension of the religion of Jesus. But, in making this assertion, they have either not known, or have designedly *suppressed,* the connections and means of assistance which favoured Mohammed, and which leave nothing wonderful in the success of his doctrine. That success, however, is satisfactorily accounted for by the religious, political, and civil state of the East at the time the pseudo-prophet of Arabia announced his pretensions, and by the nature of his doctrine, as well as by the means to which he had recourse for its propagation.

Mohammed came into the world exactly at the time suited to his purposes, when its political and civil state was most favourable to a new conqueror.

In Arabia Felix, religion was at that time in a most deplorable state. Its inhabitants were divided into four religious parties, some of whom were attached to the idolatrous worship of the Sabians, who adored the stars as divinities; while others followed the idolatry of the Magi, who worshipped fire. The Jewish religion had a great many followers, who treated the others with much cruelty; and the Christians who were at that time resident there, formed principally an assemblage of different sects, who had taken refuge among this free people because they were not tolerated in the Roman empire. Among the Christian sects in the eastern part of the empire, bitter dissensions and cruel animosities prevailed, which filled great part of the east with carnage, assassinations, and such detestable enormities, as rendered the very name of Christianity odious to many. The pure doctrines and holy precepts of the Gospel had been degraded into superstitious idolatry; and the decay of morality, in every class, had kept equal pace with that of piety. Under such a distracted state of religion, it would have been *highly* wonderful if in a short time, Mohammed had not procured a numerous train of followers. The Christian religion, on the contrary, received its origin in a country where the only true God was worshipped, and the Mosaic ceremonial law (which it abrogated) was universally revered.

If the corruptions and distresses of Christianity were thus signally favourable to the aspiring views of Mohammed, the political state of the world at that time contributed not less remarkably to the success of the impostor. While the once formidable empires of Rome, on the one hand, overwhelmed by the fierce incursions of the northern barbarians, and of Persia, on the other, distracted by its own intestine divisions, were evidently in the last state of decay, Arabia was in every respect prosperous and flourishing. Naturally populous in itself, it had received a very considerable accession of inhabitants from the Grecian empire; whence religious intolerance had driven great numbers of Jews and Christians to seek an asylum in a country, where they might enjoy their opinions without interruption, and profess them without danger. The Arabians were a free but illiterate people, not devoted like other nations to the extravagances of sensual pleasures, but temperate and hardy, and therefore properly qualified for new conquests. This brave people were at that time divided into separate tribes, each independent of the other, and consequently connected by no political union:—a circumstance that greatly facilitated the conquests of Mohammed. The pseudo-prophet himself was descended from a family of much power and consequence; and, by a fortunate marriage with an opulent widow, was raised, from indigent circumstances, to be one of the richest men in Mecca. He was, moreover, endowed with fine and politic talents; and from the various journeys which he made in prosecuting his mercantile concerns, had acquired a perfect acquaintance with the constitution of the country. These, added to his high descent and family connections, could not fail of attracting attention and followers to the character of a religious teacher, in an age of ignorance and barbarism. No such advantages of rank, wealth, or powerful connections were possessed by Jesus Christ. Of humble descent, bred up in poverty, he continued in that state all his life, having frequently no place where he could lay his head. A man so circumstanced was not likely, by his own personal influence, to force a new religion, much less a false one, upon the world.

In forming a new religion, Mohammed studied to adapt it to the notions of the four religions that prevailed in Arabia; making its ritual less burdensome, and its morality more indulgent. From the idolatry of the Sabians and Magi, he took the religious observance of Friday, and of the four months in the year, together with various superstitious fables concerning the resurrection of the dead and the last judgment. From the Jews, to whom he announced himself as the Messiah, the conqueror in whom their prophecies centered, he borrowed many tales, particularly concerning angels, numerous purifications and fasts, the prohibition of certain kinds of food, and of usury, and the permission of polygamy, and of capricious divorce. From the jarring and corrupted Christian sects (to whom he proclaimed himself as the Paraclete or Comforter, that was to accomplish the yet unfulfilled system of revelation) he derived a variety of doctrinal tenets, both false and true, concerning the divine decrees, the authority of Jesus, and of the evangelists, the resurrection of the body, and the universal judgment of mankind, together with many moral precepts. By this artful compilation he united all the four religions of his country, and thus procured a more easy admittance for his new doctrine.

Further, Mohammed established his religion in such a manner, that it did not excite against itself the passions of men, but on the contrary flattered them in various ways. It was easier to perform certain corporeal ceremonies and purifications, to recite certain prayers, to give alms, to fast, and to undertake pilgrimages to Mecca, than to restrain lusts, to suppress all sinful appetites, and to confine those which are innocent within proper bounds. Such a system of doctrine, so accommodating to every bad passion,—accompanied by the permission of polygamy and capricious divorce, and by the promise of a full enjoyment of gross sensual pleasures in a future life,—could not fail of procuring him a considerable accession of followers, and in no long time brought the brave and warlike tribes of Arabia under his standard. Far different was the holy and pure doctrine of Christ. He and his apostles strictly forbade all sin, required of all, without exception, the mortification of their most beloved lusts, cancelled the ceremonies of the Jews, and all the foolish superstitions of the heathens. Christ made no allowance, granted no indulgence; and yet his religion has continued to prevail against the strongest corruptions and most inveterate prejudices. Mohammed changed his system of doctrine, and altered his laws and ceremonies, to suit the dispositions of the people. He sometimes established one law, and then suppressed it; pretending a divine revelation

[1] Jortin's Discourses on the Christian Religion, disc. i. pp. 91—94. In the preceding part of that discourse, the learned author has discussed, *at length,* the causes of the rejection of Christianity by the Gentiles, which we have necessarily treated with brevity. That "No valid Argument can be drawn from the Incredulity of the Heathen Philosophers against the Truth of the Christian Religion," has been proved by Mr. J. A. Jeremie, in his Norrisian Prize Essay, Cambridge, 1826. 8vo

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for both, though they were inconsistent. But Christ was always the same, and his laws were and are invariable. Conscious that his pretended revelation would not bear the test of examination, it is death by one of the laws of Mohammed to contradict the Koran, or to dispute about his religion. The Gospel, on the contrary, was submitted to free inquiry: the more strictly it is examined, the brighter do its evidences appear; and the rude assaults, which at various times have been made against it, have served only to demonstrate its divine origin beyond the possibility of refutation.

"The pretensions of Mohammed were not accompanied by any of those external evidences, which may always be expected to confirm and to distinguish a divine revelation. To miraculous power, that most infallible test of divine interposition, he openly disclaimed every pretence, and even boldly denied its necessity to confirm the mission of a prophet.[1] He deemed it sufficient to appeal to a secret and unattested intercourse with an angel, and above all, to the inimitable sublimity and excellence of the Koran. To the former of these pretences no serious attention is due; for, instead of affording any evidence in support of the claims of Mohammed, it notoriously wants proofs to establish its own authenticity." With regard to the boasted sublimity and excellence of the Koran,—which the pseudo-prophet alleged, bore strong and visible characters of an almighty hand, and was designed by God to compensate the want of any miraculous power,—it has been satisfactorily shown not only to be far below the Scriptures, both in the propriety of its images and the force of its descriptions; but its finest passages are acknowledged imitations of them, and like all imitations, infinitely inferior to the great original.[2] The Moslems in proof of their religion appeal to the plenary and manifest inspiration of the Koran. They rest the divinity of their book upon its inimitable excellence; but instead of holding it to be divine because it is excellent, they believe its excellence because they admit its divinity. There is nothing in the Koran which affects the feelings, nothing which elevates the imagination, nothing which enlightens the understanding, nothing which improves the heart. It contains no beautiful narrative, no proverbs of wisdom or axioms of morality; it is a chaos of detached sentences, a mass of dull tautology. The spirit which it breathes is in unison with the immoral and absurd tenets which it inculcates,—savage and cruel; forbidding those who embrace the Moslem faith to hold any friendly intercourse with infidels or those who reject it, and commanding them to make war upon the latter. Such is the Koran as *now* extant; but it is well known that it has received alterations, additions, and amendments, by removing some of its absurdities, since it was first compiled by Mohammed.[3] The Christian revelation, on the contrary, remains to this day as it was written by its inspired authors; and the more minutely it is investigated, the more powerfully does it appeal to the hearts and minds of all who examine it with honesty and impartiality.

Of the prophetic spirit of Mohammed, we have this solitary instance. When he went to visit one of his wives, he says, that God revealed to him what she desired to say to him: he approved of one part and rejected the other. When he told his wife what was in her will to speak to him, she demanded of him who had revealed it to him? "He that knoweth all things," said Mohammed, "hath revealed it to me, that ye may be converted; your hearts are inclined to do what is forbidden. If ye act any thing against the prophet, know that God is his protector." There is not a single circumstance to render this relation credible.

Such were the circumstances that contributed to promote the success of Mohammedism; circumstances that in no degree appertained to the origin of Christianity. During the first *seven* years, indeed, when the Arabian impostor used only persuasion, and confined his exertions to Mecca, it appears that he could reckon no more converts than eighty-three men and eighteen women. Contrast with this the rapid spread of Christianity during the same period.[4] But no sooner was he enabled to assemble a party sufficient to support his ambitious designs, than he threw off the mask, which was no longer necessary; and disclaiming the softer arts of persuasion and reasoning, immediately adopted a quicker and more efficacious mode of conversion. It was alleged by the deceiver, that, since a disobedient world had disdained or rejected the ineffectual summons, which divine mercy had sent in former times by the prophets, who came with appeals to the senses and reason of mankind; it had now pleased the Almighty to send forth his last great prophet, by the strength of his arm and the power of his sword, to compel men to embrace the truth. A voluptuous paradise and the highest heavens were the rewards of those who fought his battles, or expended their fortunes in his cause; and the courage of his adherents was fortified and sharpened by the doctrine of fatalism which he inculcated. From all these combined circumstances, the success of the arms and religion of Mohammed kept equal pace; nor can it excite surprise, when we know the conditions which he proposed to the vanquished. Death or conversion was the only choice offered to idolaters; while to the Jews and Christians was left the somewhat milder alternative of subjection and tribute, if they persisted in their own religion, or of an equal participation in the rights and liberties, the honours and privileges of the faithful, if they embraced the religion of their conquerors.

How different the conduct of Christ! "He employed no other means of converting men to his religion, but persuasion, argument, exhortation, miracles, and prophecies. He made use of no other force, but the force of truth—no other sword, but the sword of the spirit, that is, the word of God. He had no arms, no legions to fight his cause. He was the Prince of peace, and preached peace to all the world. Without power, without support, without any followers, but twelve poor humble men, without one circumstance of attraction, influence, or compulsion, he triumphed over the prejudices, the learning, the religion of his country; over the ancient rites, idolatry, and superstition, over the philosophy, wisdom, and authority of the whole Roman empire. Wherever Mohammedism has penetrated, it has carried despotism, barbarism, and ignorance;[5] wherever Christianity has spread, it has produced the most beneficial effects on nations and individuals, in the diffusion of knowledge, in morals, religion, governments, in social and personal happiness."[6]

The *continued* prevalence of this baleful system of religion may be satisfactorily accounted for by the profound ignorance of the nature of the human heart, in which Mohammedism leaves its votaries,—the want of right moral feeling, which accompanies inveterate and universal ignorance,—the vices in which it allows its professors to live, and the climates in which they live,—the chilling despotism of all Mohammedan governments,—and the cunning fraud and extortion which universally prevail in them.[7]

"Let not then the Christian be offended, or the infidel triumph, at the successful establishment and long continuance of so acknowledged an imposture, as affording any reasonable ground of objection against our holy faith. Let these events rather be considered as evidences of its truth,—as accomplishments of the *general* prediction of our Lord, that *false prophets and false Christs should arise, and should deceive many*; and especially of that particular and express prophecy in the revelations of his beloved disciple (Rev. ix. 1, &c.), which has been determined by the ablest commentators to relate to the impostor Mohammed, and to his false and impious religion, which, *arising like a smoke out of the bottomless pit*, suddenly overshadowed the eastern world, and involved its wretched inhabitants in *darkness and in error*."[8]

(4.) Lastly, it is objected that *Christianity is known only to a small portion of mankind, and that if the Christian revelation came from God, no part of the human race would remain*

[1] Hence no credit is due to the miraculous stories related of Mohammed by Abulfeda, who wrote the account *six hundred years* after his death, or which are found in the legend of Al Janabi, who lived *two hundred years*.

[2] Professor White's Bampton Lectures, pp. 241—252.

[3] See Koran, ch. ii. pp. 22. 25. ch. iii. p. 50 and ch. v. p. 89. Sale's translation, 4to. edit.

[4] See pp. 130 132. *supra*.

[5] "Mohammed established his religion," says the profound Pascal, "by killing others;—Jesus Christ, by making his followers lay down their own lives; Mohammed, by forbidding his law to be read,—Jesus Christ, by commanding us to read. In a word, the two were so opposite, that if Mohammed took the way in all human probability to succeed, Jesus Christ took the way, humanly speaking, to be disappointed. And hence, instead of concluding that because Mohammed succeeded, Jesus might in like manner have succeeded, we ought to infer, that since Mohammed has succeeded, Christianity must have inevitably perished, if it had not been supported by a power altogether divine." Thoughts, p. 197. London, 1806.

[6] And yet, notwithstanding the facts above stated (such are the shifts to which infidelity is driven), it has lately been asserted by an antagonist of revelation, that "of the two books" (the Bible and the Koran), "*the latter*" (the Koran) "*has the most truths, and a more impressive moral code !!!*"

[7] The topics above hinted are fully illustrated by Mr. Jowett, in his Christian Researches in the Mediterranean, pp. 247—276.

[8] White's Bampton Lectures, p. 99.; from which masterly work the preceding sketch of the progress of Mohammedism has been chiefly drawn. Less on the Authenticity of the New Testament, pp. 377—385. Bp. Porteus on the Christian Revelation, proposition viii. See also Bp. Sumner's Evidences of Christianity, chap. vii. on the Wisdom manifested in the Christian Scriptures, compared with the time-serving policy of Mohammed.

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ignorant of it, no understanding would fail to be convinced by it.

Answer. The opposers of the Christian revelation cannot with propriety urge its non-universality as an objection; for their religion (if the deism or rather atheism, which they wish to propagate, may be designated by that name,) is so very far from being universal, that, for *one* who professes deism, we shall find in the world one thousand who profess Christianity. Besides, we clearly see that many benefits which God has bestowed on men are partial as to the enjoyment. Some are given to particular nations, but denied to the rest of the world: others are possessed by some individuals only of a favoured nation. A moderate knowledge of history will be sufficient to convince us, that in the moral government of the world, the bounties of Providence, as well as mental endowments, and the means of improvement, are distributed with what appears to us an unequal hand. When the objections to this inequality of distribution are considered and refuted, the objection arising from the partial knowledge of Christianity is answered at the same time.

The subject, however, may be viewed in another light. Some blessings flow immediately from God to every person who enjoys them: others are conveyed by the instrumentality of man; and depend on the philanthropy of man for their continuance and extension. The last is the case as to the knowledge of Christianity. When it was first revealed, it was committed into the hands of the disciples of Jesus; and its propagation in the world ever since has depended on their exertions in publishing it among the nations. That a melancholy negligence has been too often betrayed, must be acknowledged and deplored. But at the same time it will be found, that in numberless instances the most violent opposition has been made to the zealous endeavours of Christians; and that it is owing to the sanguinary persecutions by the rulers of the world, that the Gospel does not now enlighten the whole habitable globe. If a conqueror, followed by his powerful army, desolate a country, and burn the cities and villages, and destroy the cattle and the fields of corn, and the people perish for cold and hunger, is their misery to be ascribed to a want of goodness in God, or to the superabounding wickedness of man? The answer will equally apply to the subject before us.[1]

But the objection will appear less cogent, when it is considered that Christianity is not the religion of a day, nor of an age; but a scheme of mercy, that gradually attains its triumphs, and which, overcoming all opposition, *will* ultimately be propagated throughout the earth. The most enlightened and best civilized nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa, *have been* blest with the Gospel; and with regard to the others, to whom it has not yet been carried, this favour has been withheld from them, because it is ordained that the spreading of the Gospel should keep pace with the improvements of reason. The wisdom of this appointment is evident. Revelation is most properly bestowed after the weakness of human reason, in its best state, has been demonstrated by experience. Besides, it would not have answered the design intended to be produced by the Gospel, if it had been universally spread at the beginning. The conceptions which the converted heathens formed of the true religion were necessarily very imperfect: hence sprang the great corruptions of Christianity which so early prevailed. Had the Christian religion been universally propagated in the first ages, it would have been diffused in an imperfect form. Nor is this all. The partial propagation of the Gospel, with the other objections that have been brought against Christianity, having rendered its divine original a matter of dispute, the tendency of these disputes has been to separate the wheat from the chaff (which at the beginning necessarily mixed itself with the Gospel), and to make Christians draw their religion from the Scriptures alone. It is thus that Christianity, in the course of ages, will acquire its genuine form. Then, also, it will be surrounded with the greatest lustre of evidence; and although, for the reason just stated, the Gospel has hitherto been confined to comparatively a few countries, yet we are assured that in due time it will be offered to them all, and will be diffused over the whole earth, with all its attendant blessings. The predictions of the prophets, of Christ, and his apostles, relative to the extension of the Gospel, expressly announce that it is to be thus progressively diffused, and that it will finally triumph, when *the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.* (Isa. xi. 9.) Through the divine blessing on the labours of hundreds of faithful missionaries, who have been and are now employed in carrying the Gospel into all lands, WE SEE great advances *actually made* in spreading Christianity; and we doubt not but the Gospel will be planted, agreeably to the divine predictions, in all the vast continents of Africa, Asia, America, and in the islands of Austral Asia.

The sincerity and piety of fallible men, it is true, can never do justice to the means which God has graciously vouchsafed; and it will always be a real grief to good men, that, among many, there exists little more than the name of Christian. But the advocates of Christianity do not pretend that its evidence is so irresistible, that no understanding can fail of being convinced by it; nor do they deny it to have been within the compass of divine power, to have communicated to the world a higher degree of assurance, and to have given to his communication a stronger and more extensive influence. But the not having *more* evidence, is not a sufficient reason for rejecting that which we already have. If such evidence were *irresistible*, it would restrain the voluntary powers too much, to answer the purpose of trial and probation: it would call for no exercise of candour, seriousness, humility, inquiry; no submission of passions, interests, and prejudices, to moral evidence, and to probable truth; no habits of reflection; none of that previous desire to learn and to obey the will of God, which forms the test of the virtuous principle, and which induces men to attend with care and reverence to every credible intimation of that will, and to resign present advantages and present pleasures to every reasonable expectation of propitiating his favour. "Men's moral probation may be, whether they will take due care to inform themselves by *impartial* consideration; and, afterwards, whether they will act as the case requires upon the evidence which they have. And this, we find by experience, is often our probation, in our temporal capacity."[2]

Further, if the evidence of the Gospel were irresistible, it would leave no place for the admission of *internal evidence*;[3] which ought to bear a considerable part in the proof of every revelation, because it is a species of evidence which applies itself to the knowledge, love, and practice of virtue, and which operates in proportion to the degree of those qualities which it finds in the person whom it addresses. Men of *good* dispositions, among Christians, are greatly affected by the impression which the Scriptures themselves make on their minds; and their conviction is much strengthened by these impressions. It is likewise true that they who sincerely act, or sincerely endeavour to act, *according* to what they believe, that is, according to the just result of the probabilities (or, if the reader please, the possibilities) in natural and revealed religion, which they themselves perceive, and according to a rational estimate of consequences, and above all, according to the just effect of those principles of gratitude and devotion, which even the view of nature generates in a well-ordered mind, *seldom fail of proceeding further*. This also may have been exactly what was designed.[4] On the contrary, where any persons never set themselves heartily and in earnest to be informed in religion,—or who secretly wish it may *not* prove true, and who are *less* attentive to evidence than to difficulties, and *more* attentive to objections than to what has long since been most satisfactorily said in answer to them;—such persons can scarcely be thought in a likely way of seeing the evidence of religion, though it were most certainly true, and capable of being ever so fully proved. "If any accustom themselves to consider this subject usually in the way of mirth and sport: if they attend to forms and representations, and inadequate manners of expression, instead of the real things intended by them (for signs often can be no more than inadequately expressive of the things signified): or if they substitute human errors, in the room of divine truth; why may not all, or any of these things, hinder some men from seeing that evidence which really is seen by others; as a like turn of mind, with respect to matters of common speculation and practice, does, we find, by experience, hinder them from attaining that knowledge and right understanding, in matters of common speculation and practice, which more fair and attentive minds attain to? And the effect will be the same, whether their neglect of seriously considering the evidence of religion, and their indirect behaviour with regard to it, proceed from mere carelessness, or from the grosser

[1] Bogue's Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament, p. 235.

[2] Butler's Analogy, part ii. chap. vi. p. 227. The whole of that chapter, which treats on the objection now under consideration, will abundantly repay the trouble of a *diligent* perusal.

[3] This sort of evidence is fully stated in the following chapter

[4] Paley's Evidences, vol. ii. pp 340—352.

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vices; or whether it be owing to this, that forms and figurative manners of expression, as well as errors, administer occasions of ridicule when the things intended, and the truth itself, would not. Men may indulge a ludicrous turn so far, as to lose all sense of conduct and prudence in worldly affairs, and even, as it seems, to impair their faculty of reason. And, in general, levity, carelessness, passion, and prejudice, *do* hinder us from being rightly informed, with respect to common things; and they *may*, in like manner, and perhaps in some farther providential manner, with respect to moral and religious subjects, hinder evidence from being laid before us, and from being seen when it is. The Scripture[1] does declare, that every one *shall not understand*. And it makes no difference, by what providential conduct this comes to pass: whether the evidence of Christianity was, originally and with design, put and left so, as that those who are desirous of evading moral obligations should not see it; and that honest-minded persons should; or, whether it come to pass by any other means."[2] *Now*, that Christianity has been established in the world, and is still spreading in all directions, God does not work miracles to *make* men religious; he only sets the truth before them, as rational and accountable beings. It was and is the merciful design of God, not to condemn the world, but to save it,—even to save all, without exception, who will listen to the overtures of his Gospel. He that believes and obeys the Gospel shall not finally be condemned, but will obtain a complete pardon: while, on the other hand, he who *wilfully* rejects this last great offer of salvation to mankind, must expect the consequence. And *the ground of his condemnation* is, that such a person *chooses* to remain ignorant, rather than to submit himself to the teachings of this heavenly revelation. *Light* (Jesus Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, the fountain of light and life) *is come into the world* (diffusing his benign influences every where, and favouring men with a clear and full revelation of the divine will): *and* yet *men have loved darkness rather than light*, have preferred sin to holiness:—and why?—*Because their deeds were evil*. The bad man avoids the truth which condemns him; while the good man seeks it, as the ground-work and proof of his actions.[3]

It were no difficult task to adduce other examples of the fulfilment of prophecy, if the limits necessarily assigned to this section would permit: we shall therefore add but two more instances in illustration of the evidence from prophecy.

The first is, the long apostasy and general corruption of the professors of Christianity, so plainly foretold, and under such express and particular characters, in the apostolic writings; which, all the world may see, has been abundantly fulfilled in the church of Rome. Who that had lived in those days, when Christianity was struggling under all the incumbent weight of Jewish bigotry and pagan intolerance and persecution, could from the state of things have possibly conjectured, that a rising sect, every where spoken against, would ever have given birth to a tyrant, who would *oppose and exalt himself* above all laws, human and divine, *sitting as God in the temple of God*, and claiming and swaying a sceptre of universal spiritual empire? Who, that beheld the low estate of the Christian church in the first age of its existence, could ever have divined that a remarkable character would one day arise out of it, who should establish a vast monarchy, whose coming should be *with all power, and signs, and lying wonders* (pretended miracles), *and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness*, commanding the worship of demons, angels, or departed saints; *forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats?* In short, we see the characters of *the beast, and the false prophet*, and *the harlot of Babylon*, now exemplified in every particular, and in a city that is seated upon seven mountains: so that, if the pontiff of Rome had sat for his picture, a more accurate likeness could not have been drawn.[4] The existence of these monstrous corruptions of the purity and simplicity of the Gospel, which no human penetration could have foreseen, is a great confirmation and standing monument of the truth of the Gospel, and demonstrates the divine inspiration of those persons who wrote these books, and circumstantially predicted future events and future corruptions of religion, infinitely beyond the reach of all conception and discernment merely *human*.

The other instance alluded to, is the *present* spread of infidelity, in various parts of the professedly Christian world, the efforts of which to subvert the Christian faith (we know) will ultimately be in vain, "for the gates of hell shall not prevail" against the church of Christ. Among the various signs of the *last days*, that is, during the continuance of the Messiah's kingdom, or the prevalence of Christianity in the world, it is foretold that "*there shall come scoffers and mockers, walking after their own lusts, who separate themselves* by apostasy, *sensual, not having the spirit, lovers of their ownselves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God; having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof*." (2 Pet. iii. 3. Jude 18, 19. 2 Tim. iii. 2—5.) These predictions point out the true source of all infidelity, and of men's motives for scoffing at religion.

The gospel of Jesus Christ is pure and holy; it requires holiness of heart and of life, and enjoins submission to civil government as an ordinance of God. The safety of all states depends upon religion; it ministers to social order, confers stability upon government and laws, and gives security to property. "Religion, unfeignedly loved, perfecteth men's abilities unto all kinds of virtuous services in the commonwealth;" while *infidelity, immorality, and sedition usually go hand in hand*. In the present state of the world, infidelity is closely allied with the revolutionary question; and, generally speaking, those who are eager to revolutionize *all* existing governments, under the ostensible pretence of promoting the liberty and prosperity of mankind, are alike infidels in precept and in practice. The one is a necessary consequence of the other, for scepticism subverts the whole foundation of morals; it not only tends to corrupt the moral taste, but also promotes the growth of vanity, ferocity, and licentiousness.[5] Hence, presumptuous and impatient of subordination, these "scoffers" and "mockers" wish to follow the impulse of their own lusts and depraved passions, and consequently hate the salutary moral restraints imposed by the Gospel. "The religion of Christ is a code of laws as well as a system of doctrines; a rule of practice as well as of faith. It has certain conditions inseparably connected with the belief of it, to which there is but too often a great unwillingness to submit. Belief, to be reasonable and consistent, must include obedience; and hence arises the main objection to it. Cherishing unchristian dispositions and passions in their bosoms, and very frequently also devoted to unchristian practices which they will not consent to abandon,—men pretend to decide upon the evidences of a religion from which they have little to hope and much to fear, if it be true." Therefore, they labour to prove that the Gospel is not true, in order that they may rid themselves of its injunctions; and, to save themselves the trouble of a fair and candid examination, they copy and reassert, without acknowledgment, the oft-refuted objections of former opposers of revelation. And, as ridiculing religion is the most likely way to depreciate truth in the sight of the unreflecting multitude, scoffers, having no solid argument to produce against revelation, endeavour to burlesque some parts of it, and falsely charge others with being contradictory; they then affect to laugh at it, and get superficial thinkers to laugh with them. At length they succeed in persuading themselves that it is a forgery, and then throw the reins loose on the neck of their evil propensities. The history of revolutionary France,—the avowed contempt of religion, morbid insensibility to morals, desecrated Sabbaths, and abandonment to amusements the most frivolous and dissipating, which still prevail in that country, as well as other

[1] Dan. xii. 10. See also Isa. xxix. 13, 14. Matt. vi. 23. and xi. 25. and xiii. 11, 12. John iii. 19. v. 44. 1 Cor. ii. 14. and 2 Cor. iv. 4. 2 Tim. iii. 13. an that affectionate as well as authoritative admonition, so very many times inculcated, *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear*. Grotius saw so strongly the thing intended in these, and other passages of Scripture of the like sense, as to say, that the proof given to us of Christianity was less than it might have been for this very purpose: Ut ita sermo evangelii tanquam lapis esset Lydius ad quem ingenia sanabilia explorarentur. De Ver. Rel. Christ. lib. ii. towards the end.

[2] Butler's Analogy, part ii. ch. vi. pp. 272, 273.

[3] The topics above considered are ably discussed and illustrated in various other points of view, in Mr. Lonsdale's three discourses, entitled "Some popular Objections against Christianity considered, and the general Character of Unbelief represented." 8vo. London, 1820.

[4] On the New Testament prophecies respecting the papal antichrist (as well as those of Daniel) see Bp. Newton's Dissertations, vol. ii. Bp. Hurd's Introduction to Prophecy, sermons 7. and 8. (Works, vol. v. pp. 171—232.) Kett on Prophecy, vol. ii. pp. 1—61. A compendious view of these predictions may also be seen in Macknight's Truth of the Gospel History, pp. 576—600.

[5] The topics above alluded to are illustrated with unequalled argument and eloquence by the Rev. Robert Hall, in his discourse on Modern Infidelity, considered with respect to its influence on society. The experience of more than thirty years, which have elapsed since that discourse was delivered, has confirmed the truth of *every one* of the preacher's observations.

[6] Soon after the return of Louis XVIII. to the throne of his ancestors, the French compelled him to repeal his decree for enforcing a more decorous observance of the Sabbath.

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parts of the Continent,—the rapid strides with which infidelity is advancing in various parts of the world, and the efforts which at this time are making to disseminate the same deadly principles among every class of society in our own country, are all so many confirmations of the truth of the New Testament prophecies. But the spirit which predicted these events is the very same which was poured out upon the apostles, and enlightened their minds with the knowledge of the Gospel; therefore the apostles, who wrote the New Testament, had the Spirit of God, and were enlightened by it.

The preceding instances of prophecy and its accomplishment are only a few, in comparison of those which might have been adduced: but they are abundantly sufficient to satisfy every candid and sincere investigator of the evidences of divine revelation, that the writings which contain them could only be composed under divine inspiration; because they relate to events so various, so distant, and so contingent, that no human foresight could by any possibility predict them. The argument from prophecy is, indeed, not to be formed from the consideration of single prophecies, but from *all* the prophecies taken together, and considered as making one system; in which, from the mutual connection and dependence of its parts, preceding prophecies prepare and illustrate those which follow, and these again reflect light on the foregoing: just as in any philosophical system, that which shows the solidity of it is the harmony and consistency of the whole, not the application of it in particular instances. Hence, though the evidence be but small, from the completion of any one prophecy taken separately, yet that evidence being always something, the amount of the whole evidence resulting from a great number of prophecies, all relative to the same design, is very considerable; like many scattered rays, which, though each be weak in itself, yet, concentred into one point, shall form a strong light, and strike the senses very powerfully. This evidence is not simply a growing evidence, but is, indeed, multiplied upon us from the number of reflected lights, which the several component parts of such a system reciprocally throw upon each; till at length the conviction rises into a high degree of moral certainty.[1]

V. OBJECTIONS have been made to the darkness and uncertainty of prophecy; but they arise from not duly considering its manner and design. The *language* has been assigned as one cause of its obscurity, and the *indistinctness of its representation* as another, but with how little reason or propriety the following considerations will evince.

ANSWER.—1. As prophecy is a peculiar species of writing, it is natural to expect a peculiarity in the LANGUAGE of which it makes use. Sometimes it employs plain terms, but most commonly figurative signs. It has symbols of its own, which are common to all the prophets; but it is not on this account to be considered as a riddle. The symbols are derived from the works of creation and providence, from the history of the Jews, and of the nations with whom they were most closely connected, or by whom they were most violently opposed. These symbols have their rules of interpretation, as uniform and as certain as any other kind of language:[2] and whoever applies his mind with patience and attention to the subject will be able to understand the general scheme of prophecy, and the colour of the events foretold, whether prosperous or calamitous; though he may be utterly unable to discover to what person, or precise time and place, they are to be applied.

2. With regard to the alleged objection, of want of clearness in prophecy, arising from an INDISTINCT REPRESENTATION OF THE EVENT, it should be remembered that, if some prophecies be obscure, others are clear: the latter furnish a proof of the inspiration of the Scriptures; the former contain nothing against it. In many instances, the obscurity is accounted for, from the extensive grasp of prophecy. Some predictions were to have their accomplishment in the early ages of the church, and were peculiarly designed for the benefit of those to whom they were immediately delivered: on which account they were more plain. This remark applies more particularly to the prophecies contained in the New Testament. There are other predictions, designed for the benefit of those who lived in after-ages, particularly the middle ages. To the first Christians these were obscure; but when the time advanced towards their accomplishment, the veil was gradually drawn aside, and they were more clearly seen, and better understood. Another class of predictions looked forward to the latter ages of the church. These appeared obscure both to the first Christians and to those who lived in the middle ages: but, when that generation appeared, for whose use it was the Divine Will that they should be left on record, light began to shine upon them; and the minds of men were awakened to look out for their accomplishment in some great events, which would display the glory of God, and advance the happiness of his servants. In this way the obscurity of many prophecies will be accounted for.

3. Another reason for throwing a veil over the face of prophecy, whether by its peculiar symbols or by a dark representation, will appear, on considering the NATURE OF THE SUBJECT. Some of the events predicted are of such a nature, that the fate of nations depends upon them; and they are to be brought into existence by the instrumentality of men. If the prophecies had been delivered in plainer terms, some persons would have endeavoured to hasten their accomplishment, as others would have attempted to defeat it: nor would the actions of men appear so free, or the providence of God so conspicuous in their completion. "The obscurity of prophecy was further necessary to prevent the Old Testament economy from sinking too much in the estimation of those who lived under it. It served, merely to erect the expectation of better things to come, without indisposing men from the state of discipline and improvement, which was designed to prepare for futurity. The whole Jewish dispensation was a kind of prophecy, which had both an immediate and ultimate end. It immediately separated the Jews from the other nations, and preserved the holy oracles, committed to their custody, from being corrupted by idolatrous intercourse; and it ultimately maintained the hope of the Messias and his reign. The illustration of this view of the ancient Jewish law and constitution is the subject of the epistles to the Galatians and Hebrews; that "the law was a schoolmaster to lead men to Christ"—"that it was the shadow of good things to come, but the body was Christ."

"The dispensation of prophecy appears to have been accommodated with great wisdom to the state of the church in every age, to comfort the people of God and to confirm their faith, according as they and the state of religion required it. On Adam's fall, on Abraham's separation from an idolatrous world, on the dispensation of the new economy by Moses, on the Babylonish captivity, and on the commencement of Christianity, prophecies were communicated with a growing light; and they will become more and more luminous with the progress of events to the end of the world."[3]

But though some parts of the prophetic Scripture are obscure enough to exercise the church, yet others are sufficiently clear to illuminate it; and the more the obscure parts are fulfilled, the better they are understood. In the present form of prophecy men are left entirely to themselves: and they fulfil the prophecies without intending, or thinking, or knowing that they do so. The accomplishment strips off the veil, and the evidence of prophecy appears in all its splendour. Time, that detracts something from the evidence of other writers, is still adding something to the credit and authority of the prophets. Future ages will comprehend more than the present, as the present understands more than the past; and the perfect accomplishment will produce a perfect knowledge of all the prophecies. Men are sometimes apt to think that, if they could but see a miracle wrought in favour of religion, they would readily resign all their scruples, believe without doubt, and obey without reserve. The very thing which is thus desired we have. We have the greatest and most striking of miracles in the series of Scripture prophecies already accomplished:—accomplished, as we have seen, in the present state of the Arabians, Jews, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Tyre, Nineveh, Babylon, the four great monarchies, the seven churches of Asia, Jerusalem, the corruptions of the church of Rome, &c. &c. "And this is not a transient miracle, ceasing almost as soon as performed; but is permanent, and protracted through the course of many generations. It is not a miracle delivered only upon the report of others, but is subject to our own inspection and examination. It is not a miracle delivered only upon the report of others, but is open to the observation and contemplation of all mankind; and after so many ages is still growing, still improving to future ages. What stronger miracle, therefore, can we require for

[1] Bp. Hurd's Introduction to the Study of Prophecy. (Works, vol. v. p. 39.)

[2] On the Interpretation of the Prophetic Language of the Scriptures, see vol. ii. part ii. book ii. chapter v.

[3] Dr. Ranken's Institutes, p. 350.

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our conviction? Or what will avail if this be found ineffectual? If we reject the evidence of prophecy, neither would we be persuaded though one rose from the dead. What can be plainer? We see, or may see, with our own eyes, the Scripture prophecies accomplished; and if the Scripture prophecies are accomplished, the Scriptures must be the Word of God; and if the Scripture is the Word of God, the Christian Religion must be true."[1]

CHAPTER V.

INTERNAL EVIDENCES OF THE INSPIRATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

THE arguments from miracles and prophecy contained in the preceding chapter, form what has been termed the *external evidence* that the Scriptures are the inspired Word of God; and without seeking for additional testimony, we might safely rest the divine authority of the Bible on those proofs. There are, however, several *internal evidences*, which, though not so obviously striking as miracles and prophecy, come home to the consciences and judgments of every person whether learned or illiterate, and leave infidels in every situation without excuse. These internal evidences are, the sublime doctrines and the purity of the moral precepts revealed in the Scriptures,—the harmony subsisting between every part,—their miraculous preservation,—and the tendency of the whole to promote the present and eternal happiness of mankind, as evinced by the blessed effects which are invariably produced by a cordial reception and belief of the Bible,—together with the peculiar advantages possessed by the Christian revelation over all other religions.

SECTION I.

THE SYSTEM OF DOCTRINE, AND THE MORAL PRECEPTS, WHICH ARE DELIVERED IN THE SCRIPTURES, ARE SO EXCELLENT, AND SO PERFECTLY HOLY, THAT THE PERSONS WHO PUBLISHED THEM TO THE WORLD MUST HAVE DERIVED THEM FROM A PURER AND MORE EXALTED SOURCE THAN THEIR OWN MEDITATIONS.

NOTHING false or immoral can be taught by a God of truth and holiness. Accordingly, the account of the Almighty and of his perfections, and the moral precepts which are contained in the Scriptures, commend themselves to our reason, as worthy of the highest and most excellent of all beings. In order, however, that we may form a just and correct idea of the doctrines and duties of religion, which are offered to our consideration in the Bible, it will be necessary to take a brief view of them from the beginning. The sacred volume opens with that which lies at the foundation of religion,—an account of the creation of the world by the Almighty, which is there described in a plain and familiar manner, accommodated to the capacities of man, and with a noble simplicity; together with the original formation of man, who is represented as having been created after the divine image, invested with dominion over the inferior creation (but with a reservation of the obedience which he himself owed to God as his sovereign Lord), and constituted in a paradisaical state,—a happy state of purity and innocence. (Gen. i. ii.) In this account there is nothing but what is agreeable to right reason, as well as to the most ancient traditions which have obtained among the nations. We are further informed that man fell from that state by sinning against his Maker,[2] and that sin brought death into the world, together with all the miseries to which the human race is now obnoxious; but that the merciful Parent of our being, in his great goodness and compassion, was pleased to make such revelations and discoveries of his grace and mercy, as laid a proper foundation for the faith and hope of his offending creatures, and for the exercise of religion towards him. (Gen. iii.) Accordingly, the religion delivered in the Scripture is the religion of man in his lapsed state; and every one who *impartially* and carefully investigates and considers it, will find that one scheme of religion and of moral duty, substantially the same, is carried throughout the whole, till it was brought to its full perfection and accomplishment by Jesus Christ. This religion may be considered principally under three periods, viz. the religion of the patriarchal times,—the doctrines and precepts of the Mosaic dispensation,—and the doctrines and precepts of the Christian revelation.[3]

§ 1. A CONCISE VIEW OF THE RELIGION OF THE PATRIARCHAL TIMES.

Patriarchal Doctrines concerning, I. *The Nature and Attributes of God*; II. *His Worship*; *and*, III. *The Moral Duties of Man.*

I. THE book of Genesis exhibits to us a clear idea of the Patriarchal Theology. We learn from it that God is the *creator* of all things (i.), as well as the *governor* of all things, by his general and particular providence (xiv. 19. xlv. 5. 7, 8. l. 20. xxii. 8. 13, 14.); that he is *everlasting* (xxi. 33.); *omniscient*, for none but God can know all things, whether past or future (iii. 8—10. xv. 3—16. xviii. 18. compared with Exod. i. 7.); *true* (Gen. vi. 7. compared with vii. xvii. 20. compared with xxv. 16. xxviii. 15. compared with xxxii. 10.); *almighty* (xvii. 1. xviii. 14. xxxv. 11.); *holy and just* (xviii. 25. with xix.); *kind* (xxiv. 12.); *supreme* (xiv. 19.); *merciful* (xxxii. 10.); and *long-suffering* (vi. 3.); gracious towards those who fear him (vi. 8.); and that, though he sometimes tries them (xxii. 1.), yet he is always with them (xxvi. 3. xxviii. 15. xxxix. 2, 3. 21, 22.), and has an especial regard for them. (xv. 1. xviii. 17. 26—32. xix. 22. xx. 6. xxv. 21. xxvi. 12. xxviii. 15. xxix. 32. xxxi. 42.) We learn further, that God is *not* the author of sin (i. 31.); and that, since the fall, man is born prone to evil. (vi. 5. viii. 21.)

[1] Bp. Newton on Prophecy, vol. ii. pp. 412—416. Bogue on the Divine Authority of the New Testament, pp. 169—171.

[2] The particular injunction, which (Moses tells us) was laid upon our first parents, not to eat of the fruit of a particular tree (Gen. ii. 17.), has been a favourite subject of sneer and cavil with the opposers of revelation. A little consideration, however, will show that it had nothing in it unbecoming the supreme wisdom and goodness. For, since God was pleased to constitute man lord of this inferior creation, and had given him so large a grant and so many advantages, it was manifestly proper that he should require some particular instance of homage and fealty, to be a memorial to man of his dependence, and an acknowledgment on his part that he was under the dominion of a higher Lord, to whom he owed the most absolute subjection and obedience. And what instance of homage could be more proper, circumstanced as man then was, than his being obliged, in obedience to the divine command, to abstain from one or more of the fruits of paradise? It pleased God to insist only upon his abstaining from one, at the same time that he indulged him in full liberty as to all the rest; and this served both as an act of homage to the Supreme Lord, from whose bountiful grant he held paradise and all its enjoyments, and was also fitted to teach our first parents a noble and useful lesson of abstinence and self-denial,—one of the most necessary lessons in a state of probation; and also of unreserved submission to the authority and will of God, and an implicit resignation to the supreme wisdom and goodness. It tended to habituate them to keep their sensitive appetite in subjection to the law of reason; to take them off from too close an attachment to inferior sensible good, and to engage them to place their highest happiness in God alone; and, finally, to keep their desire after knowledge within just bounds, so as to be content with knowing what was really proper and useful for them to know, and not presume to pry with an unwarrantable curiosity into things which did not belong to them, and which God had not thought fit to reveal. Leland's View of the Deistical Writers, vol. ii. pp. 144, 145. The objection here briefly answered is fully treated and refuted by the same learned writer in his Answer to Christianity as old as the Creation, vol. ii. ch. 15.

[3] To avoid unnecessary repetitions of references to authorities, the reader is informed (besides the authors incidentally cited for some particular topics) the following sections are drawn up from a careful examination of Dr. Leland's View of the Deistical Writers, vol. ii. pp. 377—416., and his incomparable work on the Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation, 2 vols. 8vo.; Bp. Gibson's Pastoral Letters, 12mo.; Dr. Randolph's Discourses, entitled "The Excellency of the Jewish Law Vindicated," in the second volume of his "View of our Blessed Saviour's Ministry," &c.; the Encyclopædia Biblica of Alstedius, 8vo. Francofurti, 1625: Mr. Faber's Horæ Mosaicæ; Dr. Graves's Lectures on the Pentateuch; the Collection of the Boylean Lectures; Abbadie, Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne tome ii.; and Vernet, Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne, tomes ii. iii. See also Mr. T. Erskine's Remarks on the Internal Evidence of Christianity (London, 1821, 12mo.); which an eminent professor justly says, "are written with unction and eloquence, and are designed chiefly to show that the doctrines of the Gospel are taught not abstractly, but by facts on which they are grounded; that they are thus more easily apprehended and retained, and produce a more powerful effect on the mind and conduct; that they remove every obstruction out of the way of our access to God; they encourage our attachment to him, and stimulate us to serve him by a holy obedience. In a word, their object is, to bring the character of man into harmony with the character of God." (Dr. Ranken's Institutes of Theology, p. 330.)

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The patriarchs cherished a hope of the pardoning mercy of God towards penitent sinners (iv. 7.), and confided in him, as the judge of all the earth (xviii. 25.), and the great rewarder of them that diligently seek him; which reward they expected, not merely in this present evil world, but in a future state: for we are told that *they sought a better country, that is, an heavenly.* (v. 22. 24. compared with Heb. xi. 5. xxviii. 13. compared with Matt. xxii. 31, 32. and xxv. 8. compared with Heb. xi. 10. 14—16.) To the preceding points we may add, that a hope was cherished from the beginning, originally founded on a divine promise of a great Saviour, who was to deliver mankind from the miseries and ruin to which they were exposed, and through whom God was to make the fullest discoveries of his grace and mercy towards the human race, and to raise them to a high degree of glory and felicity. (iii. 15. xii. 3. xvii. 19. xxii. 18. xxvi. 4. xlix. 10.)

II. These were the chief principles of the Religion of the Patriarchs, who were animated by a strong sense of their obligation to the practice of piety, virtue, and universal righteousness. They held that it was the duty of man to fear God (xxii. 12. xxxi. 53. xlii. 18.); to bless him for mercies received (xiv. 20. xxiv. 27. 52.); and to supplicate him with profound humility (xvii. 18. xviii. 22. *et seq.* xxiv. 12—14.); that the knowledge of God is to be promoted (xii. 8. xxi. 33.); vows made to him are to be performed (xxviii. 20. xxiv. 1—3.); and that idolatry is to be renounced. (xxxv. 2—4.) With regard to the external rites of religion, the most ancient on record is that of offering sacrifice to God (iv. 21. iv. 3, 4. viii. 20, 21.); and its having so early and universally obtained among all nations, and in the most ancient times, as a sacred rite of religion, cannot be otherwise accounted for, than by supposing it to have been a part of the primitive religion, originally enjoined by divine appointment to the first ancestors of the human race, and from them transmitted to their descendants. The Sabbath also appears to have been observed by the patriarchs. There is, indeed, no direct mention of it *before* the deluge: but, after that catastrophe, it is evident that the observance of it was familiar to Noah; for he is represented twice as waiting *seven* days between his three emissions of the dove. (viii. 10. 12.) And if Noah was acquainted with the consecration of the Sabbath, his ancestors could not have been ignorant of it.

III. The Moral Duties between man and man are likewise clearly announced, either by way of precept or by example: more particularly the duties of children to honour their parents (ix. 23, 24.), and of parents to instil religious principles into the minds of their offspring, and to set them a good example (xviii. 19.); and of servants to obey their masters. (xvi. 9.) Wars may be waged in a *good* cause. (xiv. 14—20.) Anger is a sin in the sight of God (iv. 5, 6.); strifes are to be avoided (xiii. 8, 9.); murder is prohibited (iv. 8—12. 15. ix. 6.); hospitality to be exercised (xviii. 1. xix. 1.), and also forgiveness of injuries. (l. 18—20.) Matrimony is appointed by God (i. 28. ii. 18. 21—24.), from whom a virtuous wife is to be sought by prayer (xxiv. 7. 12.); and a wife is to be subject to her husband. (iii. 16.) All improper alliances, however, are to be avoided. (vi. 1, 2.) Children are the gift of God (iv. 1. xxv. 21. xxx. 2. 22.); and adultery and all impurity are to be avoided. (xx. 3. 7. 9. xxxix. 9. xxxiv. 7. xxxviii. 9.)[1]

The Patriarchal Religion, as above described, seems to have been the religion of Adam after his fall, of Abel, Seth, Enoch, and the antediluvian patriarchs; and afterwards of Noah, the second parent of mankind, and of the several heads of families derived from him, who probably carried it with them in their several dispersions. But above all, this religion was signally exemplified in Abraham, who was illustrious for his faith, piety, and righteousness, and whom God was pleased to favour with special discoveries of his will. From him descended many great nations, among whom this religion, in its main principles, seems to have been preserved, of which there are noble remains in the book of Job.[2] There were also remarkable vestiges of it, for a long time, among several other nations; and indeed the belief of one supreme God, of a providence, of a hope of pardoning mercy, a sense of the obligations of piety and virtue, and of the acceptance and reward of sincere obedience, and the expectation of a future state, were never entirely extinguished. And whosoever among the Gentiles at any time, or in any nation, feared God and was a worker of righteousness, might be justly regarded as of the patriarchal religion. But, in process of time, the nations became generally depraved, and sunk into a deplorable darkness and corruption; and the great principles of religion were in a great measure overwhelmed with an amazing load of superstitions, idolatries, and corruptions of all kinds.

[1] Moldenhawer, Introd. in Libros Canonicos Vet. et Nov. Test. pp. 19—21.

[2] An outline of the patriarchal doctrines of religion, as contained in the book of Job, is given *infra*, vol. ii. part i. chapter iii. sect. i. § x.

§ 2. A SUMMARY VIEW OF THE DOCTRINES AND PRECEPTS OF THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION.

General Observations on the Mosaic Dispensation.—I. *State ment of its Doctrine concerning God:* 1. *By Moses; and,* 2. *By the Prophets.*—II. *Concerning the Duty of Man toward God.*—III. *The Belief of a Future State.*—IV. *The Expectation of a Redeemer.*—V. *The Morality of the Jewish Code delineated.*—VI. *The Mosaic Dispensation introductory to Christianity.*

THE second view of religion, presented to us in the Scriptures, is that which relates to the Mosaic dispensation. This was really and essentially the same, for substance, as that which was professed and practised in the ancient patriarchal times,[3] with the addition of a special covenant made with a particular people; among whom God was pleased, for wise ends, to erect a sacred polity, and to whom he gave a revelation of his will, which was committed to writing, as the safest mode of transmission; religion having hitherto been preserved chiefly by tradition, which was more easily maintained during the long lives of men in the first ages. This special covenant was in no respect inconsistent with the universal providence and goodness of God towards mankind; nor did it in any degree vacate or infringe the ancient primitive religion which had obtained from the beginning, but which was designed to be subservient to the great ends of it, and to preserve it from being utterly depraved and extinguished. The principal end of that polity, and the main view to which it was directed, was to restore and preserve the true worship and adoration of the one living and true God, and of him only, in opposition to that polytheism and idolatry which began then to spread generally through the nations; and to engage those to whom it was made known to the practice of piety, virtue, and righteousness, by giving them holy and excellent laws, expressly directing the particulars of their duty, and enforced by the sanctions of a divine authority, and also by promises and threatenings in the name of God. Another essential part of the Mosaic dispensation was, to keep up the hope and expectation of the Redeemer, who had been promised from the beginning, and to prepare men for that most perfect and complete dispensation which he was to introduce. And whoever impartially examines that constitution, must be obliged to acknowledge that it was admirably fitted to answer these most important ends.

I. The THEOLOGY OF JUDAISM was pure, sublime, and devotional. The belief of one supreme, self-existent, and all-perfect Being, the creator of the heavens and the earth, was the basis of all the religious institutions of the Israelites, the sole object of their hopes, fears, and worship. His adorable perfections, and especially the supreme providence of Jehovah—as the sole dispenser of good and evil, and the benevolent preserver, protector, and benefactor of mankind—are described by the inspired legislator of the Hebrews in unaffected strains of unrivalled sublimity; which, while they are adapted to our finite apprehensions by imagery borrowed from terrestrial and sensible objects, at the same time raise our conceptions to the contemplation of the spirituality and majesty of Him, who "dwelleth in light inaccessible."

1. The Law of MOSES, however, will best speak for itself. It was the avowed design of that law to teach the Israelites that there is only ONE God, and to secure them from that polytheism and idolatry which prevailed among all the nations round about them. And accordingly his essential unity is especially inculcated, no less than his underived self-existence, eternity, and immutability.

Hear, O Israel, says Moses, *the Lord our God is* ONE *Lord* (Deut. vi. 4.) Again—*The Lord, he is God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath; there is none else.* (iv. 39.) And the first commandment required them to *have no other gods*

[3] The Mosaic law repealed or altered nothing in the patriarchal dispensation, beyond what the progressive developement of the design of Infinite Wisdom absolutely required. Hence it adopted several particulars from patriarchism, such as sacrifice, the distinction between clean and unclean animals, the priesthood, the payment of tithes, certain moral precepts, and the observance of the Sabbath. These points are fully proved by Mr. Faber, Hora Mosaicæ, vol. ii. pp. 25—33.

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besides him. (Exod. xx. 3.) Idolatry, or the worship of any other gods but the ONE SUPREME GOD, was prohibited under the severest penalties. They were strictly required *not to bow down to the gods of the heathen nations, nor serve them,* nor so much as to *make mention of their names.* (Exod. xxiii. 24.) The law punished idolatry with death (Deut. xiii. 6, &c.), and denounced the curse of God and utter destruction against all those who went after other gods. (vi. 14. xi. 28. xxviii. 14, &c.) The Pentateuch begins with an account of the creation of the world by the one God, who *in the beginning created the heaven and the earth. He said, Let there be light, and there was light.* He made *the beasts of the earth,* and *the fowls of the air, and every living creature that moveth upon the earth, or in the waters.* And at last *he created man in his own image, after his own likeness; and gave him dominion over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.* (Gen. i.) This ONE GOD is described as necessarily self-existent—*I AM THAT I AM—is his name.* (Exod. iii. 14.) He is called *the God of gods, and Lord of lords, a great God, a mighty, and a terrible.* (Deut. x. 17.) *Who is like unto thee, O Lord, amongst the gods? Who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?* (Exod. xv. 11.) He is called *the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth:* (Gen. xiv. 22, &c.) *He killeth and maketh alive, he woundeth and he healeth: neither is there any that can deliver out of his hand:* (Deut. xxxii. 39.) *He gives us the rain in its due season, and sends grass in our fields:* And again, *He shuts up the heaven that there be no rain, and that the land yield not her fruit.* (Deut. xi. 14, &c.) He is *the God of the spirits of all flesh.* (Num. xvi. 22.) The whole history of the Pentateuch is a narrative of God's providential dispensations, his love, and care of his faithful servants, and his constant superintendence over them; and ascribes all events, as well natural as miraculous, to God's providence. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and Moses, *called upon the Lord, and he heard them:* and he was *with them in all places whither they went.* The history of Joseph sets before us a beautiful and instructive example of God's providential designs brought about by natural causes. The Lord is represented as *God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath:* (Deut. iv. 39.) He is *the eternal and everlasting God.* (Gen. xxi. 33. Deut. xxxiii. 27.) *He lifteth up his hand, and saith, I live for ever.* (xxxii. 40.) *God is not a man, that he should lie, nor the son of man, that he should repent.* (Num. xxiii. 19.) *His work is perfect, for all his ways are judgment; a God of truth, and without iniquity; just and right is he.* (Deut. xxxii. 4, &c.) He is *the judge of all the earth:* (Gen. xviii. 25.) *He regardeth not persons, nor taketh reward:* (Deut. x. 17.) He is *an holy God* (Lev. xix. 2.); *the faithful God, which keepeth covenant and mercy with them that love him, and keep his commandments.* (Deut. vii. 9.) *The Lord is nigh unto his people in all things that they call upon him for.* (Deut. iv. 7.) *When they cry unto him, he hears their voice, and looks on their affliction.* (xxvi. 7.) *To him belongeth vengeance and recompense. The Lord shall judge his people:* (xxxii. 35, 36.) *He will not justify the wicked* (Exod. xxiii. 7.), *and by no means clear the guilty; but he is merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin.* (xxxiv. 6, 7.)

2. Such is the sublime and beautiful representation, which Moses has given us of the Divine Being and perfections: a similar representation, but much more clear and explicit (if possible), is contained in the writings of the PROPHETS and other inspired writers, who were raised up from time to time among the Jews. They teach us, that *the Lord is God alone of all the kingdoms of the earth,* and *made heaven and earth* (Isa. xxxvii. 16.); that *he is the first, and he is the last, and besides him there is no God* (xliv. 6.); that *by the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth* (Psal. xxxiii. 6.); *he spake the word, and they were made, he commanded, and they were created.* (Psal. cxlviii. 5.) *He is the Lord alone, he made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their host; the earth, and all things that are therein; the seas, and all that is therein; and he preserveth them all; and the host of heaven worshippeth him.* (Neh. ix. 6.) The supreme God is in these sacred writings distinguished by the name of Jehovah, which signifies necessary existence; and by the title of the Almighty, the Most High. We are told that *the world is his, and the fulness thereof.* (Psal. l. 12.) *In his hand is the soul of every living thing, and the breath of all mankind.* (Job xii. 10.) *His is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty; for all that is in the heaven, and in the earth, is his; his is the kingdom, and he is exalted as head above all: Both riches and honour come of him; and he reigneth over all.* (1 Chron. xxix 11, 12.) *The pillars of the earth are the Lord's; and he hath set the world upon them.* (1 Sam. ii. 8.) *He ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.* (Dan. iv. 32.) *He changeth the times, and the seasons: He removeth kings, and setteth up kings.* (ii. 21.) *He causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth: He maketh lightnings with rain, and bringeth forth the wind out of his treasures.* (Jer. x. 13.) *Fire and hail, snow and vapour, and stormy wind, fulfil his word.* (Psal. cxlviii. 8.) *He is the true God, the living God, an everlasting King.* (Jer. x. 10.) He *is the high and lofty One, that inhabiteth eternity.* (Isa. lvii. 15.) *Before the mountains were brought forth, or the earth and the world were formed, even from everlasting to everlasting he is God.* (Psal. xc. 2.) *He is the Lord, he changeth not.* (Mal. iii. 6.) *The earth and the heavens shall perish, but he shall endure: He is the same, and his years shall have no end.* (Psal. cii. 26, 27.) *Heaven is his throne, and earth is his footstool.* (Isa. lxvi. 1.) *Am I a God at hand, saith the Lord, and not a God afar off? Can any hide himself in secret places that I shall not see him? saith the Lord: Do not I fill heaven and earth?* (Jer. xxiii. 23, 24.) *He is about our path* (says the Psalmist), *and about our bed, and spieth out all our ways.—Whither shall I go from thy spirit? Or whither shall I go from thy presence? If I climb up into heaven, thou art there; if I go down to hell, thou art there also.—Yea, the darkness is no darkness with thee; the darkness and light to thee are both alike.* (Psal. cxxxix. 3, &c.) *The eyes of the Lord are in every place, beholding the evil and the good.* (Prov. xv. 3.) *His eyes are upon the ways of man; and he seeth all his goings. There is no darkness, nor shadow of death, where the workers of iniquity may hide themselves.* (Job xxxiv. 21.) *He understandeth our thoughts afar off:—Nor is there a word in our tongue, but he knoweth it altogether.* (Psal. cxxxix. 2. 4.) *He searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts.* (1 Chron. xxviii. 9.) *He only knoweth the hearts of all the children of men.* (1 Kings viii. 39.) His understanding is infinite: He sees at once things past, present, and to come, *declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done.* (Isa. xlvi. 10.) And in this the true God is distinguished from all the gods of the heathen, that he is able to *show the things that are to come hereafter, and to show what shall happen.* (xli. 22, 23. xliv. 7.) *He is mighty in strength and wisdom:* (Job xxxvi. 5.) *Wonderful in counsel, excellent in working.* (Isa. xxviii. 29.) *He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.* (Job v. 13.) *He turneth wise men backward, and maketh their knowledge foolish.* (Isa. xliv. 25.) *For there is no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel against the Lord.* (Prov. xxi. 30.) *He can do every thing* (Job xlii. 2.); *and there is nothing too hard for him.* (Jer. xxxii. 17.) *In his hand there is power and might, so that none is able to withstand him.* (2 Chron. xx. 6.) *The Lord is righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works.* (Psal. cxlv. 17.) *There is none holy as the Lord.* (1 Sam. ii. 2.) *God will not do wickedly, neither will the Almighty pervert judgment.* (Job xxxiv. 12.) *He is of purer eyes than to behold evil, and cannot look on iniquity.* (Hab. i. 13.) He is called *the God of truth.* (Isa. lxv. 16.) *His counsels of old are faithfulness and truth.* (xxv. 1.) *He will ever be mindful of his covenant;—the works of his hands are verity and judgment.* (Psal. cxi. 5. 7.) *The Lord is gracious, and full of compassion; slow to anger, and of great mercy. He is good to all; and his tender mercies are over all his works.—He openeth his hand, and satisfieth the desire of every living thing.* (cxlv. 8, &c.) *He is a father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows* (lxviii. 5.); *and delivereth the poor and needy from him that spoileth him.* (xxxv. 10.) *Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him.* (ciii. 13.) *The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are open unto their prayers.* (xxxiv. 15.) *He is nigh unto all them that call upon him, to all that call upon him in truth. He will fulfil the desire of them that fear him; he will also hear their cry, and will save them.* (cxlv. 18, 19.) *He is good, and ready to forgive.* (lxxxvi. 5.) If *the wicked forsake his way, and return unto the Lord, he will have mercy upon him, and will abundantly pardon.* (Isa. lv. 7.) *He retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in mercy.* (Mic. vii. 18.) But though *he is slow to anger, he will not acquit the wicked.* (Nah. i. 3.) *To him belongeth vengeance* (Psal. xciv. 1.); and *he will render to every man according to his works* (Prov. xxiv. 12.) *Righteous is the Lord, and upright are his judgments.* (Psal. cxix. 137.) *There is no iniquity with*

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the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts. (2 Chron. xix. 7.) Lastly, though *great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised*, yet *his greatness is unsearchable.* (Psal. cxlv. 3.) *Lo, these are parts of his ways* (says Job), *but how little a portion is heard of him? But the thunder of his power who can understand?* (Job xxvi. 14.) *As the heavens are higher than the earth* (saith God himself), *so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts.* (Isa. lv. 9.)

Were every passage relating to the nature and attributes of the Deity to be cited, it would be requisite to extract a very considerable portion of the Old Testament; but the preceding will suffice to evince the sublimity and excellence of its doctrines concerning these topics.

II. Equally excellent and explicit is the doctrine of the Mosaic dispensation relative to our DUTY TOWARDS GOD; which is there set forth in a manner suitable to the idea given of his perfections, and with a solemnity becoming its importance. *Hear, O Israel*, says the illustrious legislator of the Hebrews, *The Lord our God is one Lord. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.* (Deut. vi. 4, 5.) *Take good heed unto yourselves*, says Joshua, *that ye love the Lord your God:* (Josh. xxiii. 11.) *O love the Lord, all ye his saints*, says the Psalmist. (Psal. xxxi. 23.) The fear of God is as strictly required; and such a fear as would induce them to keep God's commandments:—*Thou shalt fear thy God, and serve him*, says Moses. (Deut. vi. 13.) *Fear God*, says the preacher, *and keep his commandments; for this is the whole* duty *of man.* (Eccles. xii. 13.) Abraham, Isaac, and the elders are represented as *fearing God* (Gen. xxii. 12. xxxi. 42. xliii. 18.); *believing in him*, trusting in his promises, and *obeying his voice.* (xv. 6. xxii. 18. xxvi. 5.) Solomon exhorts men *to trust in the Lord with all their heart.* (Prov. iii. 5.) *Blessed is the man*, says the prophet, *that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is.* (Jer. xvii. 7.) The Psalmist on every occasion expresses his firm trust in God, and faith in his promises:—*In God*, says he, *I have put my trust; I will not fear what flesh can do unto me.* (Psal. lvi. 4.)—And again, *My soul, wait thou only upon God; for my expectation is from him. He only is my rock and my salvation: He is my defence, I shall not be moved. In God is my salvation and my glory; the rock of my strength and my refuge is in God. Trust in him at all times, ye people.* (lxii. 5, &c.) Obedience to all God's commandments is strongly insisted on throughout the Old Testament; and (what seems peculiar to the Jewish law) all moral duties are enforced on this principle, *I am the Lord your God.* (Lev. xix. 3, &c.)—We have in Job the greatest example of patience and resignation to God's will.—*The Lord gave*, says he, *and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.* (Job i. 21.)—And again, *Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?* (ii. 10.)—And Solomon teaches the same good lesson, *My son, despise not the chastening of the Lord; neither be weary of his correction. For whom the Lord loveth he correcteth, even as a father the son in whom he delighteth.* (Prov. iii. 11, 12.) The Israelites were required to *walk humbly with their God* (Mic. vi. 8.); and are taught that *the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit;* and that *a broken and contrite heart God will not despise.* (Psal. li. 17.)—Not merely an external service, but the *internal worship* of a pure heart was required of them. *Offer unto God* not sacrifice but *thanksgiving, and pay thy vows unto the Most High.* (l. 14.) *The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination unto the Lord; but the prayer of the upright is his delight.* (Prov. xv. 8.) *Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name: worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.* (Psal. xxix. 2.) We have already seen how strictly all idolatry was prohibited by the Mosaical law; and the same doctrine is taught by all the prophets. The one God was the sole and constant object of their worship; to him they gave all honour, glory, and praise; to him alone they offered their prayers; and to him they returned thanks as the giver of all good things; and him they worshipped, not under the vain representation of an image or idol, but in a manner suitable to his spiritual nature, and transcendent majesty. To the ONE GOD alone, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Moses, Samuel, and the prophets, offered their prayers; and he heard them. The whole book of Psalms consists of prayers, and praises, offered to the one true God. *I will call upon God*, says David, *and the Lord shall save me.* (Psal. lv. 16.)—And again, *O thou that hearest prayer, unto thee shall all flesh come.* (lxv. 2.) The whole service of the tabernacle and temple was directed to the one God. At the dedication of the temple, Solomon offered up a solemn prayer to Jehovah the God of Israel, to whom there was *no God like in heaven above, or on earth beneath.* Him he besought to *have respect unto the prayers and supplications* which should be there offered, and to *hear in heaven his dwelling-place.* (1 Kings viii. 23. 29, 30.) And *God appeared to him*, and assured him that *he had heard his prayer, and that his eyes should be open and his ears attentive unto the prayer that should be made in that place.* (2 Chron. vii. 12, &c.)[1]

III. The BELIEF OF A FUTURE STATE which we have already seen was held by the patriarchs[2] (though not explicitly taught by Moses, whose writings presuppose it as a generally adopted article of religion), was transmitted from them to the Israelites, and appears in various parts of the Old Testament. From the circumstance of the promise of temporal blessings being principally, if not entirely, annexed to the laws of Moses, Bishop Warburton attempted to deduce an argument in support of his divine mission.[3] It is impossible here to enter into an examination of this argument: but we may observe, in the first place, "that *the omission of a future state, as a sanction to the laws of Moses, can be satisfactorily accounted for;* and, secondly, *that the Old Testament shows that he himself believed in a future state, and contains a gradual developement of it.* These two propositions, the former of which is in unison with the opinion of Warburton, the latter at variance with him, appear to be very satisfactorily established by the luminous reasoning of Dr. Graves.[4] Instead of employing the omission of the doctrine as a *medium*, by which to prove that a divine interposition was necessary for the erection and maintenance of Judaism, he first shows the reality of a divine interposition, and then that the omission in question, so far from being inconsistent with the divine origin of the system, does, in fact, necessarily result from the peculiar nature of the dispensation, and from the character of the people to whom it was given.—The polytheistic principle of tutelary deities maintained that their worship was attended with a national prosperity. The futility of this it was the intention of God to display by open and unequivocal demonstrations of his own omnipotence. The moral government of Jehovah was to be exhibited on the earth by the theocracy which he established.[5] Its very nature required temporal sanctions, and their immediate enforcement; its object could not be attained by waiting till the invisible realities of a future state should be unveiled. The previous exhibition of such a moral government was the best preparation for the full revelation of man's future destiny, and of the means provided for his welfare in it, by a merciful and redeeming God. 'Life and immortality were thus to be fully brought to light by the Gospel.' As yet the bulk of mankind were unprepared for it, and were better fitted to comprehend, and be influenced by sensible manifestations of the divine judgments, than by the remoter doctrine of a future state of retribution.

"The Old Testament, however, and even the writings of Moses, contained intelligible intimations of immortality. The four last books of the Pentateuch, indeed, were principally occupied in the detail of the legal regulations, and the sanctions necessary to enforce them; yet even from them Jesus Christ deduced an argument to the confusion of the Sadducees.[6] And in the book of Genesis are several occurrences, which must have led the pious Jews to the doctrine of a future existence, even had they possessed no remains of patriarchal tradition. The account of the state of man before the fall, of the penalty first annexed to his transgression, and of the sentence pronounced upon our first parents, considered in connection with the promise of a deliverance, would necessarily suggest such a doctrine. Could the believing Jews conclude that death would have followed the acceptance of Abel's sacrifice, unless he was translated to some better state of existence and felicity? How also did God show his approbation of Enoch's piety, unless he took him to himself, and to immortality and bliss?—Doubtless the author of the

[1] Dr. Randolph's two Sermons on the Excellency of the Jewish Law vindicated, in vol. ii. of his View of our Blessed Saviour's Ministry, &c. pp. 259—273.

[2] See p. 143. *supra.*

[3] The following is a summary of his hypothesis:—The doctrine of a future state is necessary to the well-being of civil society, under the *ordinary* government of providence: all mankind have ever so conceived of the matter. The Mosaic institution was without this support, and yet did not want it. What follows, but that the Jewish affairs were administered by an extraordinary providence, distributing rewards and punishments with an equal hand, and, consequently, that the MISSION OF MOSES WAS DIVINE? Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses, book vi. sect. 6. (Works, vol. vi p. 106. *et seq.* 8vo. edit.)

[4] On the Pentateuch, part 3. lect. 3, 4.

[5] Div. Leg. b. v. sect. 4.

[6] Matt. xxii. 32. Mark xii. 26, 27. Luke xx. 37, 38.

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Epistle to the Hebrews was not the first who discovered that 'the fathers did not look for transitory promises;' that 'they sought a better country, even a heavenly;' and that 'God hath prepared for them a city;' and that Moses himself rejected the 'enjoyment of the pleasures of sin for a season,' because 'he had respect to the recompense of the reward.'—This important and consolatory truth of a future state of being was, in process of time, displayed to the Jews more and more clearly.—The book of Job is very explicit upon the subject. The royal Psalmist has spoken of it with great confidence;[1] and Solomon, besides several passages in his proverbs,[2] which seem to allude to it, is supposed to have written the book of Ecclesiastes, which concludes with a clear declaration of it, for the express purpose of proving and enforcing it.[3] The translation of Elijah,[4] and the restoration to life of three several persons by him and his successor,[5] must have given demonstration of the probability of the same doctrine; which also Isaiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Amos, and especially Daniel, very frequently inculcate, and even pre-suppose as a matter of notoriety and popular belief.[6]

To these considerations we may add the fact, that in the books of Leviticus (xix. 26. 31. xx. 27.), and Deuteronomy (xviii. 10, 11.), there are various enactments against diviners, enchanters, and those who profess to know the future by consulting either familiar spirits, or the spirits of the departed. All these superstitions suppose the belief of spirits, and the doctrine of the existence of souls after death; and Moses would not have prohibited the consulting of them by express laws, if he had not been apprehensive that the Hebrews, after the example of the neighbouring heathen nations, would have abused the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, which was universally received among them. Severe, however, as these laws were, they did not entirely repress this abuse; for the Psalmist (cvi. 28.) reproaches the Israelites with having eaten *the sacrifices of the dead*, that is, sacrifices offered to the manes of the dead. We have also, in Saul, a signal instance of this superstition. After he had *cut off those that had familiar spirits, and the wizards out of the land* (1 Sam. xxviii. 3. 9.), having in vain consulted THE LORD respecting the issue of his approaching conflict with the Philistines, he went in quest of a woman that had a familiar spirit, and commanded her to evoke the soul of the prophet Samuel. (ver. 7—12.) This circumstance evidently proves that Saul and the Israelites believed in the immortality of the soul.

IV. The EXPECTATION OF A REDEEMER, which was cherished by the patriarchs, was also kept up under the Mosaic dispensation by predictions, both by the Hebrew legislator and by the prophets who succeeded him, until the fulness of time came, when the Messiah was manifested. But as this topic (which is introduced here only to show the connection between the patriarchal religion and that of the Jews) has already been noticed as an accomplishment of prophecy,[7] we proceed to remark,—

V. That the MORALITY OF THE JEWISH CODE exhibits a perfection and beauty, in no respect inferior to its religious doctrines and duties. We owe to it the decalogue, a repository of duty to God and man, so pure and comprehensive as to be absolutely without parallel; and these commandments are not the impotent recommendations of man, or the uncertain deductions of human reason, but the dictates of the God of purity, flowing from his immediate legislation, and promulgated with awful solemnity. The sanctions also of the remaining enactments of the law are such as morality possessed in no other nation.

1. In the first place, the most excellent and amiable virtue of humility, a virtue little practised, and scarcely ever taught by the philosophers, is recommended and taught in the Old Testament, as well as in the New. Moses admonishes *the children of Israel to beware lest their heart be lifted up, and they forget the Lord their God, and ascribe their wealth and prosperity to their own power and might.* (Deut. viii. 14, &c.) And the prophet Micah teacheth them, that *to walk humbly with their God*, was one of the principal things which *the Lord required of them.* (Mic. vi. 8.) We are assured by Isaiah that *God dwells with him that is of a contrite and humble spirit.* (Isa. lvii. 15.) And Solomon declares, that *pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall;* that *better it is to be of a humble spirit with the lowly, than to divide the spoil with the proud;* and again—*Every one that is proud in heart is an abomination to the Lord.* (Prov. xvi. 5, &c.) The kindred virtue of meekness is also a doctrine of the Old Testament. The Psalmist assures us, that *God will guide the meek in judgment, and teach them his way.* (Psal. xxv. 9.) And Solomon teaches us, that *he that is slow to anger is better than the mighty; and he that ruleth his spirit, than he that taketh a city.* (Prov. xvi. 32.) It is not necessary to adduce the many exhortations to diligence, which we meet with in the writings of the Old Testament. Every one knows that beautiful passage in the book of Proverbs:—*Go to the ant, thou sluggard, consider her ways and be wise, which, having no guide, overseer, or ruler, provideth her meat in the summer, and gathereth her food in the harvest.* (vi 6, &c.)

2. Further, lewdness and debauchery were not only commonly practised and allowed among the heathen nation; but shameless prostitutions and the most abominable impurities were introduced into their temples, and made a part of their religion. But all uncleanness, and unnatural lusts, were strictly forbidden in the law of Moses. It is said that *because of these abominations, the Lord cast out the Canaanites before them;* and that *whosoever shall commit any of these abominations shall be cut off from among their people. The children of Israel*, therefore, were required not to *defile themselves therein* (Lev. xviii. and xx.), but *to be holy, because the Lord their God was holy* (xix. 2.) The law ordains, that *there should be no whore of the daughters of Israel, nor a sodomite of the sons of Israel.*[8] (Deut. xxiii. 17.) And in general, all prostitution is forbidden:—*Do not prostitute thy daughter*, says the law, *to cause her to be a whore, lest the land fall to whoredom, and the land become full of wickedness.* (Lev. xix. 29.) And these were some of the crimes which provoked God to visit the Jews, and destroy their city and temple:—*They committed adultery, and assembled themselves by troops in the harlots' houses.* (Jer. v. 7, &c.) Frequently and earnestly does Solomon call upon young men to beware of the arts of strange women. *Rejoice*, says he, *with the wife of thy youth, and embrace not the bosom of a stranger. For the ways of man are before the eyes of the Lord, and he pondereth all his goings.* (Prov. v. 18, &c.)

3. The same wise man cautions men as earnestly against gluttony and drunkenness:—*Be not*, says he, *amongst winebibbers, amongst riotous eaters of flesh. For the glutton and the drunkard shall come to poverty.* (xxiii. 20, 21.) And Isaiah pronounces a *woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink, that continue until night, till wine inflame them.* (Isa. v. 11.) And it is enacted by the law, that, if a son be accused by his parents as *stubborn, and rebellious, a glutton, and a drunkard, he shall be stoned to death.* (Deut. xxi. 20, 21.) All covetous desires are also prohibited. The tenth commandment forbade the Israelites to *covet any of their neighbours'* goods. (Exod. xx. 17.) They were admonished not to be *greedy of gain* (Prov. xv. 27.), or *labour to be rich* (xxiii. 4.); and are taught to ask of God, that *he would give them neither poverty nor riches, but feed them with food convenient for them.* (xxx. 8.) Our duty to our neighbour is also clearly and fully set forth in the law and the prophets. *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself* (Lev. xix. 18.), was a precept of the law, that in one word comprehends every duty which we owe one to another.

4. All the relative duties of life are therein most plainly taught. We read in the book of Genesis, that *woman was taken out of man;* and *therefore shall a man leave his father, and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh.* (Gen. ii. 23, 24.) Adultery was forbidden by the seventh commandment (Exod. xx. 14.); and was by the Mosaical law punishable with death. (Lev. xx. 10.) The fifth commandment required them to *honour their father, and their mother, that their days may be long upon the land which the Lord their God gave them.* (Exod. xx. 12.) And, *if a man had a stubborn and rebellious son, who would not obey the voice of his father, or mother, and when they had chastened him, would not hearken unto them, they might bring him unto the*

[1] See Psalms xxi. xxxvi. xlix. lxxiii. cxxxix. Also Bp. Horne on Psalms xvi. xvii. and xlix.
[2] Prov. v. 21—23. xiv. 32.
[3] Eccles. iii. 16, 17. and viii. 11. 13.
[4] 2 Kings ii. 11.
[5] 1 Kings xvii. 2 Kings iv. and xiii. 21.
[6] Isa. xiv. 19. and xxvi. 19—21. Hosea xiii. 14. Amos iv. 12, 13. Dan. xii. 1—3. Franke's Norrisian Prize Essay on the Use and Necessity of Revelation, pp. 72—75. Du Voisin, Autorité des Livres de Moysé, pp. 406—421.
[7] See pp. 126—128 *supra*, and the Appendix, No. VI. *infra*.
[8] The words in the original signify persons consecrated to these lewd purposes, who prostituted themselves in their temples, and whose hire was dedicated to the service of their filthy gods. And accordingly it follows in the next verse, *Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore, or the price of a dog* (a fit appellation for these catamites), *into the house of the Lord thy God for any vow; for even both these are an abomination unto the Lord thy God.*

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elders of the city; and all the men of his city shall stone him with stones that he die: so, says Moses, *shalt thou put away evil from among you, and all Israel shall hear and fear.* (Deut. xxi. 18, &c.) And the same law pronounces a curse on all disobedient children,—*Cursed be he that setteth light by his father or his mother.* (xxvii. 16.) The Israelites were forbidden to use their servants ill,—*Thou shalt not rule over him with rigour,* saith the law; *but shalt fear thy God.* (Lev. xxv. 43.) Again,—*Thou shalt not oppress an hired servant, that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren, or of thy strangers, that are in thy land within thy gates. At his day thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it; for he is poor, and setteth his heart upon it; lest he cry against thee unto the Lord, and it be sin unto thee.* (Deut. xxiv. 14, &c.) And to the same purpose speaks Job,—*If I did despise the cause of my man-servant, or of my maid-servant, when they contended with me, what then shall I do when God riseth up? And when he visiteth, what shall I answer him? Did not he that made me in the womb make him? And did not one fashion us in the womb?* (Job xxxi. 13, &c.)

5. Every duty of justice was indeed strictly required by the law of Moses. Murder was forbidden by the sixth commandment, adultery by the seventh, and theft by the eighth. *Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed* (Gen. ix. 6.), was the first commandment given to Noah after the flood. And the same sentence was denounced against murder by the Mosaical law. All kinds of violence, oppression, or fraud, were also forbidden. (Exod. xxi. 12. Num. xxxv. Deut. xix.)—*That which is altogether just shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live,* says the law. (Deut. xvi. 20.) *Ye shall not oppress one another; but thou shalt fear the Lord thy God.* (Lev. xxv. 17.) *Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbour, neither rob him.* (xix. 13.) *Ye shall not steal, neither deal falsely, neither lie one to another.* (xix. 11.) *Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment, in mete-yard, in weight, or in measure. Just balances, just weights, a just ephah, and a just hin shall ye have. I am the Lord your God.* (xix. 35, &c.) The same commandment is repeated in the book of Deuteronomy; and it is added, that *all that do such things, and all that do unrighteously, are an abomination unto the Lord.* (Deut. xxxv. 13, &c.) And therefore our Saviour, when he says to his disciples,—*Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,*—adds,—*for this is the law and the prophets.* (Matt. vii. 12.)

6. The law of Moses was, moreover, characterized by benevolence and goodness, which tended to develope the same virtues among the Hebrews. It indignantly prohibited human sacrifices, which at that time were so generally prevalent; it softened the horrors of war, so frightful in those barbarous ages; it defended the cause of the poor, of the accused, of the fatherless, and of slaves. In all these respects, the Hebrew legislator was obliged to make some concessions to his countrymen; but, when we compare his institutions with the usages which then generally prevailed, we cannot mistake the tendency and effect of the Mosaic laws. We see, not only all injustice but all hatred forbidden, and humanity towards the poor most positively enjoined. *Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart; thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people; but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.* (Lev. xix. 17, 18.) *If they saw their brother's ox or sheep go astray, they were to bring them again to him. If they saw his ass or his ox fall down by the way, they were to help him to lift them up again.* (Deut. xxii. 1, &c.) *If their brother was waxen poor, and fallen in decay, they were commanded to relieve him, yea, though he be a stranger, or sojourner,* and to take *no usury of him, or increase.* (Lev. xxv. 35, 36.) *If they at all took their neighbour's raiment to pledge, they were to deliver it to him by that the sun goeth down.* (Exod. xxii. 26.) To the same purpose we read (Deut. xv.)—*If there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren, thou shalt not harden thy heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother; but thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need.* (Deut. xv. 7, 8.) They were required, *when they reaped the harvest of their land, not to make clean riddance of the corners of their field, nor to gather any gleaning of their harvest; but to leave them unto the poor, and to the stranger.* (Lev. xxiii. 22.) The like they were to do in their olive-yard and vine-yard: *they were not to go over them again, but leave the gleanings for the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, remembering that they themselves were bondmen in the land of Egypt.* (Deut. xxiv. 20, &c.) Nor were these kind offices to be performed only to their brethren or friends. *If they met their enemy's ox or ass going astray,* they were required to *bring it back to him again. If they saw the ass of him that hated them lying under his burden, they were surely to help with him.* (Exod. xxiii. 4, 5.) To the same purpose speaks Solomon:—*If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink.* (Prov. xxv. 21.) Nay, they were to extend their mercy even to the brute beasts.—*Thou shalt not muzzle the ox, when he treadeth out the corn.* (xxv. 4.) *When a bullock, or a sheep, or a goat is brought forth, then it shall be seven days under the dam. Whether it be cow, or ewe, ye shall not kill it and her young both in one day.* (Lev. xxii. 27, 28.) *If a bird's nest chance to be before thee, thou shalt not take the dam with the young.* (Deut. xxii. 6.) *Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk.* (Exod. xxiii. 19.)

In short, it seems that Moses was desirous of softening and civilizing the Hebrews, gradually, by mercy and beneficence. A few observations on the laws respecting strangers will confirm and illustrate this remark.

It is well known to all who are conversant with antiquity, that strangers, who were denominated barbarians, were treated as enemies, and often put out of the protection of the laws. The Gospel had not yet taught that all men were brethren, and that heretics and enemies are alike our neighbours. Further, the Mosaic legislation tended to insulate the Jews among other nations, and to detach them from their neighbours in order to protect them from their example. One would expect, therefore, that Moses would treat strangers in the same manner as they were at that time universally treated, and perhaps even with greater severity: but it was his especial object to render his people compassionate and generous, at the same time he endeavoured to remove strangers to a distance from Palestine, by every means consistent with humanity. The following are his enactments respecting them:—*If a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him: but the stranger, that dwelleth in your land, shall be unto you as one born amongst you, and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. I am the Lord your God.* (Lev. xix. 33, 34.) And again, God *loveth the stranger in giving him food and raiment. Love ye therefore the stranger, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.* Apprehensive lest strangers should be exposed to legal injustice (an occurrence which is frequent in the infancy of legislation), Moses enacted that they should be subject to the *same* laws and penalties as the Hebrews themselves were. (Lev. xxiv. 15—22. Num. xv. 15, 16.) And, finally, the oppression of strangers was one of the twelve crimes which were solemnly cursed on Mount Ebal (Deut. xxvii. 19.)[1]

Such is a concise view of the purity and extent of the moral law, delivered by Moses. How admirably are such language and such sentiments as these suited to the sacred original whence they flow! How strongly do they attest the Divine benevolence which dictated the Jewish law, which alone could enforce such precepts by adequate sanctions, and impress such sentiments upon the human heart with practical conviction! If the intermixture of such sentiments and precepts with the civil code, and the union of political regulations with moral instructions and religious observances, is unparalleled in any other country, and by any other lawgiver, —does not this circumstance afford a strong presumptive evidence of the divine original of the Mosaic code?

VI. The Mosaic dispensation, in its general provisions, comprehended a complete form of government, both civil and religious; and in both these respects it was purely a theocracy. Its civil enactments were adapted to peculiar cases and circumstances; but they enjoined, as we have seen, the duties of social life in all its several relations; and they appointed civil rulers to carry these laws into effect. The religious enactments of the Mosaic dispensation contained certain doctrines, promises, threatenings, and predictions, which were the authoritative rule of faith to the Jews; these enactments also prescribed a great multitude of ceremonial and judicial institutions, which, however indifferent in themselves, were obligatory on the Jews, by the commanding authority of God.[2] The precise use of all these institutions we

[1] This was forbidden, not only as it was an idolatrous custom practised among the heathen, but as it carried with it the appearance of barbarity Vide Phil. Jud. περὶ φιλανθρωπίας. Joseph. contra Apion, l. ii. § 22, &c Dr. Randolph's View of our Blessed Saviour's Ministry, &c. pp. 282—290 Cellérier, de l'Origine Authentique et Divine de l'Ancien Testament, pp 221—233. Du Voisin, Autorité des Livres de Moyse, pp. 368—386.

[2] See a full account of the religious and civil polity of the Jews, *infra* vol. ii.

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cannot, at this distance of time, fully ascertain. But some of them were manifestly established in opposition to the rites of the Egyptians and other neighbouring nations, and with a view to preserve them from the infections of their idolatries. Others of their rites were instituted as memorials of the signal and extraordinary acts of Divine Providence towards them, especially those by which their law had been confirmed and established. And the history of the Jewish people, the vengeance executed by them on idolatrous nations, the wonderful works of God wrought among them, and the excellency of their laws and constitutions, could not but awaken the attention of the rest of mankind, and hold forth a light to the heathen world throughout which they were dispersed.

Infinite wisdom, however, had a still further design in the Mosaic dispensation. It was designed to prepare the way for that more perfect dispensation which was to succeed it. Its rites and ceremonies prefigure and set forth the coming of *our Lord Jesus Christ*, who was *the end of the Law* (Rom. x. 4.), and who is pointed out and referred to through every part of the Old Testament. *The law was their schoolmaster to bring them unto Christ.* (Gal. iii. 24.) And though the elements which it taught were weak and poor, in respect of the more complete system which was afterwards to take place, yet they were excellent in their kind, and wisely adapted to the exigencies of those times.

The law, though not absolutely perfect, had a perfection suitable to its kind and design: it was adapted to the genius of the people to whom it was given, and admirably calculated to keep them a people distinct from the rest of mankind, and prevent their being involved in the idolatries common among other nations. And it was at the same time ordained to presignify good things to come, and to bear a strong attestation to the truth of the Christian religion. These were surely good ends, and worthy of a wise and good God. If God then chose Israel for his peculiar people, it was because all the rest of the world was immersed in idolatry and superstition. Nor did he thereby cease to be the God of the Gentiles. *He left not himself without witness* amongst them; *he did them good, and gave them rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons.* (Acts xiv. 17.) And *his eternal power and godhead* (Rom. i. 19, 20.) was manifested to them by the works of his creation. He was also at all times ready to receive those who turned from their idolatries, and became proselytes to the true religion. And he had prepared *his Son a ransom for all, to be testified in due time.* (1 Tim. ii. 6.) The Jews might indeed take occasion from hence to value themselves, and despise others: their law, however, gave them no encouragement or pretence so to do; but quite the contrary. And with regard to their ceremonial law, they were all along taught, both by Moses and their prophets, that true religion did not consist in such external observances. *Circumcise the foreskin of your heart* (Deut. x. 16.), said Moses to them. And again; *The Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, that thou mayest live.* (xxx. 6.) The like doctrine taught Samuel:—*Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt-offerings, and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams.* (1 Sam. xv. 22.) *Thou desirest not sacrifice*, says David, *else would I give it: Thou delightest not in burnt-offering. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.* (Psal. li. 16, 17.) *To do justice and judgment*, says Solomon, *is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice.* (Prov. xxi. 3.) Isaiah speaks very fully to the same purpose:—*To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts, and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, of he-goats, &c.—Wash ye, make ye clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes, cease to do evil, learn to do well, seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.* (Isa. i. 11, &c.) Thus also speaks Jeremiah,—*Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place. Trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord.* (Jer. vii. 3, 4.) *I desired mercy, and not sacrifice*, says God by the prophet Hosea, *and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings.* (Hos. vi. 6.) Lastly, we read in the prophet Micah,—*Wherewithal shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?* (Mic. vi. 6, &c.) If then the Jews placed their dependence on an external show of religion, they must stand condemned by their own Law, and their Prophets.

But, however excellent the Mosaic institution was in itself, and admirably adapted to the Jews, for the purposes for which it was intended, yet it was imperfect, as being only one part of the grand revelation of the divine purpose to save mankind through the blood of the Messiah, and also as being designed for a small nation, and not for the whole world. It was indeed strictly of a local and temporary nature. One part of its design being to separate the Israelites from the rest of mankind (which it effectually accomplished), many of its ordinances are therefore of such a nature, that they are not calculated for general adoption.[1] The Jewish dispensation was only temporary, and preparatory to that fuller manifestation of the divine will, which in the fulness of time was to be made known to the world. This is not only implied in its typical character, which has already been noticed, but is also intimated, in no obscure terms, in those predictions which announce its abrogation, the substitution of the evangelical laws by the advent of the Messiah, and the conversion of the Gentiles. To omit the prophecies concerning the Messiah, which have already been noticed,[2] the cessation of the Mosaic dispensation is foretold by Jeremiah in the following explicit terms:—*Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah: not according to the covenant that I made with the house of their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt (which my covenant they brake, although I was a husband to them, saith the Lord); but this shall be the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel. After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, saying, Know ye the Lord: for they shall* ALL *know me, from the least of them to the greatest of them, saith the Lord: for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more.* (Jer. xxxi. 31—34.) From which passage, Paul infers (Heb. viii. 7—13.), that the mention of a *new* covenant necessarily implies the first to be old, and that, if that first covenant had been faultless, there would have been no occasion for the second. Compare also Haggai ii. 6. with Heb. xii. 26, 27.

Equally important are all those predictions, which mention the calling of the Gentiles.[3] All these are punctually fulfilled in the preaching of the Gospel, but are not so much as possible, supposing the law to be still in force which confined all solemn worship and sacrifices to the temple at Jerusalem. Nay, further, this enlargement of the church plainly supersedes those other ceremonies, which were designed to distinguish the Israelites as God's peculiar people; for the partition wall must necessarily be broken down, and Jew and Gentile both made one whenever those prophecies should be accomplished.

Let us then adore the wisdom and goodness of God in all his dispensations. *His statutes are right and rejoice the heart*, and all his commandments are righteous. (Psal. xix. 8.) And these same righteous commandments and holy doctrines are delivered to us in the Gospel (as will be shown in the following pages) with still greater purity and perfection, and free from that burthen of ceremonies, which the circumstances of the Jewish age and people rendered necessary.

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§ 3. A SUMMARY VIEW OF THE DOCTRINES AND PRECEPTS OF THE GOSPEL DISPENSATION.

I. *Divine Character of the Founder of the Christian Religion*—II. *The Leading Doctrines of the Gospel are worthy of the character of the Almighty; particularly*, 1. *The account*

[1] Thus the Jews were commanded to appear personally in Jerusalem at their three great festivals; and if all men had been converted to Judaism, this law would have been equally binding upon them. But it would have been impossible for the greater part of mankind to repair to Jerusalem three or four times in the year; for, if this was a necessary part of religion, the lives of half the world would be entirely spent in a wearisome, never ending pilgrimage. Faber's Horæ Mosaicæ, vol. ii. p. 436.

[2] See pp. 126—129. *supra*, and the Appendix, No. VI.

[3] See Isa. ii. 2. x. xi. xix. 24. xlix. lx. Mic. iv. Mal. i. 11.

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of God and of his perfections, and the duty and spiritual worship which we owe to him.—2. The vicarious atonement made for sin by Jesus Christ.—3. Forgiveness of sins.—4. Justification by faith, and reconciliation to God.—5. The promise of the Holy Spirit to sanctify and renew our nature.—6. The immortality of the soul; and a future state of rewards and punishments.—III. *The Moral Precepts of the New Testament are admirably adapted to the actual State of Mankind.*—1. *Summary of the duty it enjoins between man and man, particularly integrity of conduct, charity, forgiveness of injuries.—2. The duties of governors and subjects, masters and servants, husbands and wives, parents and children.—3. The personal duties of sobriety, chastity, temperance, &c.—4. The holiness of the moral precepts of the Gospel, a proof of its divine origin.—5. Considerations on the manner in which the moral precepts of the Gospel are delivered; and on the character of Jesus Christ as a moral teacher.*—IV. *Superiority of the Motives to Duty presented by the Gospel.—They are drawn,* 1. *From a consideration of the reasonableness of the duty.—2. From the singular favours bestowed by God.—3. From the example of Christ.—4. From the sanctions of duty, which the civil relations among men have received from God.—5. From the regard which Christians owe to their holy profession.—6. From the acceptableness of true repentance and the promise of pardon.—7. From the divine assistance offered to support men in the practice of their duty.—8. From our relation to heaven while upon earth.—9. From the rewards and punishments proclaimed in the Gospel.*

I. Divine Character of the Founder of the Christian Religion.

The third and last dispensation of religion is that which was introduced by that divine and glorious person whom the prophets had foretold. This is properly the Christian Dispensation, which was designed and fitted for an universal extent, and in which, considered in its original purity, religion is brought to its highest perfection and noblest improvement. An admirable wisdom, goodness, and purity shone forth in the whole conduct and character of the great author of it. He came in the fulness of time, the time which had been pointed out in the prophetical writings. In him the several predictions relating to the extraordinary person that was to come were fulfilled, and the several characters by which he was described were wonderfully united, and in no other person. He appeared, as was foretold concerning him, mean in his outward condition and circumstances, and yet maintained in his whole conduct a dignity becoming his divine character. Many of his miracles were of such a kind, and performed in such a manner, as seemed to argue a dominion over nature, and its established laws, and they were acts of great goodness as well as power. He went about doing good to the bodies and to the souls of men; and the admirable instructions he gave were delivered with a divine authority, and yet with great familiarity and condescension. And his own practice was every way suited to the excellency of his precepts. He exhibited the most finished pattern of universal holiness, of love to God, of zeal for the divine glory, of the most wonderful charity and benevolence towards mankind, of the most unparalleled self-denial, of a heavenly mind and life, of meekness and patience, humility and condescension. Never was there so perfect a character, so godlike, venerable, and amiable, so remote from that of an enthusiast or an impostor. He is the only founder of a religion in the history of mankind, which is totally unconnected with all human policy and government, and therefore totally unconducive to any worldly purpose whatever. All others, as Mohammed, Numa, and even Moses himself, blended their religious and civil institutions together, and thus acquired dominion over their respective people: but Christ neither aimed at nor would accept of any such power; he rejected every object which all other men pursue, and made choice of all those which others fear to encounter. No other founder of a religion ever made his own sufferings and death a *necessary* part of his original plan, and essential to his mission. Jesus Christ, however, most expressly foretold his own sufferings, the cruel and ignominious death he was to undergo, his resurrection from the dead on the third day, his ascension into heaven, the dreadful judgments and calamities that should be inflicted on the Jewish nation, and, what seemed the most improbable thing in the world, the wonderful progress of his own Gospel from the smallest beginnings, notwithstanding the persecutions and difficulties to which he foretold it should be exposed. All this was most exactly fulfilled: he rose again on the third day, and showed himself alive to his disciples after his passion by many infallible proofs, when their hopes were so sunk, that they could hardly believe that he was risen, till they could no longer doubt of it, without renouncing the testimony of all their senses. He gave them a commission to go and preach his Gospel to all nations, and promised that, to enable them to do it with success, they should be endued with the most extraordinary powers and gifts of the Holy Ghost. This accordingly they did, and though destitute of all worldly advantages, without power, riches, interest, policy, learning, or eloquence, they went through the world preaching a crucified Jesus, as the Saviour and Lord of men, and teaching the things which he had commanded them; and by the wonderful powers with which they were invested, and the evidences they had produced of their divine mission, they prevailed, and spread the religion of Jesus, as their great Master had foretold, in the midst of sufferings and persecutions, and in opposition to the reigning inveterate prejudices both of Jews and Gentiles.

II. If we examine the nature and tendency of the Gospel Dispensation, and of the doctrines taught by Jesus Christ and his apostles, we shall find them to be in every respect worthy of God, and adapted to the necessities of mankind. They retain all that is excellent in the Old Testament revelation; for Christ came, not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them, and to carry the scheme of religion there laid down to a still higher degree of excellency. Accordingly, he taught all the fundamental doctrines of the Christian system, which are necessary to be believed and obeyed in order to the attainment of salvation. Such, for instance, are the existence and perfections of God; the righteous and reasonable character of his law; the rebellion, apostacy, and corruption of man; the impossibility of justification by the works of the law; Christ's own divine character, as the Son of God and the Saviour of men; justification by faith in him; the deity and offices of the Holy Spirit; the nature and necessity of regeneration, faith, repentance, holiness of heart and life; a future state; a judgment to come; and a recompense of reward to the righteous and the wicked, and the spiritual nature of his kingdom. These are the leading subjects taught by Jesus Christ and his apostles: to adduce *all* the passages of the New Testament that assert them would extend this section to an undue length. A few of the principal testimonies may properly claim to be noticed.

1. The account of God and of his Perfections contained in the Scriptures commends itself to our reason, as worthy of the highest and most excellent of all beings, and the most suitable affections and dispositions towards him. He is represented as a pure Spirit, the Creator and Governor of the world, possessed of infinite wisdom, holiness, truth, justice, goodness, and perfection; the witness and judge of our actions; eternal, immortal, invisible, unchangeable, and omnipresent.[1] At the same time, his majesty is softened (if we may be allowed the expression) by his benevolence, which is liberal and unwearied in diffusing good throughout the universe: "his tender mercies are over all his works," embracing at once the interests of our souls and our bodies; and while he bestows in abundance the blessings and consolations of the present life, he has provided for us perfect and exalted felicity in the life to come. Of all the views of God which had ever been given, none was so calculated to endear him to us, and to inspire our hearts with confidence, as this short but interesting description, of which the scheme of redemption affords a sublime illustration,—"God is love!" (1 John iv. 16.) But the Gospel not only makes known to us the nature of God: it also imparts to us a full discovery of our duty to him, clothed in ideas the most venerable, amiable, and engaging. We are required to fear God, but it is not with a servile horror, such as superstition inspires, but with a filial reverence. We are directed and encouraged to address ourselves to him as our heavenly Father through Jesus Christ the Son of his love, and in his name to offer up our prayers and praises, our confessions and thanksgivings, with the profoundest humility, becoming creatures deeply sensible of their own unworthiness, and yet with an ingenuous affiance, hope, and joy. We are to yield the most unreserved submission to God as our sovereign Lord, our most wise and righteous Governor, and most gracious Bene-

[1] John iv. 24. Rom. i. 20. Heb. iii. 4. Matt. xxiii. 9. Eph. iv. 6. Matt. x. 29, 30. Luke x. 24—28. 1 Tim. i. 17. John xvii. 11. Rev. iii. 7. xv. 4. John vii. 28. 2 Cor. i. 18. 1 John i. 9. Rev. xv. 3. Eph. i. 23.

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factor; to resign ourselves to his disposal, and acquiesce in his providential dispensations, as being persuaded that he orders all things really for the best; to walk continually as in his sight, and with a regard to his approbation, setting him before us as our great all-seeing witness and judge, our chiefest good and highest end. Above all, we are required to love the Lord our God with all our heart, and mind, and strength, and to show that we love him by keeping his commandments, by aspiring after a conformity to him in his imitable perfections, and by endeavouring, as far as we are able, to glorify him in the world.

The external worship of God, according to the idea given of it in the New Testament, is pure and spiritual, and is characterized by a noble simplicity. As *God is a spirit*, he is to be worshipped, not in a formal manner, but *in spirit and in truth*. (John iv. 24.) The numerous rites of the Mosaic dispensation, which, though wisely suited to that time and state, were marks of the imperfection of that economy, are now abolished. The ordinances of Christianity, prescribed in the Gospel, are few in number, easy to be observed, and noble in their use and significancy; and those ceremonies, which are necessary in order that all things may be done decently and in order, are left to be filled up, in every country, at the discretion of pious men lawfully appointed.—A glorious plan of religious worship this! grounded upon the perfections of the divine nature, and admirably corresponding with the case and necessities of sinful man.

2. That man should love God with all his heart, is not the language of religion only; it is also the dictate of reason. But, alas! neither reason nor religion have had sufficient influence to produce this effect. Man has offended God, and guilt exposes him to punishment; for the holiness of God must hate sin, and his justice must lead him to testify in his conduct the displeasure which his heart feels. That man is also a depraved creature, and manifests that depravity in his sentiments and disposition, the whole history of the human kind furnishes abundant proof. If the annals of the different nations of the earth do not portray the tempers and actions of a race of dreadfully depraved creatures, there is no such thing in nature as an *argument*. The tendency of guilt and depravity is as naturally and certainly to misery, as of a stone to fall downwards.

In what way *guilty* and *depraved* creatures can be delivered from wickedness and punishment, and restored to goodness and felicity, is one of the most difficult, as it is one of the most important, questions which can employ the mind. "God is justly displeased: how shall he be reconciled? Guilt makes man afraid of God: how shall the cause of fear be removed? Depravity makes man averse to intercourse with God: how shall his sentiments and disposition be changed?" These are all difficulties which natural religion cannot resolve; and concerning which reason is utterly silent. *Repentance* and *reformation* have been considered by many as fully sufficient to banish all these evils; but they have no countenance for their opinion from the course of God's moral government. A *debauchee* repents bitterly and sincerely of his vicious excesses; but repentance does not heal his diseased body: "he is made to possess the sins of his youth;" and the fatal effects of his vices bring him to an early grave. The *gamester* repents of his folly, and reforms his conduct: but his penitence and reformation do not procure the restoration of his lost estate; and he spends his remaining years in poverty and want. By imitating, men testify their approbation of the divine conduct, in their ideas of distributive justice. The *murderer* is seized, and led to the tribunal of the judge. He professes to be penitent, and there is no reason to question his sincerity. But do any think that his repentance should arrest the arm of the righteous law? He is condemned, and suffers death. If, then, the sentiments of men, confirming the conduct of God, proclaim the insufficiency of repentance to atone for iniquity, no rational hope can be entertained of its efficacy. We must look to another quarter; but where shall we look?

An extraordinary interposition of the Supreme Being appears necessary, and also a revelation of his will to give us information on the subject. Though it would be presumption in us to name every thing that a revelation will contain, we may say with confidence, it will be full and explicit as to the pardon of sin, and the method of a sinner's reconciliation with God. These are indispensably requisite. The New Testament does not disappoint our wishes or our hopes: it enters fully into all these difficulties, and proposes a remedy for every evil which we feel. *The doctrine of a mediator, and of redemption through him*, presents itself to our eyes in every page; and forms the very core of the Christian religion.[1] Thus, what men had in all ages wished for in vain—an atonement for sin (which conscience and their natural notions of divine justice taught them to be necessary)—the sacred books point out in the death of Jesus; which, in consequence of the dignity of his person, our reason perceives to have been of sufficient value to expiate the guilt of innumerable millions. The reality and extent of the atonement or satisfaction made to divine justice by Jesus Christ are set forth in the strongest and most explicit language that can be conceived. Thus, he is said to have *died* FOR *us, to* BEAR *our sins, to* TAKE AWAY *our sins, to be a* PROPITIATION *for our sins*, and *to* PURCHASE, REDEEM, *or* RANSOM *us with the price of his blood.*

Christ died FOR *us.—He laid down his life* FOR *us.* (1 John iii. 16.)—*He died* FOR *our sins.* (1 Cor. xv. 3.)—*He gave himself* FOR *us.* (Tit. ii. 14.)—*He was delivered* FOR *our offences.* (Rom. iv. 25.) *He tasted death* FOR *every man.* (Heb. ii. 9.)—Agreeably to the prophecy concerning him, *He was wounded* FOR *our transgressions, and bruised* FOR *our iniquities.* (Isa. liii. 5.)—*Christ has* BORNE *our sins.—He was once offered to bear the sins of many.* (Heb. ix. 28.)—*He* BARE *our sins in his own body on the tree.* (1 Pet. ii. 24.)—Agreeably to the predictions concerning him, *He hath* BORNE *our griefs and* CARRIED *our sorrows: the Lord hath* LAID ON HIM *the iniquity of us all.* (Isa. liii. 4. 6.)

Christ has TAKEN AWAY *our sins.—He was manifested to take* AWAY *our sins.* (1 John iii. 5.)—*He* PUT AWAY *sin by the sacrifice of himself.* (Heb. ix. 26.)—*He hath* WASHED *us from our sins in his own blood.* (Rev. i. 5.)—*The blood of Christ Jesus* CLEANSETH *us from all sin.* (1 John i. 7.)

Christ is a PROPITIATION *for our sins.—Him hath God set forth* to be a PROPITIATION, *through faith in his blood.* (Rom. iii. 25.)—*God sent his Son to be* THE PROPITIATION *for our sins.* (1 John iv. 10.)—*He is* THE PROPITIATION *for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.* (1 John ii. 2.)

Christ PURCHASED, REDEEMED, *or* RANSOMED *us with the price of his blood.—He* PURCHASED *the church of God with his own blood.* (Acts xx. 28.)—*He came to give his life a* RANSOM *for many.* (Matt. xx. 28.)—*He gave himself a* RANSOM *for all.* (1 Tim. ii. 6.)—*We are* BOUGHT *with a price.* (1 Cor. vi. 20.)—*In him we have* REDEMPTION *through his blood.* (Eph. i. 7.)—*He hath* REDEEMED *us to God by his blood.* (Rev. v. 9.)—*We are* REDEEMED *with the precious blood of Christ.* (1 Pet. i. 19.)

3. The divine justice being satisfied, we are assured of the FORGIVENESS OF OUR SINS through Christ, upon a sincere *repentance.* His forerunner, John the Baptist, preached *the baptism of repentance for the* REMISSION OF SINS. (Luke iii. 3.)—Christ tells us, *his blood was shed for many for the* REMISSION OF SINS. (Matt. xxvi. 28.)—After the resurrection, the apostles are directed by him *to preach repentance and* REMISSION OF SINS *in his name among all nations.* (Luke xxiv. 47.)—Accordingly their preaching was this: *Him God hath exalted with his right hand to be a prince and a saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and* FORGIVENESS OF SINS. (Acts v. 31.)—*Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the* REMISSION OF SINS. (Acts ii. 38.)—*Through this man is preached unto you the* FORGIVENESS OF SINS. (Acts xiii. 38.)—*To him give all the prophets witness, that* through his name, *whosoever* believeth *in him shall receive* REMISSION OF SINS. (Acts x. 43.)—*God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not* IMPUTING *their trespasses unto them.* (2 Cor. v. 19.)—*In him we have redemption through his blood, the* FORGIVENESS OF SINS. (Eph. i. 7.)—And we are commanded *to forgive one another, even as God*, for Christ's sake, *hath* FORGIVEN *us.* (Eph. iv. 32.)

4. Our sins being forgiven, we are JUSTIFIED by Christ in the sight of God. *By him all that believe are* JUSTIFIED. (Acts xiii. 39.)—*We are* JUSTIFIED *in the name of the Lord Jesus.* (1 Cor. vi. 11.)—*We are* JUSTIFIED *freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ.* (Rom. iii. 24.)—*Being* JUSTIFIED *by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him.* (Rom. v. 9.)—*God hath made him to be* sin (that is, a sin-offering) *for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the* RIGHTEOUSNESS *of God in him.* (2 Cor. v. 21.)—*Even the* RIGHTEOUSNESS *of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe.* (Rom. iii. 22.)—Therefore "we are accounted righteous before God, only for the meri

[1] Bogue's Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament, pp. 32. 34

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of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own merits or deservings."[1]

Further, being JUSTIFIED by Christ, we are RECONCILED to God. *Being* JUSTIFIED *by faith, we have* peace *with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.* (Rom. v. 1.)—*We are* RECONCILED *to God by the death of his Son.* (Rom. v. 10.)—*Us, who were enemies, hath Christ* RECONCILED *in the body of his flesh, through death.* (Col. i. 21, 22.)—*He hath made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to* RECONCILE *all things unto himself.* (Col. i. 20.)—*God hath* RECONCILED *us to himself by Jesus Christ* (2 Cor. v. 18.);—*Who suffered for sin, that he might* bring us *unto God.* (1 Pet. iii. 18.)—And, *we are* accepted *in the beloved.* (Eph. i. 6.)

5. Once more, in the Gospel we find the best principles of COMFORT AND REFRESHMENT TO THE SOUL under all the calamities and afflictions of life, as well as a rich magazine of all means proper for the sanctification of our souls, and our most successful advances in true piety. In the Scriptures we see that the Divine Spirit is ready with his mighty aids to assist, enlighten, and strengthen our spirits in proportion to our sincere desires and endeavours after godliness; and there we are directed every day, and at all times, to seek unto God through Christ, by fervent and believing prayer, for his guidance and protection, and are assured that we shall never seek his face in vain. For Jesus Christ, having reconciled us to God, SANCTIFIES the hearts of true believers by the Holy Spirit, in order to enable them to perform their duty, and to continue in the favour of God. *We are chosen to salvation, through* SANCTIFICATION *of the Spirit* (2 Thess. ii. 13.), and *through* SANCTIFICATION *of the Spirit unto obedience.* (1 Pet. i. 2.)—*We are* SANCTIFIED, *through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ.* (Heb. x. 10.)—*God hath not called us to uncleanness, but unto* HOLINESS, *who hath also given unto us his* HOLY SPIRIT. (1 Thess. iv. 7, 8.)—*The* SPIRIT OF GOD *dwelleth in us* (Rom. viii. 9.), *and our body is the* TEMPLE *of the* HOLY GHOST (1 Cor. vi. 19.), and *we are an habitation of God through the* SPIRIT. (Eph. ii. 22.)—*We are* RENEWED *by the* HOLY GHOST (Tit. iii. 5.)—and quickened *by the* SPIRIT (John vi. 63.)—and strengthened *with might by the* SPIRIT *in the inner man.* (Eph. iii. 16.)—And *it is through the* SPIRIT *that we mortify the deeds of the body* (Rom. viii. 13.)—by which deeds *we* grieve *and* quench *the* SPIRIT. (Eph. iv. 30. 1 Thess. v. 19.)

He who assists us by his SPIRIT upon earth (Luke xi. 13.), to enable us to do the will of God, and thereby to continue in his favour, is our constant MEDIATOR, INTERCESSOR, and ADVOCATE with God in heaven, to present our prayers for the supply of our wants, and to obtain a compassionate regard to our failings and infirmities. *He is the* MEDIATOR *of the New Covenant.* (Heb. xii. 24.)—*There is one* MEDIATOR *between God and man, even the man Jesus Christ.* (1 Tim. ii. 5.)—*He makes* INTERCESSION *for us at the right hand of God.* (Rom. viii. 34.)—*He appears in the* presence *of God* FOR *us.* (Heb. ix. 24.)—*No man cometh unto the Father but by him.* (John xiv. 6.)—He *is able to save them to the uttermost who come unto God* by him, *seeing he ever liveth to make* INTERCESSION *for them.* (Heb. vii. 25.)—*If any man* sin *we have an* ADVOCATE *with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.* (1 John ii. 1.)—He *is touched with the feeling of our* INFIRMITIES, and therefore *let us come* boldly to the throne of grace, *that we may find grace and mercy to help in time of need* (Heb. iv. 15, 16.)—and *let us* draw near *with a true heart, and full* assurance of faith. (Heb. x. 22.)—*In him we have* boldness, *and* access *with confidence.* (Eph. iii. 12.)

6. In favour of the IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL, a point so important, but which to the wisest of the Gentiles seemed so doubtful, the New Testament speaks in the most decisive language, and holds out to the hopes and fears of mankind rewards and punishments suited to their nature, and which it is worthy of God to dispense. In the Gospel we see the dead both small and great restored to life, and appearing before the tribunal of God, to receive a sentence "according to the deeds done in the body." The glories of heaven which are reserved "for them that love him," and the everlasting miseries which will be the terrible portion of all the wilfully impenitent workers of iniquity, are disclosed in the Scriptures; which alone set forth the true reason of our being in this world, viz. not for enjoyment, but for trial; not to gain temporal pleasures or possessions, but that our souls may be disciplined and prepared for immortal honour and glory. While the divine displeasure is declared against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, and the most awful warnings are denounced against sinners, the means by which they may obtain mercy are clearly displayed and offered to them.[2] And as it is Jesus Christ who enables us to do the will of God and to preserve his favour in this life (for without him we can do nothing), so it is through him alone that we are made partakers of that eternal life and immortality, which he has illustrated in the Gospel. *The Father sent the Son to be the* SAVIOUR *of the world* (1 John iv. 14.)—*to seek and to* SAVE *that which was lost* (Luke xix. 10.)—*that we might* LIVE *through him* (1 John iv. 9.)—*that the world through him might be* SAVED (John iii. 17.)—*that believing, we might have* LIFE *through his name* (John xx. 31.)—*that whosoever believeth in him should not* perish, *but have* EVERLASTING LIFE. (John iii. 16.)—Through *him we are* SAVED *from wrath.*—*He hath* DELIVERED *us from the wrath to come.* (1 Thess. i. 10. Rom. v 9.)—ETERNAL LIFE *is the gift of God through Jesus Christ our Lord.* (Rom. vi. 23.)—*God hath given us* ETERNAL LIFE, *and this* LIFE *is in his Son* (1 John v. 11.)—*who is the captain of our salvation* (Heb. ii. 10.)—*the author of* ETERNAL SALVATION *to all them that obey him* (Heb. v. 9.):—*Neither is there* SALVATION *in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be* SAVED.[3] (Acts iv. 12.)

Such is the system of doctrine promulgated in the New Testament by the apostles of Jesus Christ. But whence did they derive their knowledge? They have given us a full view of human nature; and have exposed in the clearest light the depravity, guilt, and misery of man. They have, at the same time, pointed out a method of deliverance from all these evils. Their system is wonderfully ingenious: it is original: it is adapted to the condition of human nature: it is a remedy perfect and complete. They say that they had all their knowledge of religion from Jesus Christ. But whence did Jesus Christ derive it? Those who deny his divine mission will find it difficult to account for his knowledge. There is something in his scheme unspeakably superior to every other. It takes in the rights of God, as well as the necessities of man; and renders God glorious in all his perfections, as well as man completely happy. Who besides, in ancient or modern times, ever conceived so vast an idea? But Jesus had no literary education. Perhaps the Old Testament was the only book he ever read. He never associated with the philosophers: his companions were not the chief priests, and elders, and scribes. Let the deist sit down and assign a satisfactory reason for the vast superiority of the Gospel. The Christian is free from difficulty; for he reads in the sacred page, and he believes that "Jesus Christ is the only begotten Son, who was in the bosom of the Father, and hath declared him unto us." (John i. 18.)[4]

Finally, all the doctrines to which the Gospel requires our assent are agreeable to unprejudiced reason; every one of them has a natural tendency and direct influence to reform the manners of men; and all together make up the *most rational and consistent belief in the world.* To instance only a few particulars:—What can be a more excellent foundation of religion, than the Christian doctrine concerning the nature and attributes of the only true God? What so certain a preservative against idolatry, as the doctrine, that all things were made by him? What can be so sure a ground of piety, as the Christian doctrine of providence? What a greater encouragement to holiness, than that God has made a revelation of his will to instruct men in that practice? What doctrine is so admirably suited to all the ends of religion, as that of the incarnation of the Son of God? Which way could men have been so sensible of God's love, and have been instructed in divine truth so well, as by sending his only Son? How could the honour of the Divine laws be vindicated, and such an assurance of pardon been given to men, as by this method of the Son of God giving himself a sacrifice for sin? What could be a more glorious manifestation of the mercy of God; what more effectual to deter men from sin; and to exhibit to them its heinous nature, and God's hatred against it, and the indispensable necessity of obeying his laws, than this expedient of saving sinners by the sacrifice of his Son? How could men be better encouraged to a religious life, than by having such a Mediator to obtain pardon for their frailties, and by being assured of the assistance of

[1] Article xi. of the Confession of the Anglican Church.

[2] Compare John v. 28, 29. 1 Cor. xv. 12—20. 2 Cor. v. 10. Matt. xxv. 31—34. 41. 46. Rev. xx. 11—13. Mark ix. 43, 44. Rev. xiv. 10, 11. xxii. 11. John xiv. 2, 3. 2 Cor. v. 1. 1 Pet. i. 4. Rev. xxi. 4. xxii. 3—6. 1 John iii. 2.

[3] Bp. Gibson's Pastoral Letters, Lett. 2. (in Bp. Randolph's Enchiridion, vol. iv. pp. 160—166. first edition.)

[4] Bogue's Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament, p. 38.

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the Holy Spirit, to enable them to conquer their corrupt affections? In fine, what more powerful motive to persuade men to live virtuously, than the certainty of a future judgment? Vain men may value themselves upon their speculative knowledge, right opinions, and true belief; BUT NO BELIEF WILL BE OF ADVANTAGE TO THEM, WHICH IS SEPARATE FROM THE PRACTICE OF HOLINESS.

Lastly, all the doctrines of the Christian faith make up an infinitely more *consistent and rational scheme of belief*, than the wisest of the ancient philosophers ever *did*, or the most cunning of modern unbelievers *can*, invent. The philosophers were never able to make out a coherent scheme of things, and the modern deists cannot frame to themselves any consistent and fixed principle, as we have already seen.[1] There have, indeed, been disputes among Christians, but they have not been like those among the philosophers, concerning the supreme good of man, but only explications of particular doctrines, which do not affect religion itself, and ought not to hinder the good effect which the fundamental doctrines ought to have upon the lives of men.

III. Admirably as the doctrines of the New Testament are adapted to the actual condition and wants of mankind, the MORAL PRECEPTS which it enjoins are not less calculated to promote their happiness and well-being, both collectively and individually. The view of human duty, exhibited by heathen moralists, was not only radically defective and materially erroneous; but the manner of its exhibition was little calculated to impress the mind, affect the heart, or influence the conduct. Abstruse reasonings upon the fitness of things—general declarations concerning the beauty of virtue—cold and inanimate precepts of conduct, if not contradicted, yet imperfectly exemplified in their own behaviour[2]—might in some degree exercise their pupils' faculties of reasoning and memory, and render them subtle disputants, and pompous declaimers; but they had little tendency to enlighten their minds in the knowledge of moral truth, and to imbue their hearts with the love of moral excellence. It is far otherwise with the morality of the Scriptures, and especially of the New Testament. While the system of moral truth, which they evolve, is incomparably more pure than that of the heathen moralist, it is not, like his, couched in cold generalities or in abstract uninteresting language. It is pure and rational, alike remote from the overstrained precepts of superstition and enthusiasm, and the loose compliant maxims of worldly policy. It comes home to men's business and bosoms. It is deeply impressive, and it is perfectly intelligible. It is calculated for every rank and order of society, and speaks with equal strictness and authority to the rich and honourable, to the poor and ignoble. All other systems of morals prohibit actions, but not thoughts, and therefore are necessarily ineffectual. But the moral system of Christianity pervades every thought of the heart; teaches us to refer all our actions to the will of our Creator; and corrects all selfishness in the human character, by teaching us to have in view the happiness of all around us, and enforcing the most enlarged and diffusive benevolence.

With this general notice of Christian morality we might conclude the present section, especially as the New Testament is in the hands of almost every one, but, since that volume (as well as the Old Testament) is arraigned by the opposers of revelation in the present day as the most *immoral* book that is extant, a short view of the morality of the Gospel dispensation, and of the manner in which it is announced, becomes necessary, in order to enable the Christian reader to give a reason of the hope that is in him. The moral precepts of the Gospel may be referred to the duties incumbent upon man in civil and social life, and to the duties which he owes to himself.

1. With regard to the duties incumbent upon MAN TOWARDS HIS FELLOW-CREATURES, the Gospel requires that we offer not the least injury or wrong to others, in their persons, their properties, or their reputations; that we render unto all their just dues; that we lie not one to another, but speak every man truth unto his neighbour, and provide things honest in the sight of all men. All fraud and falsehood in our words and dealings, together with all injustice and violence, are most expressly forbidden. (Rom. xiii. 7, 8. Eph. iv. 25. 2 Cor. viii. 21.) Not only are we to abstain from injurious actions, but we are required not to be angry at our brother without a cause; to speak evil of no man, and neither to raise evil reports ourselves against our neighbours, nor spread them abroad when raised by others. (Matt. v. 21, 22. Tit. iii. 2. with Psal. xv. 3.) Further, we are forbidden to pass rash judgments upon others, lest we ourselves should be judged by God; on the contrary, we are to put the best constructions upon their words which the case will bear. (Matt. vii. 1, 2. Rom. xiv. 10. 1 Cor. xii. 5. 7. James iv. 11.) And Jesus Christ has inculcated it in the strongest manner, that no seeming acts of piety and devotion, or diligence in the ritual observances of religion, will compensate for the wrongs or injuries done to our neighbours, nor will they be accepted by God without making reparation, as far as is in our power, for those injuries and wrongs. (Matt. v. 23, 24. xxiii. 23.)

Nor does the Gospel enjoin a merely negative morality; it enforces upon us, in the most explicit terms, the duty of doing good to all men, as far as we have ability and opportunity. Thus, we are required to assist them in their necessities and distresses, to sympathize with them in their afflictions and sorrows, as well as to rejoice in their prosperity; to be ready to distribute to their necessities out of our worldly substance; to endeavour to convert them from the error of their way, and to reprove them, when guilty of faults, in the spirit of meekness; and, finally, to do all we can to promote their temporal and spiritual welfare. The more effectually to show the great importance of the duties of charity and mercy, Jesus Christ assures us that particular notice will be taken of them at the great day of judgment, and that men shall then be rewarded or condemned according to their abounding in, or their neglecting of, the practice of those duties. (Gal. vi. 10. 1 Tim. vi. 18. Heb. xiii. 3. 16. James v. 20. Gal. vi. 1. Rom. xii. 15. Matt. xxv. 31—46.)

Further, as the most difficult part of the duty required of us towards mankind relates to the temper and conduct we are to observe towards our enemies, and those who have injured us, Jesus Christ has given us in this respect the most admirable precepts and directions. If we have suffered injuries from others, he enjoins us to exercise a forgiving temper towards them, and not to give way to the bitterness of revenge; and requires us to insert it in our petitions to God, that he would forgive us our sins, as we forgive others the offences committed against us. The same is the design of some of his excellent parables. And in this, as well as other instances, the apostles taught the same doctrine with their divine Lord and Master, that we should recompense to no man evil for evil, and instead of being overcome of evil, should overcome evil with good. (Rom. xii. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. 1 Thess. v. 15. 1 Pet. iii. 9.) To these precepts we may add, that Jesus Christ not only forbids the rendering of evil for evil, but commands us to render good for evil. This is the design of that glorious precept, by which we are commanded to love our enemies, to bless them that curse us, to do good to them that hate us, and to pray for them that despitefully use us and persecute us. Instead of cursing, we must pray to God for them, not indeed that they may go on and prosper in their evil courses, but that they may be brought to a right temper of mind, and so may become the objects of the divine favour; and if they be reduced to distress, we must be ready to assist and serve them in the kind offices of humanity. "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink." (Matt. v. 43, 44. Rom. xii. 20.) And this certainly is carrying benevolence to the noblest height. And though there have been high pretenders to reason who have found fault with it, yet some of the most eminent among the ancient philosophers have been sensible of the beauty and excellency of such a conduct, but they wanted the authority necessary to make it a law obligatory on mankind. But in the Gospel of Jesus it is more strongly enforced, urged with more powerful motives than it ever was before, and is bound upon us by a most express divine authority. To this it may be added, that our Lord has expressly condemned that spirit which carries men to persecute and do hurt to others, under pretence of zeal for the cause of God and religion. (Luke ix. 54, 55, 56.)

Upon the whole, it is the manifest and uniform design and tendency of the Gospel of Jesus to recommend and enforce universal benevolence. It lays the foundations of the duties we owe to mankind in love. It is there given as a comprehensive summary of the duties we owe to mankind: *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.* (Matt. xxii. 39. Rom. xiii. 8, 9. Jam. ii. 8.) And by our neighbour we are taught to understand, not merely those of the same country, nation, and religion with ourselves, but all of the human race that stand in need of our kindness, and to whom we have an opportunity of doing good. This is beautifully exemplified

[1] See pp. 16—25. *supra.*

[2] See pp. 19. 20. *supra.*

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by our Saviour, in the parable of the good Samaritan. (Luke x. 33, 34, 35.) To which may be added that other remarkable precept, *Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.* (Matt. vii. 12.) A rule which, if rightly considered, would be of great use in regulating our conduct towards our fellow-creatures.

But though we are required to love and do good to all men, the design is not, as some who are desirous to impeach the Gospel morality would insinuate, that we should have the same degree of affection for all. The special love and esteem which good men should have for one another, and the peculiar ties by which they are united, in addition to the common ties of humanity, are recommended and enforced in the strongest and most engaging manner, and lay the properest foundation for all the intimacies of sacred friendship. (John xiii. 34, 35. Gal. vi. 10. Eph. iv. 1—6. Phil. ii. 1—5. 1 Pet. i. 22. 1 John iii. 16.)

2. Besides the general precepts prescribing the duties of justice and benevolence towards all mankind, there are also particular injunctions given us, with respect to the DUTIES INCUMBENT UPON US IN THE SEVERAL STATIONS AND RELATIONS WHICH WE SUSTAIN IN CIVIL AND SOCIAL LIFE; and these are of great importance to the welfare of nations, families, and particular persons.

The grand design of the New Testament, it has been well observed, is, to teach religion. "What relates to civil institutions, it notices only so far as moral obligation is concerned.—*Forms* of government it leaves to the wisdom of men to regulate, and to nations to frame: but what the *spirit* of governments should be, it plainly dictates; and it lays down the principles, by which both governors and governed ought to regulate their conduct, with authority, plainness, and fidelity, and yet with a delicacy suited to the age in which it was written, and to the jealousy of the governments which then existed.[1] Civil government, the New Testament says, is an ordinance of God; in other words, it is the will of God that men should not live as the beasts of the field, without control; but that they should be formed into societies regulated by laws, and that these laws should be executed by magistrates appointed for the purpose. What kind of government and what kind of rules are intended, the sacred writers thus particularly specify:—*They are not a terror to good works, but to evil. Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is a minister of God, an avenger to execute wrath, sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well. They are God's ministers attending to this very thing,*[2] that is, their talents and their time are wholly employed in this great and good work. Such are the principles of government laid down in the New Testament; and such the duties which it prescribes to the rulers and magistrates of nations.

"But Christianity does not confine its injunctions to one part of the community, and leave the rest to act as they please: it addresses itself likewise with equal energy to the *people*, and binds on their consciences the obligations of subjection and obedience. Subjects are taught to be *submissive* and obedient *to the higher powers; to pray* for them; *to fear God and honour the king; to give unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; to render tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear;* HONOUR TO WHOM HONOUR; and to do all this not merely because the civil laws require it, and for fear of punishment from men, but for conscience' sake, and in obedience to the laws of God. (Matt. xxii. 21. Rom. xiii. 1, 2. 5, 6, 7. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. Tit. iii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 13—15.) Are not these injunctions highly reasonable, and exactly corresponding with the nature and state of things? If the members of a community refuse to honour and obey the divine ordinance, to be subject to government, to give high respect to rulers, or to pay them tribute,—and all this, not from fear of punishment, but for conscience' sake,—it will be allowed by every rational man, that they resist an ordinance of God, an ordinance that is both reasonable and beneficial, and deservedly receive to themselves condemnation."[3]

Such is the doctrine of the New Testament respecting civil government; such are its grand moral principles, and such its specific declarations on the subject. In every domestic relation it also lays down, fairly and equitably, the duties on both sides, viz. of servants and masters, of husbands and wives, of parents and children.

Thus servants are enjoined, as a necessary part of religion, to obey and serve their masters, with all proper respect, fidelity, and diligence, not purloining, not answering again, with good-will doing service as unto the Lord, and not unto men; knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, that shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. These things, when really believed and duly considered, will have a much stronger influence to engage them to a faithful and cheerful discharge of their duty, than mere custom, or the laws of the country. On the other hand, masters are required to give unto their servants that which is just and equal, forbearing threatenings, knowing that they also have a master in heaven, and that with him there is no respect of persons. (Eph. vi. 5—9. Col. iii. 22—25. iv. 1. 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2. Tit. ii. 2. 9, 10, 11.) The duties of husbands and wives, of parents and children, are also admirably delineated and enforced. (Eph. v. 22—33. Col. iii. 18, 19. Tit. ii. 4, 5. 1 Pet. iii. 8. Eph. vi. 1—4. Col. iii. 20, 21. 1 Tim. v. 4—8.) In like manner, superiors and inferiors, the elder and younger, the rich and the poor, are directed to a proper conduct towards one another; and rules are given which tend to regulate the deportment of equals among themselves, that they should be courteous, in honour preferring one another, not willingly giving offence to any, and endeavouring as far as possible to live peaceably with all men. (Rom. xii. 10. 12. 18. 1 Cor. x. 32. Phil. ii. 3. 1 Pet. ii. 17. iii. 8. v. 5.) In a word, all the various offices of humanity, justice, and charity, due from one man to another, are frequently described in the sacred writings, enforced by the most powerful motives, and by the authority of God himself; which, where it is firmly believed, must come with greater force upon the conscience, than the mere institutions of human legislators, or the reasonings of philosophers and moralists.

3. The preceding hints may serve to convey an idea of the excellency of the Scripture precepts, with respect to the moral duties we owe to mankind, in a civil and social state. With respect to that part of our duty, which relates more immediately to ourselves, to the GOVERNING OF OUR AFFECTIONS, passions, and appetites, and to the due regulation and improvement of our temper, the Gospel law is peculiarly excellent. While it prohibits all angry passions, as above remarked, it enforces the lovely duties of meekness, forbearance, and long-suffering; and recommends, above all, the cultivation of that friendly temper and universal benevolence, which is one of the most amiable and excellent dispositions of the human heart. (Eph. iv. 26, 27. 31, 32. Col. iii. 12—14. 1 Cor. xiii. 4, 5.) Wherever the Gospel is sincerely believed and embraced, it inspires the utmost abhorrence of those unnatural lusts and impurities, which had made so monstrous a progress in various parts of the heathen world at the time of Christ's coming into the world; and which, as we have seen, were countenanced by the precepts and practice of the most distinguished sages of antiquity.[4] Not only adultery, fornication (which among the ancient heathens was reputed to be a very slight fault, if a fault at all), polygamy, and divorces upon slight occasions, but likewise all manner of uncleanness and lasciviousness, and the cherishing and indulgence of all impure inclinations, are strictly prohibited. (1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. 1 Tim. i. 9, 10. 1 Thess. iv. 3, 4, 5. 7. 1 Cor. vi. 13—20. Matt. v. 27, 28.)

Further, we are frequently warned against rioting and drunkenness, which tend to debase and dishonour our nature (Luke xxi. 34. Gal. v. 19. 21. Eph. v. 6. 1 Pet. ii. 11.) And it is particularly worthy of observation, that, while the Gospel enforces chastity, purity, and temperance, by the most sacred obligations, care is taken to guard against superstitious extremes. Neither Christ nor his apostles substituted fervency of devotion in the place of regular morality, nor, under pretence of extraordinary purity, have they forbidden and condemned marriage, as some of the Essenes then did, and as others by a false refinement have since done. On the contrary, it is declared, that *marriage is honourable in all.* (1 Cor. vii. 9. Heb. xiii. 4.) And though all intemperance and excess are expressly forbidden, and we are required to subdue the passions and appetites, yet we are allowed the moderate use of sensible enjoyments; and it is declared, that *every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused if it be*

[1] Both Paul and Peter wrote during the reign of the sanguinary emperor Nero.

[2] Rom. xiii. 1. 3, 4. 1 Pet. ii. 14.

[3] Bogue on the Divine Authority of the New Testament, pp. 221—224. There is an admirable discourse on "Christian Obedience to Civil Rulers" in Mr. Gisborne's Sermons principally designed to illustrate and enforce Christian Morality, pp. 237—268.

[4] See pp. 19, 20. *supra.*

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received with thanksgiving; for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer. (1 Tim. iv. 3—5.)

Another instance of the excellency of the Gospel precepts is, that particular care is taken to guard us against an immoderate passion for worldly riches; the precariousness of which is illustrated, together with the inconsistency of a predominant love of worldly wealth with the love of God and with real piety and virtue. The possession and enjoyment of riches are not absolutely prohibited; but we are directed to make a proper use of them, and to regard them as a trust committed to us by God, of which we are only the stewards, and for which we must be accountable. We are instructed to employ them, not as incentives to luxury, but as opportunities of doing good, of honouring God, and being useful to mankind. (Matt. vi. 24. Mark x. 24. Luke xii. 15—21. 1 Tim. vi. 9, 10. Luke xvi. 9, 10. 1 Tim. vi. 17—19.)

No disposition is more hateful to man than pride, which is represented as odious in the sight of God. (James iv. 6.) Many passages in the Gospel are particularly designed to correct and subdue it in all its various branches and appearances, whether it signifies an inordinate ambition which puts men upon contending who should be greatest, or an eager thirst after the applause of men rather than the favour and approbation of God, or a presumptuous haughty arrogance, and a high conceit of ourselves and our own righteousness, and a contempt of others; never was an amiable humility recommended and enforced in such an engaging manner as by Jesus Christ, who also gave the most perfect and lovely pattern of it in his own example. (Matt. xxiii. 6—12. Mark ix. 33, 34, 35. Luke xviii. 9—14. John v. 44. Matt. xi. 29. John xiii. 12—17. Phil. ii. 3—7. 1 Pet. v. 5.) And as nothing tends more to discompose and disturb the mind than anxious cares, or excessive sorrows and desponding fears, the Gospel provides the most effectual remedies against all these: not by representing worldly evils and calamities as no evils at all, or prescribing an unfeeling apathy, and suppressing the natural affections and passions, but by keeping them within proper bounds. Nowhere are there such powerful considerations for supporting us under afflictions and adversities with a calm resignation and a lively hope. We are taught to regard them as sent by God for the wisest and best purposes, and are assured that he will graciously support us under them, and overrule them to our greater benefit, and that, if duly improved, they shall issue in a complete, everlasting felicity. (Matt. v. 4. Rom. v. 4, 5. viii. 18. 28. 2 Cor. iv. 17. Heb. xii. 5—12.) Nothing can possibly be better fitted to deliver us from anxious distracting cares and solicitudes, and a distrustful thoughtfulness for to-morrow, than the excellent precepts and directions given us by Christ and his apostles. (Matt. vi. 25—34. Luke xii. 22—31. Phil. iv. 6. 11, 12. 1 Tim. vi. 6. 8. Heb. xiii. 5. 1 Pet. v. 7.) But though we are directed to cast our cares upon God in a cheerful and steady dependence upon his wise and good providence, yet we are cautioned not to neglect the use of proper means and endeavours on our parts. It is urged as our duty, not to be slothful in business, to exercise ourselves with diligence in the work of our several callings and employments, that we may have lack of nothing, and may have to give to him that needeth. Those who lead idle lives are represented as walking disorderly, and it is declared, that if any man will not work, neither should he eat. (Rom. xii. 11. Eph. iv. 28. 1 Thess. iv. 11, 12. 2 Thess. iii. 10, 11, 12.) To this it may be added, that the precepts and instructions of Christ are admirably fitted to inspire us with a truly divine fortitude, and to raise us above the slavish fear of men (who can only kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do), or of any worldly evils and sufferings. And yet he is far from encouraging a forward enthusiastic rashness: he directs his disciples not needlessly to expose themselves to dangers, but to take all proper precautions for avoiding the rage and malice of their persecutors (Matt. vii. 6. x. 16. 23.); but when this could not be done without betraying the cause of God, of truth, and righteousness, they were to exert a noble fortitude, and to endure the greatest sufferings with constancy, and even with joy, being assured of divine supports, and that great should be their reward in heaven. (Matt. v. 10, 11, 12. Luke xii. 4, 5. 1 Pet. iii. 14. iv. 12, 13.)

As knowledge is one of the noblest improvements of the mind, and of the greatest advantage to a life of piety and virtue, it is frequently urged upon us as our duty to endeavour to get our minds furnished with divine and useful knowledge. And the knowledge there required is not merely of the speculative notional kind, or science falsely so called, but such a knowledge of those things which are of the highest importance to our happiness, as may help us to make a progress in all holiness and goodness: we must endeavour to grow in wisdom and spiritual understanding, so as to discern the things which are excellent, and to prove what is the good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God. (John xvii. 3. Phil. i. 9, 10. Rom. xii. 2. Eph. v. 17. Col. i. 9 10. 1 Thess. v. 21. Tit. i. 1.) Finally, it is required of us, that we make it our continued endeavour to grow in grace, and in every divine virtue; for which purpose we must live and walk by faith, *which is the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen.* And as a future life and immortality are now brought into the most clear and open light, we are required to carry our desires and views beyond this transitory world and all its enjoyments, and to seek the things which are above, and place our choicest affections there. (2 Cor. v. 7. Col. iii. 1, 2. Heb. xiii. 14.) Accordingly, the Christian life is represented under the noble image of a conversation with heaven, and communion with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ: it is a continual aspiring towards the perfection of our nature in a conformity to the divine goodness and purity, and an endeavour to do the will of God on earth, as it is done in heaven. (Phil. iii. 20. 1 John i. 3. Phil. iii. 12, 13, 14.) To all which may be added that it is the distinguishing character of the religion of Jesus, that while it directs us to aspire to the highest degree of moral excellence, it teaches us to maintain a constant sense of our own weakness and defects, and of our insufficiency in ourselves. In the Gospel, all boasting and confidence in our own righteousness and merits is excluded; and we are instructed to place our whole dependence upon the grace of God in Jesus Christ our Lord, giving him the glory of every good thing that is in us, or which we are enabled to perform.[1]

4. In reviewing the leading features of Christian morality, the *holiness* of its precepts is a circumstance that demands especial consideration, and is a proof that the religion which inculcates it came from God. All its precepts aim directly at the heart. It never goes about to form the *exterior* of man. To merely external duties it is a stranger. It forms the lives of men no otherwise than by forming their dispositions. It never addresses itself to their vanity, selfishness, or any other corrupt propensity. On the contrary, it declares open war and irreconcileable enmity against *every* evil disposition in the human heart. It tolerates none. Of the most odious sins, such as disobedience to parents, dishonesty, injustice, and murder, it speaks with abhorrence. It says that they ought not even to be named among Christians. But this is not all. It descends into the heart: it puts forth its hand and plucks out every root of bitterness, which, springing up, would pollute the soul and defile the life. Many principles which the world approves, and on many occasions considers to be harmless,—as ambition, the eager pursuit of wealth, fondness for pleasure, pride, envy, revenge, contempt of others, and a disposition to filthy jesting,—the Gospel condemns in every form and degree. It forbids the indulgence of them even in thought: it prohibits the adultery of the eye, and the murder of the heart; and commands the desire to be strangled in its birth. Neither the hands, the tongue, the head, nor the heart, must be guilty of one iniquity. However the world may applaud the heroic ambition of one, the love of glory in another, the successful pursuits of affluence in a third, the high-minded pride, the glowing patriotism which would compel all the neighbouring nations to bow the neck, the steady pursuit of revenge for injuries received, and a sovereign contempt of the rude and ignoble vulgar,—Christianity condemns them all, and enjoins the disciples of Jesus to crucify them without delay. Not one is to be spared, though dear as a right eye for use or pleasure, or even necessary as a right hand for defence or labour. The Gospel does not press men to consider what their fellow men may think of them, or how it will affect their temporal interest; but what is right, and what is necessary to their well being. "If you comply with its precepts you must *be*, and not merely *seem to be*. It is the heart that is required; and all the different prescribed forms of worship and obedience are but so many varied expressions or modifications of it."[2]

Now, is any thing like this to be found in the writings of the opposers of revelation? No. Their morality, w

[1] Leland's Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation, vol. ii. pp. 209—219.

[2] Bogue's Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament, p. 74 Fuller's Gospel its own Witness, p. 27

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have seen, has no standard; and their code of morals is, in fact, subversive of all morality.[1] Their deity seems to take no cognizance of the heart. According to them, "there is no merit or crime in the intention." Their morality only goes to form the exterior of the man. It allows the utmost scope for wicked desires, provided they be not carried into execution to the injury of society; and according to their code (as recently promulgated), the assassination of a person, who for some political reason may become obnoxious, is a laudable act: the prohibition of the unlawful intercourse between the sexes is a perversion of the "plainest dictates of nature;" and decayed old age is not worth the pains and expense bestowed in supporting it!!

It is worthy of notice that the Gospel inculcates the purest worship of God and filial reliance upon his mercy and goodness: but, amid all the discordant theories of morals which have been contrived by modern opposers of revelation, they are unanimous in excluding the Divine Being from their systems of ethics; thus evincing that they are *deists* in theory, *pagans* in inclination, and *atheists* in practice.

"The words of Scripture are spirit and life. They are the language of *love*. Every exhortation of Christ and his apostles is impregnated with this spirit. Let the reader turn to the twelfth chapter of the epistle to the Romans for an example, and read it carefully; let him find, if he can, any thing in the purest part of the writings of deists, that is worthy of being compared with it. No: virtue itself is no longer virtue in their hands. It loses its charms, when they affect to embrace it. Their touch is that of the cold hand of death. The most lovely object is deprived by it of life and beauty, and reduced to a shrivelled mass of inactive formality."[2]

5. The last circumstance to be considered in reviewing the morality of the Gospel is, the *manner* in which it is delivered to us. While the ancient sages confined their precepts to their respective pupils, they disregarded the multitude, for whose moral instruction no provision was made; and however excellent many of their precepts were, still they were destitute of sufficient weight and authority to enforce their instructions, and not unfrequently their conduct was directly opposed to their precepts. But the precepts of the Gospel are perfectly natural, and eminently adapted to the state of every class of society, and calculated to promote the real happiness of all men. Simplicity and plainness are the characteristics of all Christ's discourses; and appear not only in the language he employed, but also in the allusions and illustrations by which he enforced or recommended his doctrines or moral precepts.

Of the simplicity and plainness of language, which pervades the discourses of Jesus Christ, as well as of clear and definite instruction in moral duty, we have a complete model in his sermon on the mount. In that discourse no article is introduced which he leaves either doubtful or ambiguous. Not only does he distinctly expound the prohibitions of the ancient law, but he also places, in opposition to the things prohibited, a variety of duties which neither the terms of the law nor the explanations of the Jews had ever expressly recognised. He applies the law of duty to the secret thoughts and dispositions of the heart, as much as to the control or regulation of external conduct; and opposes the genuine spirit of pure and practical morality to all the loose and pernicious tenets, by which false or incompetent instructors perverted the people, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. The same plainness of language characterizes all the other discourses of Jesus Christ, as well as the practical parts of the apostolic writings.

The simplicity and plainness of Christ's manner are likewise conspicuous in the nature of his allusions and instructions; all of which were derived from objects familiar to the apprehension of mankind at large. This is obvious to every reader of his discourses. *The city set on a hill,—the salt of the earth,—the candle which is not to be set under a bushel, but upon a candlestick,—the vine and the branches,—the shepherd and the sheep,*—are instances which cannot be forgotten. These and similar examples are the happiest of all allusions, and the best of all illustrations. They are natural but forcible; every where offering themselves, and every where beautiful; familiar, but possessed of sufficient dignity; and always attended with this high recommendation, that they are easily understood by men in every situation of life.

The same plainness and simplicity of manner are also evinced in the parables delivered by Christ. Instruction appears to have been communicated in allegorical discourses generally resembling these, from the earliest ages;[3] but no instructor ever framed them so happily as Christ. The subjects, to which he alludes, are chosen with supreme felicity; and the allusions are conducted with the utmost skill and success. The allegorical part of the story is always just and impressive, commonly beautiful, not unfrequently sublime, and in several instances eminently pathetic. The meaning, which it is intended to convey, is at the same time definite, clear, and obvious. The parable, instead of shading the thought, illumines it; and instead of leaving the reader in doubt, contributes not a little to the satisfaction of his inquiries. When we consider the perplexed and enigmatical manner in which the Jewish and Gentile teachers, at that time, conveyed many of their important instructions, we shall on the one hand see this characteristic of our Saviour's discourses in a stronger light; and on the other shall be led to admire the wisdom with which, in this respect, he taught mankind.[4]

While pride and vanity were the general characteristics of the Jewish and Gentile teachers, Christ exhibited in his manner of teaching the most perfect modesty and delicacy, blended with the utmost boldness and integrity. While he exposed the corruption of doctrine, and hypocrisy in practice, of the Scribes and Pharisees, with such clearness of evidence and such pungency of reproof, that they themselves often shrunk from the detection, and trembled for the very existence of their principles and their power, not a word, not a sentiment, fell from his lips which either could or can give pain to a mind of the most finished refinement and virtue; not a word, not a sentiment, has been uttered that can awaken one improper thought, or allure in the least degree to any improper action.

The weight of his precepts, and the manner in which they were inculcated, imparted to Christ's teaching a degree of authority peculiar to himself, and extorted from his adversaries the confession,—*Never man spake like this man.* (John vii. 46.) At the same time, he uniformly displayed towards his disciples the utmost kindness, gentleness, and patience; bearing with their weaknesses and infirmities, often reiterating the same instructions, removing their prejudices, and giving full force and effect to all his doctrines and precepts.

The character of Jesus Christ, indeed, forms an essential part of the morality of the Gospel. To the character of almost every other teacher of morals some stain or defect attaches; but he is charged with no vice either by friends or enemies.[5] "In Christ" (we quote the acknowledgment of an avowed unbeliever) "we have an example of a quiet and peaceable spirit, of a becoming modesty and sobriety, just, honest, upright, and sincere; and above all, of a most gracious and benevolent temper and behaviour. One, who did no wrong, no injury to any man, in whose mouth was no guile; who went about doing good not only by his ministry, but also in curing all manner of diseases among the people. His life was a beautiful picture of human nature in its native purity and simplicity; and showed at once what excellent

[1] See p. 25. *supra*.

[2] Fuller's Gospel its own Witness, p. 42

[3] The nature and interpretation of parables are discussed *infra*, vol. i. part. ii. book ii. chap. ii. sect. vi.

[4] Dwight's System of Theology, vol. ii. p. 280. The three discourses in that volume on the character of Christ as a prophet are particularly valuable for their originality of thought and the interesting manner in which the subject is treated. Many beautiful observations on the character and manner of Christ as a teacher occur in Bp. Law's Considerations on the Theory of Religion, pp. 339—364. 8vo. London, 1820; and also in Mr. Simpson's Internal and Presumptive Evidences, pp. 332—524. See also Bp. Newton's Dissertation on the Eloquence of Jesus Christ (Works, vol. iv. pp. 86—104.); Archbishop Newcome's Observations on our Lord's Conduct as a Divine Instructor, and on the Excellence of his Moral Character, 4to. or 8vo.; and especially Bp. Sumner's work, entitled "The Ministerial Character of Christ practically considered." 8vo. London, 1824.

[5] Nothing can be more honourable to the character of Jesus Christ than the character and conduct of Judas Iscariot, which furnish us with a strong argument for the truth of the Gospel.—How came it to pass, that he first betrayed his Master, and then was so stung with remorse, as to put an end to his own life by hanging himself? How came he thus to own himself guilty of the vilest sin, if he knew that he had done an act of justice to the world, by freeing it from an impostor? For, if Jesus was not really what he professed to be, he deserved all and much more than Judas was the means of bringing upon him. Now, if there had been any base plot, any bad design, or any kind of imposture in the case, it must have been known to Judas, who had lived so long with Christ, and had even been intrusted with the bag (which shows that he was not treated with any reserve), and who was acquainted with our Saviour's most private life; and if he had known of any blemish in his character or conduct, he ought to have told it and would have told it:—duty to God, to his own character, and to the world, obliged him to it; but his silence in this respect bears the most decisive testimony to Christ's innocence; Judas's death and perdition prove Christ's divine authority. See Dr. Ranken's Institutes of Theology, pp. 370—379. and also the Rev. John Bonar's Observations on the Character and Conduct of Judas Iscariot, 8vo. Edinburgh, 1750, or 12mo. 1822, for a clear and masterly view of the testimony of Judas, as an evidence of Christ's innocence and divinity, and of the truth and inspiration of Scripture

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creatures men would be, when under the influence and power of that Gospel which he preached unto them."[1]

In each of the four narratives of the life of Jesus, besides the absence of every appearance of vice, we perceive traces of devotion, humility, benignity, mildness, patience, and prudence: which qualities are to be collected from incidental circumstances, as the terms are themselves never used concerning Christ in the Gospels, nor is any formal character of him drawn in any part of the New Testament. "Thus, we see the *devoutness* of his mind, in his frequent retirement to solitary prayer (Matt. xiv. 23. Luke ix. 28. Mark xxvi. 36.); in his habitual giving of thanks (Matt. xi. 25. Mark viii. 6. John vi. 23. Luke xxii. 17.); in his reference of the beauties and operations of nature to the bounty of Providence (Matt. vi. 26—28.); in his earnest addresses to his Father, more particularly that short but solemn one before the raising of Lazarus from the dead (John xi. 41.); and in the deep piety of his behaviour in the garden, on the last evening of his life (Matt. xxvi. 36—47;) his *humility*, in his constant reproof of contentions for superiority (Mark ix. 33.); the *benignity* and affectionateness of his temper, in his kindness to children (Mark x. 16.); in the tears which he shed over his falling country (Luke xix. 41.), and upon the death of his friend (John xi. 35.); in his noticing of the widow's mite (Mark xii. 42.); in his parables of the good Samaritan, of the ungrateful servant, and of the Pharisee and publican; of which parables no one but a man of humanity could have been the author: the *mildness* and lenity of his character is discovered in his rebuke of the forward zeal of his disciples at the Samaritan village (Luke ix. 55.); in his expostulation with Pilate (John xix. 11.); in his prayer for his enemies at the moment of his suffering (Luke xxiii. 34.), which, though, it has been since very properly and frequently imitated, was then, I apprehend, new. His *prudence* is discerned, where prudence is most wanted, in his conduct on trying occasions, and in answers to artful questions. Of these, the following are examples:—His withdrawing, in various instances, from the first symptoms of tumult (Matt. xiv. 22. Luke v. 15, 16. John v. 13, vi. 15.), and with the express care, as appears from Saint Matthew (xii. 19.), of carrying on his ministry in quietness; his declining of every species of interference with the civil affairs of the country, which disposition is manifested by his behaviour in the case of the woman caught in adultery (John viii. 3—10.), and in his repulse of the application which was made to him, to interpose his decision about a disputed inheritance (Luke xii. 14.); his judicious, yet, as it should seem, unprepared answers, will be confessed in the case of the Roman tribute (Matt. xxii. 19.); in the difficulty concerning the interfering relations of a future state, as proposed to him in the instance of a woman who had married seven brethren (Matt. xxii. 28.); and, more especially, in his reply to those who demanded from him an explanation of the authority by which he acted, which reply consisted in propounding a question to them, situated between the very difficulties into which they were insidiously endeavouring to draw *him*."[2] (Matt. xxi. 23. *et seq.*) In short, the best descriptions of virtue are to be found in the New Testament. The whole volume is replete with piety and with devotional virtues which were unknown to the ancient heathen moralists.

IV. SUPERIORITY OF THE MOTIVES TO DUTY presented by the Gospel.

But however excellent and complete a rule of moral duty may be in itself, it will, in the present state of mankind, hardly be sufficient to answer the end proposed, unless it be enjoined by a proper authority, and enforced by the most powerful motives. In this respect, the religious and moral precepts of the Gospel have an infinite advantage. For they are not to be regarded as the mere counsels and dictates of wise men and moralists, who can only advise and endeavour to persuade, but cannot pretend to a proper authority over mankind; nor as the injunctions of fallible human legislators, armed with civil authority, who cannot pretend to judge of the heart or of men's dispositions, and who have nothing further in view than the external order and welfare of society, and frequently make the rules of morality give way to their political interests. But they are urged upon us as the commands of God himself, the Sovereign Lord of the universe, who knows our most secret thoughts, and to whom we must give an account, not only of our outward actions, but also of the inward affections and dispositions of our souls.

1. Though the observance of the moral precepts of Christianity is not recommended in the New Testament from a consideration of the fitness of things,—that perpetual subject of dispute amongst philosophers,—or from motives of expediency, which would open a wide gate to every immorality, yet the Gospel does not reject reason as a motive to obedience. On the contrary, reason and justice are the basis of the whole morality of Christianity. Paul, speaking of dedicating ourselves to God, among other powerful motives to that duty, observes that it is a *reasonable service* which we owe to him (Rom. xii. 1.); and Peter lays it down as a fundamental principle that it is *right to obey God rather than man*. (Acts iv. 19.) It is indeed frequently remarked in the apostolic epistles that the commandments of God are holy, just, and pure, and that they ought to be observed from gratitude and submission to him; and on the other hand, that they who transgress them are worthy of death.[3] The apostles also frequently display, in strong terms, the indignity and infamy of persons addicting themselves to particular vices or sins; and assert that modesty and decency require that our morals be decorous and well regulated. *The night is far spent, the day is at hand. Let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us walk honestly as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying.* (Rom. xiii. 12, 13.) *Whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.* (Phil. iv. 8.)

2. But the evangelical writers do not confine themselves to the general motives of reason, justice, or decency: they lay it down as a special motive peculiar to Christians, that they ought to live suitably to the singular favours conferred on them by the free grace and mercy of God. Since he has vouchsafed to call them out of darkness, and to impart to them the knowledge of himself, therefore they ought to lead a more holy life than those who have not yet received the same knowledge. Since God has so loved them as to give them the title of his children (1 John iii. 1.), they ought to bear his image, and *show forth his virtues*.[4] *Be ye therefore*

[1] Chubb's True Gospel of Jesus Christ, sect. 8. pp. 55, 56. The author cannot refrain from adding in this place the not less just and eloquent, and in fact, inimitable character of Christ, drawn by the hand of a master:—"I confess to you that the majesty of the Scriptures strikes me with admiration, as the purity of the Gospel has its influence on my heart. Peruse the works of our philosophers, with all their pomp of diction: how mean, how contemptible are they, compared with the Scripture! Is it possible that a book, at once so simple and sublime, should be merely the work of man? Is it possible that the sacred personage, whose history it contains, should be himself a mere man? Do we find that he assumed the tone of an enthusiast or ambitious sectary? What sweetness, what purity in his manners! What an affecting gracefulness in his delivery! What sublimity in his maxims! What profound wisdom in his discourses! What presence of mind in his replies! How great the command over his passions! Where is the man, where the philosopher, who could so live and so die, without weakness, and without ostentation?—When Plato described his imaginary good man with all the shame of guilt, yet meriting the highest rewards of virtue, he describes exactly the character of Jesus Christ: the resemblance is so striking that all the Christian fathers perceived it.

"What prepossession, what blindness must it be to compare (Socrates) the son of Sophroniscus to (Jesus) the son of Mary! What an infinite disproportion is there between them! Socrates, dying without pain or ignominy, easily supported his character to the last; and if his death, however easy, had not crowned his life, it might have been doubted whether Socrates, with all his wisdom, was any thing more than a vain sophist. He invented, it is said, the theory of morals. Others, however, had before put them in practice; he had only to say, therefore, what they had done, and to reduce their examples to precept.—But where could Jesus learn, among his competitors, that pure and sublime morality, of which he only has given us both precept and example?—The death of Socrates, peaceably philosophizing with his friends, appears the most agreeable that could be wished for; that of Jesus, expiring in the midst of agonizing pains, abused, insulted, and accused by a whole nation, is the most horrible that could be feared. Socrates, in receiving the cup of poison, blessed the weeping executioner who administered it; but Jesus, in the midst of excruciating tortures, prayed for his merciless tormentors. Yes! if the life and death of Socrates were those of a sage, the life and death of Jesus were those of a God. Shall we suppose the evangelic history a mere fiction? Indeed, my friend, it bears not the marks of fiction; on the contrary, the history of Socrates, which nobody presumes to doubt, is not so well attested as that of Jesus Christ. Such a supposition, in fact, only shifts the difficulty, without obviating it: it is more inconceivable, that a number of persons should agree to write such a history, than that one only should furnish the subject of it. The Jewish authors were incapable of the diction, and strangers to the morality contained in the Gospel, the marks of whose truth are so striking and inimitable, that the inventor would be a more astonishing character than the hero."—ROUSSEAU.

What a mind! to conceive ideas so beautiful and so just! The divinity of the New Testament is displayed as with a sunbeam! But what a heart! to resist the force of all this evidence, to blind so fine an understanding, and be able to subjoin, as Rousseau did, *I cannot believe the Gospel!* The infidelity of this man, however, may be readily accounted for. He *would* not believe that Gospel, which (as we have already seen) prohibits all impurity, and injustice, both in thought and in act; *he* LOVED *darkness rather than light, because his deeds were evil.* His whole life, as he unblushingly avowed in his "Confessions," was one continued series of falsehood and profligacy.

[2] 1 Paley's Evidences, vol. i. pp. 74—76.

[3] See particularly Rom. viii. 12 and i. 32.

[4] Pet. ii. 9. marginal rendering.

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says Paul, *imitators of God, as dear children.* (Eph. v. 1.) Since God has purchased us anew by the blessing of redemption we ought to be doubly consecrated to him,—first, as our Creator, and, secondly, as our Redeemer. *Ye are bought with a price: therefore glorify God in your body and in your spirit which are God's.* (1 Cor. vi. 20.) *God, having raised up his son Jesus, sent him to bless you in turning every one of you from his iniquities.* (Acts iii. 26.) Such is the true end of his coming, and the price which he expects for all that he has done in our favour. *Christ gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.* (Tit. ii. 14.) *Because God for Christ's sake hath forgiven us*, therefore we ought to *be kind to one another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another.* (Eph. iv. 32.) Since God *has so loved us, as to send his only begotten Son into the world that we might live through him*, therefore *we ought also to love one another* (1 John iv. 9. 11.); and because *God maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust*, therefore we are to *love our enemies* as well as our friends. (Matt. v. 44, 45.) Motives to obedience drawn from love are fitted to work on the best principles of our nature; and never was there such a display of the wonderful love of God to mankind, as in the method of our redemption and salvation by Jesus Christ. Where this mystery of godliness is heartily received, *with a true and lively faith*, it will have a happy influence to engage and draw us to a holy and dutiful obedience; since it is every where inculcated in the Gospel, that the design of sending his own Son into the world, and of all the great things which have been done for us, is, to oblige us to die more and more unto sin, and to live unto righteousness.

3. Another most powerful motive to evangelical obedience is drawn from the pattern presented to us by Jesus Christ, whose sacred life and practice illustrated and exemplified his own holy laws and precepts. "Examples teach where precepts fail." And what example is there so proper and engaging, as the Son of God in human flesh, the most perfect image of the invisible Deity, in whom the divine perfections are brought nearer to our view, and such of them, as can be imitated by feeble man, are placed within the reach of our imitation? In him we may behold the completest pattern of universal holiness and spotless purity, of the most ardent love to God, the most wonderful love to mankind, the most perfect obedience and resignation to the divine will, the most exemplary patience under the greatest sufferings, the most admirable humility, meekness, and condescension, and of every amiable virtue. And should we not be desirous to tread in his illustrious footsteps? *Learn of me*, says Christ, *for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest to your souls.* (Matt. xi. 29.) *Walk in love*, urges the apostle Paul, *as Christ also loved us, and gave himself for us.* (Eph. v. 2.) *Let every one of us please his neighbour for his good, to edification; for Christ pleased not himself.* (Rom. xv. 2, 3.) *Let nothing be done through strife or vainglory, but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves. Look not every man on his own things;* let him aim not at promoting his own separate interests, conveniences, or advantages, but *every man also on the things of others*, aim at promoting those of others. *Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus.* (Phil. ii. 3—5.) *As he that hath called you is holy*, says Peter, *so be ye holy in all manner of conversation.* (1 Pet. i. 15.)

4. A further motive is taken from the sanctions of duty which the civil relations among men have received from God. The magistrates are to be obeyed, not only *for wrath*, but for *conscience sake*, because they are the *ordinance of God* (Rom. xiii. 2. 5.); and they must also conduct themselves towards the people over whom they are placed as the *ministers of God to them for good.* (Rom. xiii. 4.) Husbands and wives are to adhere inviolably to each other, because they are joined together and made one by God, who *at the beginning made them the male and the female* (Matt. xix. 4. 6.), and by whom whoremongers and adulterers will be judged. (Heb. xiii. 4.) Servants are commanded to be obedient to their masters, *in singleness of heart, fearing God, with good will doing service as unto the Lord, and not unto men;* and masters to be just, and merciful to their servants, as knowing that they *also have a master in heaven with whom is no respect of persons.* (Eph. vi. 5—7. 9. Col. iii. 22.) And in general, *Whatsoever we do*, the Gospel enjoins us to *do it heartily as unto the Lord, and not unto men* (Col. iii. 23.); and that *whether we eat or drink, we do all to the glory of God.* (1 Cor. x. 31.)

5. The regard which Christians owe to their holy profession furnishes another weighty motive to obedience. Immoralities of all kinds are forbidden them, because they ought to *walk worthy of the vocation wherewith they are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering; forbearing one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.* (Eph. iv. 1—3.) They are to *walk worthy of God, who has called them to his kingdom and glory* (1 Thess. ii. 12.), and *as children of the light.* (Eph. v. 8.) Their *conversation must be only as becometh the gospel of Christ.* (Phil. i. 27.) They must *adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things* (Tit. ii. 10.); and take care that *the name*, or *word, of God be not blasphemed*, or evil spoken of, through them. (1 Tim. vi. 1. Tit. ii. 5.)

6. The acceptableness of true repentance and the assurance of pardon, which the Gospel offers to all who *truly* repent, and *unfeignedly* believe and obey God's holy word and commandments, are a further most powerful motive to sinful and frail creatures, to encourage and support them in the practice of their duty. Nothing can be more satisfactory to the mind of man, nothing more agreeable to the wisdom of God, than such a declaration of the acceptableness of true repentance, and such an authentic assurance of pardon thereupon, as under the Gospel dispensation the divine mercy has found means to afford unto us, in such a manner as is at the same time abundantly consistent with the dignity of his laws, and his hatred against sin.

7. For our greater encouragement, divine assistances are provided for us, to support us in the practice of our duty. This is a consideration of great moment, as every one must acknowledge who has a due sense of the weakness and corruption of human nature in its present state, and the manifold temptations to which we are here exposed. We are not left to our own unassisted strength, but have the most express promises and assurances given us in the Gospel, that God will send his Holy Spirit to enlighten and sanctify us, and to strengthen and assist us in the performance of our duty; if, from a sense of our own insufficiency, we humbly apply to him for his gracious assistance, and at the same time are diligent in the use of all proper means and endeavours on our own parts. (John xiv. 16. 1 Cor. ii. 13. vi. 16. Luke xi. 13. 2 Cor. xiii. 14. Heb. iv. 16.) For those divine influences and aids are communicated in such a way, as is agreeable to the just order of our rational faculties, and not so as to render our own endeavours needless, but to assist and animate our endeavours. *It is God who worketh in us of his good pleasure;* therefore we are exhorted to *work out our salvation with fear and trembling.* (Phil. ii. 12, 13.) The effect of this divine assistance was very wonderful in the primitive times by the sudden reformation of more wicked men than all the exhortations of philosophers ever brought to repentance. And even in these days, when infidelity and profligacy abound, there are more exemplary holy people than ever were found in the best ages of the heathen world.

8. Our relation to heaven while upon earth is likewise represented as a powerful motive to holy obedience. *Our conversation*, or citizenship, *is in heaven* (Phil. iii. 20.); and because we are only *strangers and pilgrims upon earth*, we must *abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against* the peace, the purity, and dignity of *the soul.* (1 Pet. ii. 11.) We are moreover put in mind that we are only *sojourners* here, *and have no continuing city, but seek one to come* (Heb. xi. 13. xiii. 14.); that we may not seek our rest in this world, nor be too solicitous about the things of it, but may always keep our heavenly country in view, and make it our greatest concern to arrive safely there.

9. Lastly, the rewards and punishments which the Gospel proposes to obedience or disobedience are a motive perfectly agreeable to the natural hopes and fears of men, and worthy of God to make known by express revelation: for by the certain knowledge of these things is the practice of virtue established upon a sure foundation; men have sufficient to support them in their choice of virtue, and to enable them to conquer all the temptations of the world, and to despise even death itself. Paul concludes a large catalogue of flagrant sins with this just but terrible sentence:—*Of which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* (Gal. v. 21.) On the contrary, the Gospel recommends the practice of Christian *humility*, by ensuring to it *the kingdom of heaven* (Matt. v. 3.); of *meekness*, because it is *in the sight of God of great price* (1 Pet. iii. 4.); of *mercifulness*, as the means of *obtaining mercy* (Matt. v. 7.); of *temperance*, as necessary in order to *run our Christian race* with success (1 Cor. ix 24. Heb. xii. 1.); of *purity*, as a necessary preparation to

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the *seeing of God* (Matt. v. 8.); and of patience and perseverance in the Christian life, because *our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh out for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, while we look, not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen, because the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are* ETERNAL. (2 Cor. iv. 17, 18.)[1]

Such is a faint outline of the purity and excellence of the morality of the Gospel, and of the motives by which it is enforced.[2] All the charms of the divine goodness, grace, mercy, and love, are here represented to our view, in terms the most clear, explicit, and engaging that can possibly be conceived. How the writers of the New Testament should be able to draw up a system of morals, which the world, after the lapse of eighteen centuries, cannot improve, while it perceives numberless faults in those of the philosophers of India, Greece, and Rome, and of the opposers of revelation, is a question of fact, for which the *candid* deist is concerned to account in a rational way. The Christian is able to do it with ease. The evangelists and the apostles of Jesus Christ *spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit.*

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§ 4. ON THE OBJECTIONS OF UNBELIEVERS TO THE DOCTRINES AND MORALITY OF THE BIBLE.

I. *Mysteries no ground for rejecting the Scriptures.*—II. *The Scripture doctrine of redemption not inconsistent with the generally received ideas concerning the magnitude of creation.*—III. *The doctrine of a future judgment not improbable, and the twofold sanction of rewards and punishments not of human invention.*—IV. *Christianity does not establish a system of priestcraft and despotism over the minds and consciences of mankind.*—V. *Does not prohibit free inquiry, but invites it.*—VI. *The objection, that its morality is too strict, obviated.*—VII. *The moral precepts of Jesus Christ neither unreasonable nor impracticable.*—VIII. *Christianity does not produce a timid spirit, nor overlook the sentiments of friendship or patriotism.*—IX. *The assertion, that the Bible is the most immoral book in the world, disproved by the evidence of facts.*—X. *Intolerance and persecution not inculcated in the Scriptures.*

SUCH is the unhappy obliquity of the mind of fallen man, that there never yet was proposed to it any thing, however excellent in itself, which has not been the subject of cavil, censure, or reproach. This has been the lot of the Scriptures in particular, which have been arraigned by the antagonists of divine revelation as a tissue of absurdity, fraud, and immorality. On the one hand it has been objected that some of the *doctrines* which they propound to our belief—such as the Trinity, the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, &c.—are mysterious and contrary to reason, and that where mystery begins religion ends; that the Scripture doctrine of redemption is inconsistent with the ideas at present entertained concerning the magnitude of creation; that the Scripture doctrine of a future judgment is improbable; that it establishes a system of priestcraft and spiritual tyranny over the minds and consciences of men; and that Christianity debars its professors from all inquiries concerning religious truths, and demands of them a full and implicit assent without a previous examination of the ground on which they are to build that assent. And, on the other hand, it is objected that the *morality* of the Bible is too strict, bears too hard upon mankind, and lays us under too severe restraints; that it generates a timid, passive spirit, and also entirely overlooks the generous sentiments of friendship and patriotism; that the Bible is the most immoral book extant in the world; and that it inculcates intolerance and persecution. Such are the principal objections which have, at various times, been made against the doctrines and precepts contained in the Bible: the contradictions involved in some of them cannot fail to strike the mind of the attentive reader. It might be a sufficient answer to most of them, to appeal to the facts and statements already exhibited in the course of this work, and especially to the foregoing section: but as these objections have lately been reasserted and clothed in the garb of novelty, in order to impose on the unwary (though most of them have long since been refuted), they demand a distinct consideration.[3]

I. OBJECTION 1.—*Some of the peculiar doctrines, which the Scriptures propound to our belief, are mysterious and contrary to reason; and where mystery begins, religion ends.*

ANSWER.—This assertion is erroneous; for nothing is so mysterious as the eternity and self-existence of God: yet, to believe that God exists is the foundation of all religion. Above our reason these attributes of Deity unquestionably are. For, who can conceive what eternity is? A duration without beginning, or succession of parts of time! Who can so much as imagine or frame any idea of a Being, neither made by itself nor by any other? Of omnipresence, of omniscience, and of immensity! How, indeed, can a *finite* capacity, like ours, comprehend an *Infinite* Being whom heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain? Vain mortal! dost thou presume to scrutinize the nature and to comprehend all the ways of the incomprehensible God? *Canst thou, by searching, find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection? It is high as heaven, what canst thou do? Deeper than hell, what canst thou know? He holdeth back the face of his throne, and spreadeth his cloud upon it. How little a portion is heard of him! The thunder of his power who can understand? Such knowledge is too wonderful for us, we cannot attain unto it.* But though the existence of God be a mystery to us, and above our limited reason to comprehend, yet it is not contrary to reason: because the wisdom, order, and harmony which are observable in the universe, the admirable and exquisite adaptation of every part to produce the end for which it was designed, and the providential care displayed in preserving and governing the whole, are all so many proofs of the existence of a great First Cause; and reason assures us that no effect can exist without a cause.

But our ignorance is not confined to heavenly mysteries; we cannot comprehend the common operations of nature. Every thing around us is full of mysteries. Who can tell, why, of two seeds similar in appearance, one produces a large tree, and the other a small shrub? Or, how the origin of so large a body should be contained in so narrow a space? The growth of the meanest plant, the structure of a grain of sand, is as much above our comprehension as the mysteries of religion. Bodies act on each other by different forces, which are known to us only by some of their effects. The natural philosopher observes these effects, and the mathematician calculates them. But neither of them has the slightest knowledge whatever of the causes of these effects. The natural philosopher observes an infinite number of motions in nature: he is acquainted with the general laws of motion, and also with the particular laws that regulate the motions of certain bodies: on these laws the mathematician erects theories that embrace alike the smallest particles of air or light as well as Saturn and his moons. But neither the natural philosopher nor the mathematician has the least knowledge of the real nature of motion. We know that all bodies are composed of elements or primitive particles, and also that there are different orders of elements; and we likewise know, at least by reasoning, that from nature, from the arrangement or combination of elements, result the various compounds of which the chemic

[1] Bp. Gibson's Pastoral Letters, Lett. 2. (in Bp. Randolph's Enchiridion, vol. iv. pp. 174—179.)

[2] The reader, who is desirous of prosecuting the investigation of Christian morality, will find it ably delineated in Mr. Gisborne's Sermons on Christian Morality. There is also an excellent discourse, entitled "The Gospel the only Foundation of religious and moral Duty," in the first volume of Bp. Maat's Sermons, which in many topics coincides with Mr. Gisborne's first discourse. The various branches of the Christian temper are well portrayed by Dr. Evans in two volumes of discourses on that subject, which (though rather prolix) have been often and deservedly reprinted. See also Mr. Leifchild's Lectures on the Christian Temper (London, 1822, 8vo.), and especially Mr. Morison's Lectures on the Reciprocal Obligations of Life (London, 1822, 12mo.), and Mr. Hoare's Sermons on the Christian Character. London, 1821, 8vo.) The Christian Morals, Essay on the Character and Writings of St. Paul, and Moral Sketches, of Mrs. Hannah More, likewise illustrate the leading topics of Christian morality with equal elegance and fidelity; and the chief part of the second volume of Mr. Warden's system of Revealed Religion contains a digest of Scripture morality, expressed in *the very words* of the sacred writings.

[3] "Pertness and ignorance may ask a question in three lines, which will cost learning and ingenuity thirty pages to answer; and, when this is done, the same question shall be triumphantly asked again the next year as if nothing had ever been written on the subject." (Bp. Horne's Letters on Infidelity, Works, vol. vi. p. 447.) Dr. Young (author of the "Night Thoughts"), speaking of Lord Bolingbroke's arguments against the authority of the Scriptures, remarks that they "have been long since answered. But he is not without precedent in this point. His repetition of already refuted arguments seems to be a deistical privilege, from which few of them are free. Even echoes of echoes are to be found among them, which evidently shows that they write, not to discover truth, *but to spread infection;* which old poison readministered will do as well as new, and it will be struck deeper into the constitution, by repeating the same dose. Besides, new writers will have new readers. The book may fall into hands untainted before, or the already infected may swallow it more greedily in a new vehicle, or they that were disgusted with it in one vehicle may relish it in another." (Young's Centaur not fabulous. Letter on Infidelity.)

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nomenclatures furnish us with a long catalogue: but what do we know concerning the *real* nature of those elements, or concerning their arrangement or combination?—Nothing at all.[1]

If, from the general works of nature, we ascend to the consideration of animated creatures, and particularly of man, we shall find mysteries prevail there also. We cannot comprehend the structure of a worm, or of a hair of our heads, nor can we understand the combination of instinct with brute forms. We cannot tell how our bodies were formed, or in what manner they are nourished. Who can tell why the offspring resemble their parents; or why part resemble one, and part the other? Or why, as often happens, resemblances are transmitted from the first to the third generation, while the intermediate presents no traces of it? How many philosophers have theorized in vain on the mode in which the impressions of the senses are conveyed to the sensorium, and on the way in which they produce thoughts and passions! Yet the manner in which the brain operates in these instances is as much a mystery now as it was in the days of Plato and Aristotle. We cannot explain the nature of the human soul, nor in what manner it is united to the body; and yet, that such an union does exist, we are convinced by daily experience. There is nothing, of which we are more intimately conscious, than human liberty and free agency, or which is of greater importance to the foundations of government and morality, and yet, if we consider it metaphysically, no subject is attended with greater difficulties, as the ablest metaphysicians and philosophers in all ages have acknowledged. Wherefore, until we can comprehend ourselves, it is absurd to object to mysteries in those things which relate to the Self-existing, Eternal, and Infinite God.

Further, if from the consideration of ourselves we ascend to the higher departments of science, even to the science of demonstration itself—the mathematics,—we shall find that mysteries exist there, and that there are many principles or facts in that science, as well as in the works of nature, which are above our reason, but which no person in his senses would ever venture to dispute. For instance, though we acquire the first principles of mathematics, and learn to digest the idea of a point without parts, of a line without breadth, and a surface without thickness, yet we shall find ourselves at a loss to comprehend the perpetual approximation of lines which can never meet; the doctrine of incommensurables, and of an infinity of infinities, each infinitely less, not only in any infinite quantity, but than each other. Yet, all these are *matters of fact*; from which consideration we are led to infer, that it is not consistent with true philosophy to deny the reality of a thing merely because it is mysterious. Hence, before we can consistently act the sceptic concerning the incomprehensible doctrines contained in the scheme of Christianity, we must renounce the name of philosophers, and reject the system of nature; for the book of nature has its incomprehensibles, as well as the book of revelation. The former, not even the genius of a Newton could explore: the latter, not even an angel's. Both, with intense desire, desire to look into them;—both are lost in depths unfathomable; both desist, believe, love, wonder, and adore!

Indeed, "if the subject be duly considered, so far from its appearing suspicious that there should be mysteries in the Christian religion, it will rather be regarded as a proof of its divine origin. If nothing more was contained in the New Testament than we knew before; or nothing more than we could easily comprehend, we might justly doubt if it came from God, and whether it was not rather a work of man's device. Were there mysteries in the *duties* of Christianity, an objection might be justly raised, but not so with respect to the *doctrines*. That there will be some things respecting the nature and government of God, which are not fully revealed; some things, which are merely hinted at, on account of their connection with other parts of divine truth; and some things which are just mentioned, but not explained, because they exceed the grasp of the human understanding, it is natural for us to expect: and what just ground is there of complaint? In a word, if, in the phenomena of nature, and in the moral government of the Deity, there are many things confessedly mysterious, is it not more than probable that this will be the case in a revelation of his will, where the subject is equally vast and far more comprehensive? *Without mysteries*, the Gospel would not be like the works of God."[2]

Further, the mysteries, which appear most contrary to reason, are closely connected with the truths and facts of which reason is convinced. For instance, the mysterious doctrine of the *Trinity*, which is so inconceivable to reason, is necessarily connected with the work of our redemption; which could only have been accomplished by the incarnation of an infinite person. The mystery of our *redemption* is necessarily connected with the necessity of satisfying divine justice. The doctrine of the *necessity of satisfaction* is necessarily connected with the doctrine of the universal *corruption* of men, who had provoked divine justice; and that *corruption* is a fact fully recognised by reason, and confirmed by experience, as well as by the confession of men in all ages.

"The mysteries of Scripture are sublime, interesting, and useful: they display the divine perfections, lay a foundation for our hope, and inculcate humility, reverence, love, and gratitude. What is incomprehensible must be mysterious, but it may be intelligible as far as revealed; and though it connect with things above our reason, it may imply nothing contrary to it. So that, in all respects, the contents of the Bible are suited to convince the serious inquirer that it is the word of God."[3] The reverse of all this is to be found in the principles of infidelity, which abound with contradictions the most absurd and incomprehensible.[4] But though some of the truths revealed in the Scriptures are mysterious, yet the tendency of the most exalted of its mysteries is *practical*. If, for example, we cannot explain the influences of the Spirit, happy will it be for us, nevertheless, if we *experience* that the *fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance*. If we cannot comprehend all that we read in the sacred pages, let us, notwithstanding, submit, adore, and profit by them; recollecting that the sublimest truths, and the profoundest mysteries of religion, are as level, perhaps, to the capacity of the meanest as of the highest human intellect. By neither are they to be fully fathomed. *By both they may be easily* BELIEVED, *on the sure testimony of divine revelation*. As simple and important facts, which connect time with eternity, and heaven with earth, they belong equally to men of every order, and are directly calculated to produce those emotions of awe and reverence, of faith and hope, and reliance on the divine presence, providence, justice, and benevolence, of which the consequence must be in the highest degree MORAL.

II. OBJECTION 2.—*The Scripture doctrine of redemption is inconsistent with the ideas which are now generally received concerning the magnitude of creation.*

ANSWER.—From what is known, by sensible experiment, of the world in which we live, it is not unreasonable to infer, that in space there must be contained a multitude of similar worlds, so great that, with respect to our limited faculties, it may be termed infinite. We may conclude upon similar grounds that, in each of these worlds, there exists a race of intelligent beings. But, "let creation be as extensive as it may, and the number of worlds be multiplied to the utmost boundary to which imagination can reach, there is no proof that any of them, except men and angels have apostatized from God. If our world be only a small province, so to speak, of God's vast empire, there is reason to hope that it is the only part of it where sin has entered, except among the fallen angels; and that the endless myriads of intelligent

[1] See numerous additional instances of mysteries in the natural world in the twelfth and thirteenth parts of M. Bonnet's Palingénésie Philosophique (Œuvres, tom. vii. pp. 329—370. 4to. edit.); and on the subject of mysteries in religion, in general, the reader will find a valuable dissertation of Bp. Newton's, in the fourth volume of his Works. Diss. 35. pp. 220—233.

[2] Bogue's Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament, p. 249.

[3] Scott's Commentary on the Bible, vol. i. pref. p. xiv.

[4] See pp. 22—25. *supra*, for a summary of the contradictory doctrines proposed by the most eminent opposers of revelation, in order to evade the reception of the Scriptures as a standard of religious belief. The absurdity of their notions is well exposed in the following compendium, executed by the author of the "Connoisseur" (one of those numerous collections of periodical essays, which reflect so much honour on British literature); who has thrown together a few of the principal tenets held by freethinkers, under the title of

"THE UNBELIEVER'S CREED.

"I believe that there is no God, but that matter is God, and God is matter, and that it is no matter, whether there is any God or no.

"I believe that the world was not made; that the world made itself; and that it had no beginning; that it will last for ever, world without end.

"I believe that man is a beast; that the soul is the body, and the body the soul; and that after death there is neither body nor soul.

"I believe that there is no religion; that natural religion is the only religion, and that all religion is unnatural.

"I believe not in Moses; I believe in the First Philosophy; I believe not the Evangelists; I believe in Chubb, Collins, Toland, Tindal, Morgan, Mandeville, Hobbes, Shaftesbury; I believe in Lord Bolingbroke" [Hume, Voltaire, Diderot, Boulanger, Volney, and Thomas Paine]; "I believe not St. Paul.

"I believe not revelation; I believe in tradition; I believe in the Talmud; I believe in the Koran; I believe not the Bible; I believe in Socrates; I believe in Confucius; I believe in Sanchoniathon; I believe in Mahomet; I believe not in Christ.

"Lastly, I believe in all unbelief."

CONNOISSEUR. No. 9. (Chalmers's edition of the British Essayists, vol. xxx p. 48.)

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beings in other worlds are all the hearty friends of virtue, of religion, and of God. There is nothing inconsistent with reason in supposing that some one particular part of it should be chosen out of the rest, as a theatre on which the great Author of all things would perform his most glorious works. Every empire that has been founded in this world has had some one particular spot where those actions were performed whence its glory has arisen. The glory of the Cæsars was founded on the event of a battle fought very near an inconsiderable city; and why not this world, though less than 'twenty-five thousand miles in circumference,' be chosen as the theatre on which God would bring about events that should fill his whole empire with glory and joy? It would be as reasonable to plead the insignificance of Actium or Agincourt, as an objection to the competency of the victories there obtained (supposing them to have been on the side of righteousness), to fill the respective empires of Rome and Britain with glory, as that of our world to fill the whole empire of God with matter of joy and everlasting praise. The truth is, the comparative dimension of our world is of no account; if it be large enough for the accomplishment of events, which are sufficient to occupy the minds of all intelligences, that is all that is required."[1] Admitting, then, the probability of the conjecture that there is a plurality of worlds (for it amounts to no more than a conjecture), the inhabitants of these worlds, as intelligent agents, are either sinners or not sinners. If they are *not* sinners, they do not need a Saviour or a Redemption; and if they *are* sinners, who can tell whether God has been pleased to provide salvation or redemption for any of them? The whole obedient rational creation and kingdom of God may derive immense advantage from what was exhibited in this our comparatively little globe; and in that case (as we have already remarked), it does not signify how small and mean the stage. God is glorified, and his subjects are benefited, without their directly sharing the redemption, concerning which the Scriptures give no intimation.[2]

III. OBJECTION 3.—*The doctrine of a future judgment is improbable; and the twofold sanction of rewards and punishments is of human invention.*

ANSWER.—This objection was first made in the last century by Mr. Collins (from whom later infidels have copied it), who asserted that it was "greatly improbable that God should especially interpose to acquaint the world with what mankind would do altogether as well without."[3]

"But surely this harmonizes with the whole scheme that the same person by whom God carried on his gracious design of recovering mankind from a state of vice, who felt our infirmities, and was tempted as we are, should be appointed the final judge of all men, and the dispenser of future retribution. This is a reward of his sufferings and pious obedience. It must impress the wicked with awe, to think they shall be accountable to him whom they have rejected and despised. It must animate and encourage the virtuous to look forward to the appearance of him as their judge, whom they have contemplated with so much gratitude, esteem, and veneration, as their guide to immortality; and in whose service they have been patient and persevering. And that this benevolent friend of mankind should be ordained to judge the world in the name of the Universal Father shows to all that it is the will of God that the decisions should be equitable and merciful."[4] That Jesus shall be the judge, is one circumstance relative to that life and immortality, to give the fullest assurance of which was a principal object of his mission.

Connected with the doctrine of a future judgment is that of the twofold sanction of rewards and punishments; against which Lord Bolingbroke asserts that it "was invented by men, and appears to be so by the evident marks of humanity that characterize it. The notions whereon it is founded savour more of human passions than of justice or prudence. He intimates that it implies the proceedings of God towards men in this life to be unjust, if they need rectifying in a future one."[5]

Yet he acknowledges, that "the doctrine of rewards and punishments in a future state has so great a tendency to enforce civil laws, and to restrain the vices of men, that reason, which cannot decide for it on principles of natural theology, will not decide against it on principles of good policy." He adds, "A theist who does not believe revelation can have no objection to the doctrine in general."[6]

Solomon observed, that all events in this world come alike to all. An equal retribution is not made in this life. The Gospel gives us the reason of this, namely, that the present is a state of trial to fit us for a future and better condition of being. And the doctrine of a righteous retribution in the world to come explains the whole scheme of God's proceedings towards mankind in a manner consistent with his equity, wisdom, and goodness. The inequalities that subsist in a state of trial call forth to exercise and improve those virtues which are necessary to fit us for the enjoyments of futurity; while the assurance of an equal retribution hereafter is a means of reforming the wicked, of deterring the vicious from greater enormities, and of animating the good to higher attainments. His lordship asserts, respecting this life, "that justice requires that rewards and punishments should be measured out in various degrees and manners, according to the various circumstances of particular cases, and in a due proportion to them."[7] Facts prove, however, that this is not the case. If, therefore, there be no righteous recompense hereafter, injustice must characterize the divine government. The Christian doctrine removes the groundless aspersion, and vindicates the ways of God to man.

Lord Shaftesbury argues against the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, as "a mercenary and selfish motive to virtue, which should be practised because it is good and amiable in itself. By making this a considerable or the principal motive to duty," he says, "the Christian religion in particular is overthrown, and the greatest principle, that of love, rejected." Yet he acknowledges, that "the hope of future rewards, and the fear of future punishments, how mercenary and servile soever it may be accounted, is yet, in many instances, a great advantage, security, and support to virtue, till we are led from this servile state to the generous service of affection and love." He offers many considerations to prove that it is so. Again, he allows, that, "if by the hope of reward be understood the hope and desire of virtuous enjoyments, or of the very practice of virtue in another life, it is far from being derogatory to virtue, and is rather an evidence of our loving it. Nor can this principle be justly called selfish."[8] These concessions are a complete answer to his own objection, for the Christian looks for his reward only to a higher improvement in useful knowledge and moral goodness, and to the exalted enjoyments which result from these.

"Now, though virtue should be regarded for its own sake, and God should be obeyed because it is right, and his commands are just and good; yet is it not another proper reason to choose virtue because it makes us happy? Man is formed not only with a love of what is right, and has ideas of gratitude and duty, but he has also a natural desire of life and happiness, and fear to lose these; and a desire of well-being may conspire with the rest of the discipline of his mind, and assist the growth of more liberal principles. If, in the scheme of the Divine government in this state, integrity produces more enjoyment than vice, and if it does the same in the future state, no virtue requires us to neglect such considerations. Religion does not entirely exclude self-love. It is a part of our constitution. If the universal Ruler holds forth, as the parent of intelligent beings who desires their happiness, a crown to contending virtue, it seems unjust, ungrateful, and arrogant to disdain the motive. Further; when this respect to a future recompense is the effect of a deliberate trust in the Judge of the universe, an acquiescence in his government, and a belief that he is the rewarder of such as faithfully seek him, and disposes us to well-doing, it becomes religious faith, the first duty of rational beings, and a firm bond of virtue, private, social, and divine. In this view the conduct of Moses is celebrated, Heb. xi. 24, &c. and this is the peculiar faith of a Christian, who trusts that God is faithful who has promised."[9]

Jesus himself, the most disinterested character that ever existed on earth, "for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame."[10] To practise virtue habitually, without

[1] Fuller's Gospel its own Witness, p. 211. The whole of Mr. Fuller's chapter, entitled "Redemption consistent with the Magnitude of Creation," will abundantly repay the trouble of perusal for its profound, original, and satisfactory refutation of the objection now under consideration. On the subject of a plurality of worlds, much valuable and curious matter may be found in Mr. Maxwell's "Plurality of Worlds: or, Letters, Notes, and Memoranda, philosophical and critical; occasioned by Dr. Chalmers's Discourses on the Christian Revelation viewed in connexion with the modern Astronomy." 8vo. London, 1820.

[2] Scott's Reply to Paine's Age of Reason, p. 74. See also Bp. Porteus's Works, vol. iii. p. 70.

[3] Deism fairly stated, p. 35.

[4] Leland's View, &c. vol. iii. let. 2d, pp. 61, 62.

[5] Works, vol. v. pp. 514—516. 4to. Fragments of Essays, No. 71

[6] Works (Fragments of Essays, No. 42.), vol. v. pp. 322. 327.; vol. iv. pp. 59, 60.

[7] Works, vol. v. p. 493, &c. Fragments of Essays, No. 68.

[8] Characteristics, ed. 1738, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 55. 58. 60. 63. 65. 271—273. 279.; vol. i. ed. 1737, 8vo. p. 97. Wit and Humour, part ii. sect. 3. Inquiry concerning Virtue, p. 3. sect. 3. Moralists, part ii. sect. 3.

[9] Alexander's Prelim. Diss. to Paraphr. on 1 Cor. xv. pp. 23, 24. Brown's Essay on the Characteristics, ess. ii. sect. 6. and 9. Toulmin's Int. Evid. Diss. vi. pp. 128—132. Watson's Answer to Gibbon, pp. 38—41.

[10] Heb. xii. 2.

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any attention to, or concern about, our own happiness, is impossible, incompatible with the state of humanity, and with the general frame and constitution of the world. The Deity formed the universe to be happy. To each creature he gave but a very limited sphere of action. The general happiness of his wide creation, therefore, must be accomplished by each being happy in his own separate little department. Now, in order to secure this individual felicity, to whom could the care of each be more properly committed, than to the person who is most interested in his welfare, that is, to himself? The wise and kind Creator and Ruler of all has, therefore, given every creature in trust, as it were, to himself, to advance his own highest perfection and felicity. In order to engage each to be careful about, and attend more particularly to, his own happiness, he has implanted in every one instincts, affections, and passions, that centre in the individual, and prompt to a concern for self.

If any one be deaf to the calls of private affection, and neglect an attention to his own highest perfection and happiness, he is guilty of disobedience to the Author of his frame and the Former of the universe; he is unfaithful to the trust reposed in him; and occasions a chasm and deficiency of order and happiness in that part of the creation which is particularly committed to his care. This would, perhaps, appear more evident, if we were to suppose every man intrusted to *another* to promote his happiness, and this other neglected him. The effect, however, respecting the general happiness, the duty, and the transgression of it, are the same, to whomsoever the charge be committed. The Christian, therefore, by looking to future glory and felicity, as a motive to, and the reward of, piety, benevolence, and purity, is not merely promoting his own private happiness; he is fulfilling an important duty to his Maker, and adding his share to the measure of general felicity and harmony through the wide creation of God. He co-operates, in his narrow sphere, with the Deity himself, by taking care that that part of his works, which is intrusted to him, shall be as perfect and as happy as he can make it, and as conducive as possible to the general felicity. For such is the constitution of human beings, that no individual can be happy himself, unless he endeavours to promote the happiness of others; and the more he does this, the more he advances his own felicity.

Looking to future glory and happiness as the strongest motive to piety, benevolence, and all virtue, is, then, so far from "overthrowing the Christian religion, and rejecting its greatest principle, that of love," that it is harmonizing those parts of it which Lord Shaftesbury thinks are discordant; and is directly and peculiarly obeying the law of love. It is taking the most *effectual* means to engage us to "love God with all our hearts, and mind, and strength, and to love our neighbour as ourselves." It is using the very *same* means for both these purposes, that we employ for the attainment of our own highest perfection and felicity. It is, moreover, taking the same *measure and rule* for the kind and degree of our love to our fellow-creatures, that we take for love to ourselves. For in proportion as we really desire our own future perfection and happiness, in the same proportion shall we seek the glory of God, and the good of mankind. Again, it is employing the same *test* to judge of our *proficiency* in piety and benevolence, that we use to judge of our progress in self-improvement. For the increasing degrees of ardour, attention, diligence, and constancy, with which we endeavour to attain future happiness, and the personal attainments in virtue that we actually make, will be accompanied with correspondently greater zeal, industry, care, and steadiness, to advance the honour of God, and the welfare of our fellow-creatures.[1]

IV. Objection 4.—*Christianity establishes a system of priestcraft and spiritual despotism over the minds and consciences of mankind.*

Answer.—Nothing is more common than for the opposers of revelation to level their artillery against the Christian ministry. Under the appellation of priests, they seem to think themselves at liberty to load them with every species of abuse. That there have been men, who have engaged in the Christian ministry as other men engage in secular employments,—from motives of profit,—may perhaps be true. But that this should be represented as a *general* case, and that the ministry itself should be reproached on account of the hypocrisy of worldly men, who intrude themselves into it, can only be owing to the malignity of those who make the unfounded assertion. Let the fullest subtraction be made of the characters just noticed, and we appeal to impartial observation, whether there will not remain in only this class of Christians, and at almost any period, a greater number of serious, upright, disinterested, and benevolent persons, than could be found among the whole body of deists in a succession of centuries.

The mass of mankind is busily engaged in the necessary pursuits of life, and has but little leisure to attend to mental improvement. That there should be teachers of religion, to instruct them in its principles, to enforce its numerous precepts, and to administer its consolations, has nothing in it contrary to the fitness of things and the public good. If the knowledge of arts and sciences be beneficial to a country, and the teachers of them be ranked among the most useful members of the community, those whose office and employment it is to instil into the minds of the people the principles of pure religion and morality (principles which are the best—the only—cement of civil society) certainly stand on equal or superior ground in respect to general utility. This argument will acquire additional weight, when we consider the qualifications which the New Testament requires the different orders of its ministers to possess. To adduce only a few of the particulars which it enjoins respecting their private character and behaviour:—*If a man desireth the office of a Bishop, he desireth a good work. A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach, not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre; but patient, not a brawler, not covetous; one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity: For if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God? Not a novice, lest, being lifted up with pride, he fall into the condemnation of the devil. Moreover, he must have a good report of them which are without, lest he fall into reproach.* (1 Tim. iii. 1—7.) *But thou, O man of God, follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness; fight the good fight of faith; lay hold on eternal life, whereunto thou art also called, and hast professed a good profession before many witnesses.* (1 Tim. vi. 11, 12.) *Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine; continue in them; for in doing this, thou shalt both save thyself, and them that hear thee.* (1 Tim. iv. 16.) *Giving no offence in any thing, that the ministry be not blamed.* (2 Cor. vi. 3.) *Flee also youthful lusts; but follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace, with them that call on the Lord out of a pure heart. And the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth.* (2 Tim. ii. 22. 24, 25.) *Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine; neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. Let no man despise thy youth; but be thou an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity.* (1 Tim. iv. 13, 14. 12.) *Likewise must the Deacons be grave, not double-tongued, not given to much wine, nor greedy of filthy lucre, holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience. And let these also first be proved, then let them use the office of a Deacon, being found blameless.* (1 Tim. iii. 8—10.) Can any reasonable objection be alleged against the ministerial office?

But it has been said that the most extravagant claims to wealth and power have been made by men who call themselves ministers of the Gospel. Ecclesiastical history shows that this has been the fact: but with these claims Christianity is not chargeable. The ministers of the Gospel are required to *feed the flock of God, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind.* (1 Pet. v. 2.) "The question is, on what footing does the New Testament establish the support of the ministers of religion? Examine, and you will find, that it establishes it in such a way, as every reasonable man must approve. It is thought equitable that men who apply their younger years to the acquisition of languages and of philosophy, and who spend their days and strength in teaching them to others, should receive from those whom they teach such a recompense for their labour as to enable them to support themselves and their families in a decent and respectable manner. Who will complain of this as improper and unjust?—The gospel sets the maintenance of its ministers on the same footing. 'The workman is worthy of his hire. They that serve at the altar should live by the altar. When they dispense to others of their spiritual things, they should in return receive of their worldly things.' This is all that Christianity demands and she is answerable for no other claim. Is it not reasonable

[1] Simpson's Evidences, pp. 259—268.

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that men of piety, talents, and education, who devote their lives to the spiritual instruction of their fellow-creatures, with a view to make them good and happy both in this life and that which is to come, should receive such a remuneration as to enable them to live, not in affluence and splendour, far less in luxury and extravagance, but in the respectability of a decent competence? The application of the same education and abilities to another employment would have secured wealth. Do they make exorbitant claims, when they ask, from those whom they are labouring to instruct, a moderate support?" Nor does the New Testament countenance in the ministers of religion a claim of power more than of wealth. Such claims indeed were made and established during the dark ages, and to a certain extent are still made, where the spiritual domination of the papal see still exists. But the charge of spiritual tyranny over the consciences and minds of men does not attach to the Gospel. All the motives and arguments which its ministers are authorized to employ must be drawn from the New Testament. Its discipline and ordinances are alike simple but expressive, and where the *spirit*, with which they were instituted, is duly regarded, they are admirably calculated to promote the spiritual happiness of Christians. So far, indeed, is that part of the church of Christ, established in these realms, from assuming any domination over the minds of its members, that (in opposition to the church of Rome, which makes the efficacy of the sacraments to depend on the intention of the priests) she expressly declares, that the *unworthiness of the ministers hinders not the effects of the sacraments.*[1]

The real cause of the antipathy cherished by the opposers of revelation against the truly conscientious and pious ministers of the Gospel, is this. They are the men, who, having voluntarily devoted themselves to the study and service of religion (*very frequently with considerable temporal sacrifices*), have in every age exposed the sophistry of deists, and vindicated Christianity from their malicious aspersions. On this account the opposers of revelation will always consider them as their natural enemies. It is, however, no more a matter of surprise that they should be the objects of their invective, than that the weapons of nightly depredators should be pointed against the watchmen, whose business it is to detect them and expose their nefarious practices.

V. OBJECTION 5.—*Christianity debars its professors from all inquiries concerning religious truths, and demands of them a full and implicit assent, without a previous examination of the ground on which they are to build that assent.*

ANSWER.—This objection is as old as the time of Celsus; and though its falsehood has been repeatedly shown at various times during the last *sixteen hundred years*, yet all succeeding propagators of infidelity have continued to urge it with the utmost confidence. Never, however, was objection raised upon so slight a foundation: for, so far is Christianity from rejecting the use of reason, that on the contrary, with a candour peculiar to itself, it earnestly invites and exhorts every man, before he embraces its doctrines, fairly and impartially to examine its pretensions. *Prove all things*, says Paul: *hold fast that which is good.* (1 Thess. v. 21.) When the apostle John warns us against believing every spirit, and bids us *try the spirits whether they are of God* (1 John iv. 1.), does he not plainly recommend the use of our understanding against a blind, enthusiastic, and implicit belief? Is not the same advice fairly implied in the commendation given to the Bereans for *searching the Scriptures* and inquiring into the truth of what the apostles preached? (Acts xvii. 11.) And does not Jesus Christ himself inculcate the same doctrine, when he appeals to the judgment of his adversaries,—*Why do ye not even of yourselves judge what is right?* (Luke xii. 57.) Without exercising our reason, how can we *be ready always to give a reason of the hope that is in us?* (1 Pet. iii. 15.) God has made us reasonable creatures, and he will expect from us a *reasonable service* (Rom. xii. 1.), and not the *sacrifice of fools.* (Eccl. v. 1.)[2]

The Gospel, therefore, not only invites, but demands investigation. While the founders and dispensers of false religions and absurd worship veiled them under silence and mysterious obscurity, Jesus Christ, so far from enjoining secrecy to his apostles, commands them freely to profess and openly to publish his doctrine. *What I say to you in darkness, speak ye in the light* (Matt. x. 27.); that is, the doctrines which I teach you in parables, do ye publicly explain and expound. *What ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the house-tops;* that is, what I more privately impart to you, do ye courageously publish and proclaim to all the world. Had Christianity been conscious of its own weakness, it would not thus boldly have entered the lists against the prejudices of mankind, when the great improvement and increase of all kinds of literature had excited a spirit of curiosity, which not only prompted men to inquire after, but qualified them to understand and examine the truth, and detect fraud and imposture. But what fraud or imposture has been discovered in the Gospel? On the contrary, in proportion to the rigour of the scrutiny which it has undergone, the evidences of its divine authority and origin have shone, and continue to shine, with increasing lustre. The pens of infidels (calling themselves deists, but whose principles for the most part are atheistical) in great abundance have been drawn against the Scriptures. Every objection that wit or malice could suggest or derive from the modern discoveries in science has been brought forward, either in the way of open attack, or under the insidious form of professed regard for the sacred volume. But has the Bible sustained any real damage from these assaults? None whatever. Like a mighty oak it has stood unmoved, suffering nothing from the noisy wind, but the mere rustling of its leaves. The cause of truth, indeed, has been greatly promoted by these attacks: for they have given birth to such defences of Christianity, as have effectually removed the doubts of *sincere* inquirers, and at once reflected honour on their authors and confusion on their enemies; while the immoral principles of deism or atheism, when brought to the test of reason, have in every instance appeared in all their native deformity.

IV. OBJECTION 6.—*The morality of the Bible is too strict, bears too hard upon mankind, and lays us under too severe restraints.*

ANSWER.—Does it then rob us of any pleasures worthy of rational beings? By no means. It restrains us, indeed, but it only restrains us from things that would do us harm, and make both ourselves and our fellow-creatures miserable. It admits of every truly rational, benevolent, and humane pleasure; nay, it allows every enjoyment of which our senses are capable, that is consistent with the real good and true happiness of the whole compound nature of man. Although the Scriptures, especially the New Testament, set before us the noblest ideas of attainments in holiness, they do not carry it to any extremes, or to a degree of strictness unsuitable to human nature. The Gospel does not prescribe an unfeeling apathy, or pretend to render us insensible to the evils or calamities incident to this present life, but directs us where to seek for consolation, and also supports us by its glorious promises. We are, indeed, taught to deny ourselves;[3] but the intention is, only that we should endeavour to keep the inferior appetites and passions in due subjection, and that the pleasures and interests of the flesh and of the world should be made to give way to the duty we owe to God, and to the love of truth, virtue, and righteousness, whenever they happen to stand in competition. We are required not to make provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof; but neither Jesus Christ nor his apostles have urged it upon us as a duty to macerate our bodies with those unnatural rigours and austerities, or to chastise them with that bloody discipline, which superstition has often enjoined under the pretence of extraordinary mortification and devotion. The Gospel offers no sanction for austerities; it allows of no partial regards, no substitution of ritual observances in the place of moral duties; nor does it permit zeal for and abundance in the discharge of one duty, to compensate for the neglect of another. On the contrary, it insists on *universal obedience*, and explicitly declares that *he who offends in one point is guilty of all.* It enjoins us to be heavenly-minded, and to set our affections on things above, yet not so as to neglect the duties and offices incumbent upon us

[1] Article xxvi. of the Confession of the Anglican Church.

[2] The use of reason in matters of religion is ably vindicated by Bp. Newton, Works, vol. v. Diss. 34. pp. 205—220. And the propriety of the stress which the Gospel lays upon *faith* is satisfactorily stated by Dr. Maltby, in answer to the cavils of the author of Political Justice. See his Illustrations of the Truth of the Christian Religion, pp. 300—310

[3] With respect to all the Christian precepts relating to self-government, which are objected to as harsh and severe, we may observe, that since mankind are apt to indulge their affections and passions for worldly objects too much, and since these are the great obstacles to true piety and virtue, it was wise and kind, becoming a divine teacher, in Jesus to prohibit this, and to offer the strongest motives against it. Without this, his morals would have been greatly defective, and unsuitable to circumstances of humanity. If the author of our religion has more strongly enforced the practice of self-denial than others, it is because he better knew the necessity of this to purify the heart, the conversation, and the conduct. He knew, also, and he taught, that this life is a state of trial, to prepare us for a better; and that God would finally take an account of the secrets of men's hearts, as well as of their words and actions. To regulate the thoughts and desires, therefore, was necessary, in order to fit mankind for appearing before their Judge, and to qualify them for entering those abodes into which we are told *there shall in no wise enter any thing that defileth* (Rev. xxi. 27.) Simpson's Evidences, p. 302.

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in this present state. We are not commanded absolutely to quit the world; but, which is a much nobler attainment, to live above the world while we are in it, and to keep ourselves free from its pollutions: not wholly to renounce our present enjoyments, but to be moderate in the use of them, and so to *use this world as not to abuse it*. "All it requires is, that our liberty degenerate not into licentiousness, our amusements into dissipation, our industry into incessant toil, our carefulness into extreme anxiety and endless solicitude." In short, it enjoins every thing that can do us good, and it only prohibits every thing that can do us harm. Could a Being of infinite benevolence, wisdom, and perfection, do better, or act otherwise consistently with those perfections?[1]

VII. OBJECTION 7.—*Some of the moral precepts of Jesus Christ are unreasonable and impracticable.*

1. An objection of this kind is made to the prohibition of anger, Matt. v. 22.; but the context shows that the anger here condemned is implacable.[2] "There are vices which it may be the duty of some to reprimand with sharpness. Our Lord himself was sometimes angry.[3] Anger, improper in its cause, its object, its manner, its season, and its duration, must be that which is here censured. There are different degrees of anger mentioned, and proportionable punishments annexed to each. Christ therefore asserts, agreeably to other parts of Scripture, that reviling, hatred, variance, wrath, strife, shall exclude from the kingdom of heaven;[4] and that these crimes shall be punished proportionably to their degree of guilt. But according to the tenor of the Gospel, sinful anger *unrepented of* is here supposed; for on this condition all sins, except one, are forgiven.[5] The same restriction must be understood respecting other general assertions of Jesus, as Matt. x. 33.; which cannot apply to Peter.[6]

2. The precept of Jesus to forgive injuries[7] has been asserted to be contrary to reason and nature. A few of the most eminent heathen philosophers, however, have given the same direction. It is a maxim of Confucius, "never to revenge injuries." Socrates, in his conversation with Crito,[8] says to him, "the person, then, who has received an injury must not return it, as is the opinion of the vulgar." Cicero declares,[9] "that nothing is more laudable, nothing more becoming a great and excellent man, than placability and clemency." Seneca says,[10] "I would pardon an injury, even without a previous benefit from the injurer, but much more after it." He also declares, that "if the world be wicked, we should yet persevere in well-doing, even amongst evil men." Phocion, when going to suffer death unjustly, charged his son with his last breath, that he should show no resentment against his persecutors.[11]

It has, further, been objected to the Christian precept of forgiveness, that it is given in a general indefinite way; whereas there are certain restrictions, without which it would be attended with fatal consequences. It must be interpreted consistently with what nature dictates to be our duty in preserving our reputation, liberty, and property; and in doing all we can in our several stations to hinder all injury and injustice from others as well as ourselves. "Undoubtedly it must. But these exceptions are so plain that they will always be supposed, and consequently need not be specified. The Christian religion makes no alteration in the natural rights of mankind, nor does it forbid necessary self-defence, or seeking legal redress of injuries, in cases where it may be expedient to restrain violence and outrage. But all the explications it gives of the duty of forgiveness are consistent with these. For the substance of what it recommends relates chiefly to the temper of the mind; that we be ready to pass by small affronts, and not forward to execute private revenge, and that we be candid in interpreting the designs and actions of those who injure us. This will engage us to forgive, while there is yet little to be forgiven; and thus will prevent the occasion of additional injuries. The Gospel proposes the example of the Supreme Being, in his conduct to sinful men, as the general rule of our lenity and forbearance; and enjoins forgiveness and sincere reconciliation, in case of repentance and reformation, and receiving into full favour.[12] That we do not demand rigorous satisfaction in other cases, and that we still preserve benevolent affections towards an *unrelenting* enemy. And a man may really forgive an injury, so far as it is personal, while his relation to society may oblige him, for the general good, to prosecute the offender."[13]

3. Against the injunction to love our enemies[14] it has been argued, "if love carry with it complacence, esteem, and friendship, and these are due to all men, what distinction can we then make between the best and the worst of men?"[15] But a love of esteem and complacence can never be intended by Christ, whose design was to recommend the abhorrence of all vice, while he enjoins good-will to persons of every character. In all moral writings, whether ancient or modern, love generally signifies, what it does in this precept of Christ, benevolence and good-will; which may be exercised by kind actions towards those whom we cannot esteem, and whom we are even obliged to punish. A parent exercises this towards a wicked and disobedient child; and it is this love which Jesus recommends, from the motive of resemblance to our heavenly Father."[16]

4. The commandment of Jesus, "to love our neighbour as ourselves," is also objected to, as unreasonable, and impossible to be observed.[17]

"Loving, as we have just noticed, in moral writings usually signifies benevolence and good-will expressing itself in the conduct. Christ thus explains loving our neighbour as ourselves to the lawyer who asked him the meaning of it, by the beautiful parable of the compassionate Samaritan.[18] The precept we are considering may be understood, (1.) As requiring that we have the same *kind* of affection to our fellow-creature as to ourselves, disposing us to prevent his misery and to consult his happiness as well as our own. This principle will be an advocate within our own breasts for our fellow-creatures in all cases of competition and interference between them and us, and hinder men from being too partial to themselves. This inward temper is the only effectual security for our performing the several offices of kindness which we owe to our fellow-creatures. (2.) It may require that we love our neighbour in some certain *proportion* as we love ourselves. A man's character cannot be determined by the love he bears to his neighbour, considered absolutely, but principally by the proportion which this bears to self-love; for when the one overbalances the other, and influences the conduct, that denominates the character either selfish or benevolent; and a comparison is made in this precept between self-love and the love of our neighbour. The latter, then, must bear some proportion to the former, and virtue consists in the due proportion. We have no measure by which to judge of the degree of affections and principles of action, considered in themselves. This must be determined by the actions they produce. A competent provision for self has a reasonable bound. When this is complied with, the more care, and thought, and property, persons employ in doing good to their fellow-creatures, the nearer they come to the law of perfection, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' (3.) The words may be understood of an *equality* of affection. Yet still a person would, in fact, and ought to be, much more taken up and employed about himself and his own concerns, than about others and their interests. For besides the one common affection towards himself and his neighbour, he would have several other particular affections, passions, and appetites, which he could not possibly feel in common both for himself and others. From hence it follows, that though there were an equality of affection to both, yet regard to ourselves would be more prevalent than attention to others and their concerns. And it ought to be so, supposing still the equality of affection commanded; because each person is in a peculiar manner intrusted with himself, and therefore care of his own interests and conduct particularly belong to each. Besides, moral obligation can extend no further than to natural possibility. Now we have a perception of our own interests, like consciousness of our own existence which we always carry about with us, and which, in its continuation, kind, and degree, seems impossible to be felt in respect to the interests of others. Therefore, were we to love our neighbour in the same degree (so far as this is possible) as we love ourselves, yet the care of ourselves would not be neglected. The temper and conduct to which due love of our neighbours would lead us is described in 1 Cor. xiii. A really good man had rather be deceived than be suspicious; had rather forego his known right than run the hazard of doing even a hard thing. The influence of this temper extends to every different relation and circumstance of life, so as to render a man better. Reasonable good-

[1] The subject of the above-noticed objection is fully considered in Mr. Simpson's Internal and Presumptive Evidences of Christianity, pp. 298—302.
[2] Matt. v. 23, 24. [3] Mark iii. 5. x. 14.
[4] 1 Cor. vi. 10. Gal. v. 2. [5] Matt. xii. 31, 32.
[6] Newcome's Observ. part i. ch. 1. sect. 9. Blair's Paraph. of Christ's Sermon on the Mount.
[7] Luke xvii. 3, 4. Matt. vi. 14, 15. [8] Sect. x.
[9] De Officiis, ch. 25.
[10] De Beneficiis, ch. viii. 14. De Ira, book ii. ch. 34.
[11] See also Plutarch de Ira cohibenda. Marc. Antonin. de Vita sua, book vii. sect. 15. Butler's 8th and 9th Sermons. The Rambler, vol. iv. No. 185.
[12] Luke xvii 3, 4.

[13] Foster against Tindal, pp. 257—261. 1st edit. Christianity as Old as the Creation, p. 340.
[14] Matt. v. 43—46. [15] Christianity &c. p. 342.
[16] Foster against Tindal, pp. 261—264. Balguy's Sermons, vol. i. serm. 12
[17] Matt. xix. 19. Luke x. 27, &c. Levit. xix. 17, 18. 34. Deut. x. 17—19.
[18] Luke x. 25—37.

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will, and right behaviour, towards our fellow-creatures, are in a manner the same; only that the former expresses the principle as it is in the mind, the latter, the principle as it were become external."[1]

The precepts, to do to others as we would have them do to us,[2] and to love our neighbour as ourselves, are not merely intelligible and comprehensive rules, but they also furnish the means of determining the particular cases which are included under them. In any instance of his conduct to another, if a man sincerely asks himself, what he could reasonably desire that person should do to him, or how he himself would wish to be treated in the same circumstances, his own mind will present a proper rule of action in that instance. These precepts are likewise useful *means* of moral improvement, and afford a good *test* of a person's progress in benevolence. For as it requires practice and moral discernment to apply them properly to particular cases, the more aptly and expeditiously any one does this, the greater must be his proficiency in disinterested kindness.

The excellence and utility of these moral maxims have engaged the sages of the East to adopt them. In the fables, or amicable instructions, of Veshnoo-Sarma, is the following sentiment: "He who regards another's wife as his mother; another's goods as clods of earth; *and all mankind as himself*, is a philosopher."[3] And Confucius has this precept, "Use others as you desire to be used yourself."[4]

5. The command of God, that we believe in Jesus Christ,[5] and the sanctions by which it is enforced, "*he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be condemned*;"[6] have been objected against by Mr. Tindal. He says "Faith, considered in itself, can neither be a virtue, or a vice; because men can no otherwise believe than as things appear to them."[7] "Yet that they appear in such a particular manner to the understanding may be owing entirely to themselves." Now let it be particularly observed, that it is nowhere said or insinuated in the New Testament, that those shall be condemned for unbelief who never heard the Gospel, or who never had it laid before them with proper evidence. On the contrary, the whole spirit of Christianity teaches, that where there is no law there is no transgression, and that sin is not imputed where there is no law.[8] It declares that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.[9] All threatenings must be understood of unbelievers who had sufficient light and evidence offered to them, and who, through inattention, neglect, wilful prejudice, or from corrupt passions and views, have rejected it, as Christ says, John iii. 19. xv. 22. Nothing can be more reasonable, than that those who wilfully refuse the light that would direct and comfort them should suffer the natural consequences of such refusal. This is agreeable to the usual government of God in the natural and moral world.[10] The sanctions with which our Lord enforces the precept of faith in him, though generally applied to a future judgment, do not appear to have any relation to it; but only to the admission of the Christian converts into the Christian church, after Christ's ascension, upon the same terms as he admitted them himself. Jesus here, upon leaving the world, gives his apostles the same power which he himself had exercised, and orders them to use it in the same manner. "He that believeth not, shall be *condemned*," or accountable for his sins. This answers to the denunciation which Christ had often made against those who should not receive him; "that they should die in their sins." Thus John iii. 18, 19. What this damnation or condemnation was, we see, John viii. 24. "ye shall die in your sins." The same appears to be the sense of John xx. 23. Matt. xvi. 19. All these texts declare, that upon the first receiving the Christian religion, Christ, and his apostles in his name, *forgave* those that believed and were baptized; and what was then done here would be confirmed in heaven. But they have no relation to their condemnation or acquittal at the day of judgment; at which time every man will be judged according to his works, and according to what he has received."[11]

[1] Bp. Butler's Sermons, No. 12. (Works, vol. i. pp. 204—217.) Hartley on Man, part ii. ch. 2. prop. 38.
[2] Matt. vii. 12. [3] Wilkins's translation, p. 287.
[4] Chinese Book of Maxims, 3d Classical Book, article 12. Du Halde's History of China, vol. iii. p. 316. edition 1741.
[5] 1 John iii. 23. John vi. 29. [6] Mark xvi. 16.
[7] Christianity as Old as the Creation, p. 51. In "Christianity not founded on Argument," is the same objection, pp. 8. 17, 18; though the author reasons in the manner here stated in answer to it in p. 64. of his own book.
[8] Romans iv. 15. v. 13. [9] 1 Cor. v. 12. Acts x. 34, 35.
[10] Leechman's Sermons, vol. ii. sermon 23. p. 240, &c.
[11] Ben Mordecai's Letters, the 7th, p. 847. Campbell in loc. Foster's Sermons, vol. iii. sermon 9. on the Morality of Faith; also, 1 Cor. xv. 17. Simpson's Evidences, pp. 261—267

VIII. OBJECTION 8.—*Christianity produces a timid passive spirit, and also entirely overlooks the generous sentiments of friendship and patriotism.*

ANSWER.—1. It is a peculiar feature of Christian morality, that it entirely omits precepts founded on false principles, those which recommend fictitious virtues; which, however admired and celebrated, are productive of no salutary effects, and, in fact, are no virtues at all. Valour, for instance, is for the most part constitutional, and so far is it from producing any salutary effects, by introducing peace, order, or happiness into society, that it is the usual perpetrator of all the violences, which, from retaliated injuries, distract the world with bloodshed and devastation. It is the chief instrument which ambition employs in her unjust pursuits of wealth and power, and is therefore so much extolled by her votaries. It was, indeed, congenial with the religion of pagans, whose gods were for the most part deceased heroes, supposed to be exalted to heaven as a reward for the rapines, murders, adulteries, and other mischiefs, which they had perpetrated upon earth; and therefore, with them, this was the first of virtues, and had even engrossed the denomination of *virtue* to itself. But Christians are so far from being allowed to *inflict* evil, that they are forbid even to *resist* it; that is, to repel one outrage by another;[12] they are so far from being encouraged to *revenge* injuries, that one of their first duties is to *forgive* them; so far from being incited to *destroy* their enemies, that they are commanded to *love them* and serve them to the utmost of their power, and to overcome evil with good. With reference to this pacific disposition of Christianity, a celebrated sceptic[13] of the eighteenth century objected, that a state composed of *real* Christians could not subsist. We may, however, ask, in the words of an acute observer of human nature, whom no one will charge with credulity or superstition; "Why not! Citizens of this profession would have a clear knowledge of their several duties, and a great zeal to fulfil them: they would have a just notion of *the right of natural defence*; and the more they thought they owed to religion, the more sensible they would be of what they owed to their country. The principles of Christianity, deeply engraven upon the heart, would be infinitely more powerful than the false honour of monarchies, the human virtues of republics, and the servile fear of despotic states."[14] The same author also mentions it as "an admirable thing, that the Christian religion, which seems to have for its object only the felicity of another life, does also constitute our happiness in this."[15]

But though Christianity exhibits no commendation of fictitious virtues, it is so far from generating a timid spirit, that, on the contrary, it forms men of a singular cast; some would say, of a singular courage. "It teaches them to be afraid of offending God and doing injury to man; but it labours to render them superior to every other fear. They must carry on a constant war against evil; but 'the weapons of their warfare are not carnal.' Was it a timid character which Christ designed to form, when he sent his disciples through all the world to propagate his religion? They were to penetrate into every country; they were to address men of every nation, and tongue, and language; they were to expose themselves to hunger and nakedness, to ridicule and insult, to persecution and death. None of these things must deter them: they must be daily speaking the word of life, however it may be received, and to whatever dangers it may expose them. They must hazard all for the propagation of truth and righteousness in the world. The lives of Christians have, in numberless instances, displayed the efficacy of these divine principles. Can such instances of active exertion, of persevering labour, of patient suffering, be adduced, as those which have been displayed by the disciples of Jesus Christ? That they make not the noise of those that sack cities, and desolate countries, and spread far and wide the work of destruction, is certainly not to their dispraise. Their method of reforming the world, and meliorating the condition of man, is not by *brute force*, but by implanting in the soul the sentiments of knowledge and of goodness: the fruit will be certain felicity. Christianity does all her work, and effects all her

[12] Matt. v. 39. It is, however, to be observed that this precept applies *principally* to those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake. Let such leave the judgment of their cause to Him, for whose sake they suffer. It is also to be recollected that this precept of Jesus Christ was designed chiefly to correct the mistaken notion of the Jews in his time, who thought that *every* outrage should be resented to the utmost, and thus the spirit of hatred and strife was fostered. See some excellent observations on this passage of Scripture, in Bp. Porteus's Lectures on the Gospel of Matthew, vol. i. pp 154, 155.
[13] M. Bayle.
[14] Montesquieu, Esprit de Loix, livre xxiv. ch. 6. (Œuvres, tom. ii. p. 254 edit. Paris, 1796.) See also ch. iii. pp. 250, 261.
[15] Ibid. p. 262.

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purposes, by means of *principles*; she employs and she permits no other way besides."[1]

ANSWER. 2. With regard to that part of the objection which is founded on the silence of the Gospel concerning friendship,—(by which terms is usually understood a mutual attachment subsisting between two persons, and founded on a similarity of disposition, will, and manners); whence it is insinuated that Christianity affords no countenance to private friendship; various satisfactory reasons may be assigned why Jesus Christ did not enact any laws, nor give, like some of the ancient philosophers, professed disquisitions concerning friendship. In the first place, a *pure* and *sincere* friendship must, from its very nature, be entirely a matter of choice; and from its delicacy, it is reluctant of the very appearance of compulsion. Besides, it depends upon similarity of disposition, upon coincidence of sentiment and affection, and, in short, upon such a variety of circumstances which are not within our control or choice, that perhaps the greater part of mankind pass through life without having enjoyed friendship in *all that perfection* of which we may suppose it capable. Nor if this could be accomplished, would it be favourable to the general virtue and happiness. Such strong partial attachments usually lead persons to prefer their friends to the public. Friendships of this kind have subsisted among savages and robbers. Theseus and Pirithous, whom modern sceptics have produced as applauded instances, were equally remarkable for friendship, rapes, and plunder. Such attachments are hurtful to society and to mankind: they weaken public virtue and general charity. As however mankind are prone to form them, it would have been a defect in the Christian religion, had it enjoined or even recommended friendship in this extreme. Accordingly the Gospel sets such attachments very low, as consistent with the lowest selfishness. *If ye do good to them who do good to you, what thank have ye? Do not even the publicans the same?* (Matt. v. 46.)

On all these accounts, therefore, it was unnecessary for Christ to enact laws on the subject of friendship, which, indeed, could not possibly be the object of a divine command; for such laws must have been entirely beyond the reach of ordinary practice, and on a subject in its nature totally incompatible with restraint. The propriety, therefore, of such an omission will be evident to every one who *candidly* considers the nature of the temper and disposition enjoined by the Gospel. If *the end of its commandment be* (as we know is the case) *charity out of a pure heart and faith unfeigned*, and charity of the most enlarged and diffusive kind, Christianity would long before this time have been charged with inconsistency by its adversaries, if any laws had been made either directly or by consequence confining its exercise. Indeed, it would not have been prudent to have expressed in the Gospel any particular approbation of friendship. "It might have inflamed that propensity to it which nature had already made sufficiently strong, and which the injudicious encomiums of heathen moralists had raised to a romantic and dangerous height. Our divine lawgiver showed his wisdom, equally in what he enjoined, and what he left unnoticed. He knew exactly, what no pagan philosopher ever knew, where to be silent, and where to speak. It was not his intention, it was indeed far below his dignity, to say fine things upon popular subjects; pleasing perhaps to a few, but utterly useless to the bulk of mankind. *His* object was of a much more important and extensive nature: to inculcate the plain, humble, practical duties of piety and morality; the duties that were of universal concern and indispensable obligation, such as were essentially necessary to our well-being in this life, and our everlasting happiness in the next. Now, the warmest admirers of friendship cannot pretend to raise it into a duty, much less a duty of this high rank. It is a delightful, it is an amiable, it is often a laudable attachment: but it is not a necessary requisite, either to the present welfare or the future salvation of mankind in general, and, consequently, is not of sufficient importance to deserve a distinct place in the Christian system."[2] But though the Gospel makes no specific provision for friendship (and, as we have seen, for good reasons), yet it does not prohibit that connection: on the contrary, it is expressly sanctioned by the example of Christ, whose chosen friend and companion was the beloved apostle John, and whose friendship for Martha, Mary, Lazarus, and others, the evangelical historians have delineated in the most amiable manner. "If he had his beloved companion and friend, we cannot surely be acting contrary to his sentiments, if we also have ours;" but let us take heed what choice we make. *Ye are my friends*, says Christ, IF YE DO WHATSOEVER I COMMAND YOU. (John xv. 14.) On the contrary, *the friendship of the world is enmity with God: whosoever therefore will be a friend of the world, is the enemy of God.* (James iv. 4.)

ANSWER.—3. Equally satisfactory reasons may be assigned for the silence of the Gospel with respect to *patriotism*; which (it has been asserted) Jesus Christ has now here taught or enforced by precept or by example.

What is patriotism?—The love of our country. But what love? The bigoted love cherished by the Jews, in the time of Jesus Christ, which impelled them to abominate every other nation as accursed, and to refuse to render them even the slightest good office?—The proud love displayed by the Greeks, which despised the rest of mankind as ignorant barbarians?—The ambitious love of conquest, that predominated among the Romans, and stimulated them to enslave the world?—That selfish love, so much vaunted of in modern times, which leads men to seek the aggrandizement of their country, regardless of the morality of the means by which that aggrandizement is to be accomplished; which fosters party-spirit, engenders strife and every evil passion, encourages slavery, and excites one part of the human race to murder and extirpate the other?—No. Of this spirit Christianity knows nothing. "Patriotism is that Christian love which, *while it respects as sacred the rights and the welfare of* EVERY *land, of* EVERY *foreign individual*, teaches us to manifest within the limits of justice special affection to our own country, in proportion to the special ties by which we are united with the region that gives us birth. If our Lord, then, inculcated by his own lips, or by the pen of his apostles, the universal obligation of justice and love: if, in regulating the exercise of justice and love, he pronounces that wrong and fraud are the more sinful when directed against the *Brethren*;[3] that while we *do good unto all men*, we are bound *specially to do good unto them who are of the household of faith*:[4] that affection of more than ordinary strength is mutually to be evinced between husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters: He has decided that every additional tie, by which man is connected with man, is an obligation to additional love: He has established *the duty of patriotism*, by establishing the very principle from which the duty necessarily flows. If He bore, with unwearied patience, hatred and contempt, and persecution unto death, from his Jewish adversaries; if he mourned with the most tender sympathy over the impending destruction of Jerusalem;[5] if He repeated, at a second risk of his life, his efforts for the conversion of his countrymen the Nazarenes;[6] by his own conduct he sanctioned patriotism. by his conduct he exemplified it, by his own conduct he commanded it."[7] And the example, which Jesus Christ thus gave in his own person, we find, was followed by his apostles, who, both before and after his crucifixion, first and principally laboured to propagate the Gospel among their own people, the Jews. Even Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles, when he entered into those places where the Jews resided, first directed his labours to them; and such was his patriotism, that he could not only say, *My heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved* (Rom. x. 1.); but, with a love as ardent as it was pure, he also declared, *I could wish myself accursed from Christ, for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh, who are Israelites.* (Rom. ix. 3, 4.)

Nor is the Old Testament history destitute of instances of the noblest and most disinterested patriotism. Of all the examples recorded either in ancient or modern history, whether sacred or profane, it will be difficult to find one surpassing that of the illustrious Hebrew legislator, Moses. His attachment to the people over whom he presided presents his character in a most amiable point of view. When the displeasure of the Almighty was manifested against them, after their idolatrous conduct at Mount Sinai, how forcibly did he intercede in their favour! *Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sins; . . . . and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book, which thou hast written.* (Exod. xxxii. 32.) On another occasion, when it is related that the Almighty threatened the destruction of the Israelites, and even offered to make of him *a greater nation and mightier than they*, how nobly did he sacrifice every view, which ambition might have suggested to him, to the love of God and to the love of his people! After powerfully interceding from various considerations, that they might again be forgiven, he obtained this answer to his supplications, *I have pardoned, according to thy word.* (Num. xiv 20.) It were not difficult to adduce numerous additional in

[1] Bogue's Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament, p. 220.
[2] Bp. Porteus's Sermons, vol. i. p. 438.

[3] 1 Cor. vi. 8. [4] Gal. vi. 10. See also Rom. ix. 1—3. x. 1. xi. 14.
[5] Matt. xxiii. 37. Luke xiii. 34. xix. 41, 42.
[6] Luke iv. 16—30. Matt. xiii. 54. Mark vi. 1—6.
[7] Gisborne's Sermons on Christian Morality, p. 260. The whole of his fourteenth and fifteenth discourses is particularly worthy of perusal.

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stances from the Old Testament, especially from the book of Psalms. (See a beautiful and affecting passage breathing the purest patriotism in Psal. cxxxvii. 4, 5.) So far, indeed, was an attachment to the country, in which Providence has placed us, inculcated among the Jews, that they were required, when taken captive to another land, to *seek the peace of the city* whither they were carried away captives, and to *pray unto the Lord for it: for*, adds the prophet Jeremiah, *in the peace thereof ye shall have peace.* (Jer. xxix. 7.)[1]

True patriotism is never at variance with true morality, and the moral character is not complete without it. A strict performance of our duty to the community of which we form a part, and to the government under which we live, involves no infringement of our private duties, or of our duty to our fellow-men: each is sufficiently distinct, and each ought to be inviolably observed. He is seldom found to be a good parent, brother, or friend, who neglects his duty to the public and to the government; and he cannot be a good patriot who neglects any civil, social, or relative duty. "It is not natural for a Christian to enter into the antipathies, or to embroil himself in the contentions of a nation, however he may be occasionally drawn into them. His soul is much more in its element, when breathing after the present and future happiness of a world. In undertakings, both public and private, which tend to alleviate the miseries, and enlarge the comforts of human life, Christians have ever been foremost; and when they have conceived themselves lawfully called, even into the field of battle, they have not been wanting in *true* bravery. But the heroism, to which they principally aspire, is of another kind: it is that of subduing their own spirit, doing good against evil, seeking the present and eternal good of those who hate them, and laying down their lives, if required, for the name of the Lord Jesus."

IX. OBJECTION 9.—*The Bible is the most immoral book in the world.*

ANSWER.—This assertion was first promulgated by the author of the Age of Reason, and it has been repeated in a thousand different forms in those publications which have since been issued from the press by the opposers of revelation. In refutation of this assertion, it is sufficient to refer to the view already exhibited in the preceding pages of the morality of the Old and New Testaments.[2] It is readily admitted that the Old Testament does relate immoral actions; and every impartial history of mankind must do the same. The question is, whether they be so related as to leave a favourable impression upon the mind of a serious reader. If so, and if the Bible be the immoral book which it is asserted to be, how is it that the reading of it should have reclaimed millions from immorality?—a fact that is too notorious to be denied by impartial observers. Every man residing in a Christian country will acknowledge (unless he have an end to answer in saying otherwise) that those people who read the Bible, believe its doctrines, and endeavour to form their lives by its precepts, are the most sober, upright, and useful members of the community; and that those, on the other hand, who discredit the Bible, and renounce it as the rule of their lives, are, generally speaking, addicted to the grossest vices; such as profane swearing, lying, drunkenness, and lewdness. It is surely very singular, that men by regarding an immoral book should learn to practise morality; and that others by disregarding it should learn the contrary. How is it, indeed, that the principles and reasonings of infidels, though frequently accompanied with great natural and acquired abilities, are seldom known to make any impression on sober people? Is it not because the men and their communications are known? How is it that so much is made of the falls of Noah, Lot, David, Jonah, Peter, and others? The same things in heathen philosophers, or modern unbelievers, would be passed over without notice. All the declamations of our adversaries on these subjects plainly prove that such instances with us are more *singular* than with them. With us they are occasional, and afford matter for deep repentance; with them they are habitual, and furnish employment in the work of palliation. The spots on the garments of a child attract attention; but the filthy condition of the animal that wallows in the mire is disregarded, as being a thing of course. The morality, such as it is, which is found among deists, amounts to nothing more than a little exterior decorum. *They explicitly deny that there is any thing criminal in a wicked intention.*[3] The great body of these writers pretend to no higher motives than a regard to their safety, interest, or reputation. Actions proceeding from these principles must not only be destitute of virtue, but wretchedly defective as to their influence on the well-being of society. If the heart be inclined towards God, a sober, righteous, and godly life becomes a matter of choice; but that which is performed, not for its own sake, but from fear, interest, or ambition, will extend no farther than the eye of man can follow it. In domestic life it will be but little regarded; and in retirement not at all. Such, in fact, is the character of infidels. "Will you dare to assert," says Linguet, a French writer, in an address to Voltaire, "that it is in philosophic families we are able to look for models of filial respect, conjugal love, sincerity in friendship, or fidelity among domestics? Were you disposed to do so, would not your own conscience, your own experience, suppress the falsehood, even before your lips could utter it?"[4]

Much, however, of the immoral statements which are asserted to exist in the Bible is founded on a *wilful* inattention to the wide difference that subsists between ancient and modern manners. The characteristic distinction of modern manners is, the free intercourse of the two sexes in the daily commerce of life and conversation. Hence the peculiar system of modern manners;—hence that system of decorum, delicacy, and modesty (founded on the morality of Scripture) which belong entirely to this relation of the sexes, and to the state of society in which it exists. But in the ancient world there was nothing of this intercourse. Women were either wholly shut up, as among the Asiatics of all ages; or were slaves, handmaids, and inferiors, as among the Jews, and in the patriarchal ages; or, by the effect of custom (as despotic as positive law), they could not converse or go abroad but with their own immediate family, as among the Greeks and Romans. Hence what we call and feel to be delicacy and modesty, and the whole system resulting from them, had no existence among such nations. Men wrote only to men; laws were given only to men; history was read only by men. Every thing was called by the name originally affixed to it; and as such names had no adjunctive signification, arising only from the intercourse of the sexes, they excited ideas of indelicacy or immodesty no more than similar names excite such ideas among the naked Indians. And hence, as a profound critic[5] long ago remarked, there is the same difference between the free language of Scripture and the free language of the Greek and Roman writers, as there is between the nakedness of a courtesan and the nakedness of an Indian.

All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.—Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you.—The grace of God, which bringeth salvation to all men, hath appeared; teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.[6]

Such, reader, is an epitome of Christian morality. Judge of the falsehood of the assertion made by its enemies, that the Bible is the most immoral book in the world.[7]—"The Gospel," says the profound and penetrating Locke, whom no one will accuse of enthusiasm, "*contains so perfect a body of ethics*, that reason may be excused from the inquiry, since she finds men's duty clearer and easier in revelation than in herself."[8]

X. OBJECTION 10.—*The Bible inculcates a spirit of intolerance and persecution.*

ANSWER.—The ancient adversaries of the Gospel, as well as their more modern copyists, have represented the religion of Jesus Christ as of an unsocial, unsteady, surly, and solitary complexion, tending to destroy every other but itself. And it must be owned that it does tend to destroy every other, in the same manner as truth in every subject tends to destroy falsehood, that is, by *rational conviction*. The same objection might be urged against the Newtonian philosophy, which destroyed the Cartesian fables, or against the Copernican system, because the visions of Ptolemy and Tycho-Brahe vanished before it. The sun extinguishes every inferior lustre. And the glimmering lamps of human knowledge, lighted up by the philosophers, served, indeed, to conduct them as a light shining in a dark place; but this must naturally be sunk in a superior lustre, when the Sun of righteousness should arise. The Gospel, therefore, is so un-

[1] Tuke on the Duties of Religion and Morality, as inculcated in the Holy Scriptures, pp. 195—198.
[2] See pp. 146, 147. and 152—156. *supra*.
[3] Volney's Law of Nature, p. 18. See also p. 25. *supra*.
[4] Linguet was an admirer of Voltaire; but disapproved of his opposition to Christianity. See his Review of that author's works, p. 264. Fuller's Gospel its own Witness, pp. 72. 74, 75.
[5] Dr. Bentley.
[6] Matt. vii. 12. v. 44 Tit. ii. 11, 12.
[7] Concerning the contradictions to morality, which are falsely alleged to exist in the Scriptures, see vol. i. part ii. book ii. chap. ix. sect. v.
[8] Locke's Letter to Mr. Molyneux, A. D. 1696. Works, vol. iv. p. 327. 4to edn.

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sociable as to discredit error, with which it is as incompatible as light with darkness. But it is evident to any one who will calmly examine the Bible, that its pages do not inculcate any such thing as a spirit of intolerance and persecution.[1]

It is well known that the Jews, who were distinguished for their spiritual pride and bigotry, and who regarded other nations with an almost absolute intolerance, were never more strongly marked by these characteristics than at the time when Jesus Christ appeared. Even the apostles were not exempted from a share of this character. *Master*, said John, *we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and we forbad him, because he followeth not with us. And Jesus said unto him, Forbid him not; for he that is not against us is for us.* Again, John and James, moved with indignation against the inhabitants of a Samaritan village, because they declined to receive their Master, said unto him, *Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, as Elias did? But he turned and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them.* So intolerant was the spirit even of the beloved disciple, and so benevolent was that of Christ. In this nation, then, and at this period, was Christ born and educated. But instead of imbibing, countenancing, or warranting intolerance and bigotry, he taught, *in all instances*, their odiousness and guilt; and enjoined, with respect to every subject and person, the most absolute moderation, liberality, and candour;—not indeed the fashionable liberality of licentious men in modern times, a professed indifference to truth and holiness;—but a benevolent and catholic spirit towards every man, and a candid and just one towards every argument and opinion. Distinctions of nations, sects, or party, as such, were to him nothing; distinctions of truth and falsehood, right and wrong, were to him every thing. According to this scheme, he framed his instructions and his life; and the same catholic spirit and freedom from intolerance characterize the writings of his apostles.

The moderation of pagan governments, and their liberality in granting unlimited indulgence to the different modes of worship that obtained among the heathens, have been magnified by the opposers of Christianity, and eulogized as if universal liberty had been allowed, without any restraint upon the open or secret practices of men in the exercise of religion. But this representation is quite contrary to the truth. The Roman government, in its suppression of the Bacchanalian mysteries (which were infamous for their voluptuousness and debaucheries), *conducted itself solely by the maxims of civil policy*, without any regard whatever to the religious pretexts of the worshippers.[2] And nothing can be more injurious to the religion of Christ than the malicious suggestion which one infidel repeats after another, that persecution for religion was indebted for its first rise to the Christian system; whereas the very *reverse* is the real truth, as might be proved by many facts recorded in history. To instance only a few:—the Athenians allowed no alteration whatever in the religion of their ancestors;[3] and therefore Socrates suffered death, as a *setter-forth of strange gods*,[4] in the same city of Athens in which, four hundred and fifty years afterwards, Paul of Tarsus was charged with the same crime, *by certain philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoics, because he preached unto them Jesus and the resurrection.* (Acts xvii. 18.) But were a similar severity to be employed by any Christian state, it would be imputed not merely to the policy of governors, but to the temper of priests. The odious bigotry of Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. i. 41.) will not easily escape the recollection of any, but of those who will impute no fault nor arraign any crime, except it be found to involve in its consequences the friends of revealed religion. Had the law of the twelve tables at Rome, which prohibited the worship of new or foreign gods,[5] been considered as the edict of a Christian prince, the loudest complaints would have been uttered against the spirit of bigotry by which it was dictated. And if the demolition of the temple of Serapis and Isis had been effected by the order of an ecclesiastical synod, instead of a heathen senate,[6] it would doubtless have been styled an atrocious outrage upon the inalienable rights of private judgment, instead of being represented as proceeding from the use of "a common privilege," and ascribed to the "cold and feeble efforts of policy."[7] Tiberius prohibited the Egyptian and Jewish worship, banished the Jews from Rome, and restrained the worship of the Druids in Gaul;[8] while Claudius employed penal laws to abolish their religion.[9] Domitian and Vespasian banished the philosophers from Rome, and the former confined some of them in the islands, and whipped or put others to death.[10] Nothing, therefore, can be more unfounded than the assertion, that intolerance and persecution owe their introduction to Christianity: since the violent means, which for *three hundred years after its origin* were adopted for the purpose of crushing this very religion—at the time when its professors are universally acknowledged to have been both inoffensive and unambitious—are too well known to be controverted.[11] It is the duty of every good government to provide for the security of society and of moral order. This, we have seen, was an important object of attention, even with pagan governments. The writings of the opposers of revelation, in our own day especially, are subversive of both. Under the mask of free inquiry (which the Gospel demands and invites, and of which it has stood the test for more than eighteen centuries, as it will to the end of time), they have compiled, *without acknowledgment*, from the oft-refuted productions of former infidels, and have circulated from the press, tracts of the most destructive tendency to the public morals and safety. And when they suffer the sentence of the *deliberately violated* laws of their country, they call it persecution. "But persecution in every degree, and whatever abridges any man in his civil rights on account of his religious tenets—*provided he be a peaceable member of the community, and can give a proper ground of confidence, that his principles require or allow him to continue so*—is wholly contrary to the spirit of the Gospel;" as well as all acrimony, reviling, contempt, or misrepresentation, in religious controversy.[12]

It is readily admitted, that men, *calling themselves Christians*, have persecuted others with unrelenting cruelty, and have shed rivers of innocent blood: but the Gospel does not authorize such a conduct, and therefore is not chargeable with it. Such persecutions prove, that those who inflicted them were not animated by the spirit of *real* Christianity. Facts and experience, however, have proved that it is not the friends but the enemies of the Gospel,—not sincere believers, but apostates and atheists,—who have been the most cruel oppressors and persecutors both of civil and religious liberty. Of this we have a signal and memorable instance in the history of France during the revolution, where, not merely the usurped power of the papal antichrist was subverted, but the Christian religion itself was proscribed, and atheism, with all its attendant horrors, substituted in its place.[13]

SECTION II.

THE WONDERFUL HARMONY AND INTIMATE CONNECTION, SUBSISTING BETWEEN ALL THE PARTS OF SCRIPTURE, IS A FURTHER PROOF OF ITS DIVINE AUTHORITY AND ORIGINAL.

THE HARMONY AND INTIMATE CONNECTION subsisting between all the parts of Scripture are no mean proof of its authority and divine original.

Other historians differ continually from each other: the errors of the first writers are constantly criticised and cor-

[1] Respecting the charges of cruelty brought against the Israelites for putting to death the Canaanites and other nations, see vol. i. part ii. book ii. chap. ix. sect. v.

[2] See the very interesting account of the proceedings of the Roman government in this affair, in Livy's History, book xxxix. chapters 8—19. The celebrated decree against the Bacchanalian meetings is still extant on a plate of copper, which was dug up about the middle of the seventh century, and is now preserved in the imperial library at Vienna.

[3] Isocrat. in Areopag. p. 374. edit. Basil. 1582.

[4] Diog. Laërt. de Vitis Philosophorum, lib. ii. c. 5. § 19. tom. i. p. 174. edit. Longolii. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. ii. c. 13. Xenophon. Memorabilia Socratis, lib. i. c. 1.

[5] Separatim nemo habessit Deos; neve novos, sive advenas, nisi publicè adscitos, privatim colunto. Cicero. de Legibus, lib. ii. c. 8. Op. tom. xi. p. 371. edit. Bipont.

[6] Valerius Maximus, lib. i. c. 3. § 3. p. 44. edit. Bipont.

[7] Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. i. p. 52. and note (15.)

[8] Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. c. 85. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 3. Suetonius, in Tiberio, c. 36. Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. xxx. c. 4. tom. v. p. 48. edit. Bipont.

[9] Suetonius, in Claudio, c. 25.

[10] Suetonius, in Domitiano, c. 10.; in Vespasiano, c. 13.

[11] See p. 84. *supra*.

[12] "Taking away the lives, the fortunes, the liberty, any of the rights of our brethren, merely for serving their Maker in such manner as they are persuaded they ought, when by so doing they hurt not human society, or any member of it, materially, is evidently inconsistent with all justice and humanity: for it is punishing those who have not injured us, and who, if they mistake, deserve only pity from us." Archbp. SECKER's Works, vol. iii. p. 271. In the following pages, the learned prelate exposes the sinfulness of persecution for conscience' sake, in a masterly manner, and shows that persecution is not of Christian but of *heathen* origin.

[13] Compare pp. 25, 26. *supra*. On the subject above discussed, the reader will find many interesting facts and profound observations in Mr Fuller's Gospel its own Witness, part i. ch. 5. pp. 62—70. See also Mr Haldane's Evidence and Authority of Divine Revelation, vol. i. pp. 42—68

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rested by succeeding adventurers, and their mistakes are sure to meet with the same treatment from those who come after them. Nay, how often does it happen, that contemporary writers contradict each other in relating a fact which has happened in their own time, and within the sphere of their own knowledge? But in the Scriptures there is no dissent or contradiction. They are not a book compiled by a single author, nor by many hands acting in confederacy in the same age; for in such case there would be no difficulty in composing a consistent scheme; nor would it be astonishing to find the several parts in a just and close connection. But most of the writers of the Scriptures lived at very different times, and in distant places, through the long space of about sixteen hundred years; so that there could be no confederacy or collusion; and yet their relations agree with, and mutually support each other. Not only human historians, but philosophers even of the same school, disagree concerning their tenets; whereas the two testaments, like the two cherubs (Exod. xxv. 20.), look steadfastly towards each other, and towards the mercy-seat which they encompass. The holy writers, men of different education, faculties, and occupations,—prophets, evangelists, apostles,—notwithstanding the diversity of time and place, the variety of matter, consisting of mysteries of providence as well as mysteries of faith, yet all concur uniformly in carrying on one consistent plan of supernatural doctrines; all constantly propose the same invariable truth, flowing from the same fountain through different channels. Go, then, to the sacred Scriptures; examine them closely and critically. Can you find *one* writer controverting the statements or opinions of his predecessor? One historian who disputes any fact which another had stated? Is there in the prophets any discrepancy in doctrines, precepts, or predictions? However they vary in style, or manner of illustration, the sentiment and the morality are the same. In their predictions they exceed one another in particularity and clearness, but where is there any contradiction? The same remarks apply to the New Testament. The leading doctrines of Christianity harmonize together: one writer may enlarge upon and explain what another has said, may add to his account, and carry it further; but he *never* contradicts him. It is self-evident that the corruption of human nature, that our reconciliation to God by the atonement of Christ, and that the restoration of our primitive dignity by the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit, are all parts of one whole, united in close dependence and mutual congruity. The same essential agreement, and the same mutual dependency of one upon another, obtains also among the chief *practical precepts*, as well as between the *doctrines* and precepts of Christianity. Those tend to form the temper and character which these require. Whence, then, arises this harmony of Scripture? Had the writers been under no peculiar divine influence, they would have reasoned and speculated like others, and their writings would have opposed each other. But if they were inspired,—if they all wrote and spoke under the influence of the same spirit,—then is this harmony accounted for; and it is impossible to account for it upon any other principle. Hence we may conclude that all Scripture is not only genuine and authentic, but divinely inspired.

In opposition to this view of the harmony subsisting between the sacred writers, it has repeatedly been objected that there are contradictions both to morality as well as among the different writers themselves; and thence it has been inferred that they cannot have been inspired. It is however worthy of remark, that the greater part of those, who of late years have been most forward to charge the Scriptures with contradictions, have been utterly incompetent to judge of the matter; having borrowed their objections from preceding opposers of revelation; who, instead of directing their attention to the original languages in which the Scriptures are written, have founded their objections on various translations in the modern languages of Europe. But the contradictions, as they are termed, are *seemingly* only, and not real; they perplex only superficial readers; nor is there one single instance that does not admit of a rational solution. The collation of manuscripts, a little skill in criticism in the Hebrew and Greek languages, their idioms and properties, and in the antiquities and customs of those countries where the scenes mentioned in the Scriptures lay, and the affairs were transacted, will clear the main difficulties; and a careful distinction of the different senses of words, as well as of the different subjects and times, together with the occasions on which the various books were written, will frequently remove the seeming contradictions, and render the harmony between the sacred writers as clear as the light of day. If some difficulties should still remain, let them be viewed as we do those of creation and providence; and they will form no objection to the reception of the Gospel. There is little doubt but that, like the others, with increasing knowledge, they also will be dispelled.[1]

SECTION III.

THE PRESERVATION OF THE SCRIPTURES, A PROOF OF THEIR TRUTH AND DIVINE ORIGIN.

As the wonderful harmony and connection of all the parts of Scripture cannot *rationally* be ascribed to any other cause than their being all dictated by the same spirit of wisdom and foreknowledge; so also is their astonishing and (we may say) MIRACULOUS PRESERVATION a strong instance of God's providential care, a constant sanction and confirmation of the truth contained in them, continued by him without intermission in all ages of the church. Whence comes it, that while the histories of *mighty empires* are lost in the waste of time, the very names of their founders, conquerors, and legislators are consigned with their bodies to the silence and oblivion of the grave? Whence comes it that the history of a mean, insignificant people, and the settlement of God's church, should from its very beginning, which is coeval with the world itself, to this day remain full and complete?[2] Whence comes it that nothing is left of innumerable volumes of philosophy and polite literature, in the preservation of which the admiration and care of all mankind seemed to conspire, and that the Scriptures have, in spite of all opposition, come down to our time entire and genuine? During the captivity, the Urim and Thummim, the ark itself, and every glory of the Jewish worship, was lost; during the profanation of Antiochus (1 Macc. i. 56, 57.) whosoever was found with the book of the law was put to death, and every copy that could be found burned with fire; the same impious artifice was put in practice by several Roman emperors during their persecutions of the Christians, especially by Dioclesian, who triumphed in his supposed success against them.[3] After the most barbarous havoc of them, he issued an edict, commanding them, on pain of death under the most cruel forms, to deliver up their Bibles. Though many complied with this sanguinary edict, the greater part disregarded it; and notwithstanding these, and numberless other calamities, the sacred volumes have survived, pure and uncorrupted, to the present time. It is not necessary to mention that more than Egyptian darkness which overwhelmed religion for several centuries; during which any falsification was secure, especially in the Old Testament, the Hebrew language being entirely unknown to all but the Jews; and yet they have, in spite of their prejudices, preserved with scrupulous care even those passages which most confirm the Christian religion; the providence of God having been graciously pleased to make their blindness a standing evidence of the truth of the Scriptures, and their obstinacy an instrument to maintain and promote his doctrine and his kingdom. To this may be added, the present low state of many churches, and the total annihilation of others, of which nothing now remains but the Scriptures translated for their use; happy in this respect, that their particular misfortune is of service to the general cause, inasmuch as so many copies in so many different languages, preserved under so many untoward circumstances, and differing from each other in no essential point, are a wonderful proof of their authenticity, authority, and divinity. All the designs of the enemies of the Scriptures, whether ancient or modern, have been defeated. The Bible still exists, and is triumphant, and doubtless will exist as long as there is a church in the world, that is, until the end of time and the consummation of all things.

[1] On the contradictions which are falsely alleged to exist in the sacred writings, see vol. i. part ii. book ii. chap. vii.

[2] There is a chasm in the Jewish history of nearly two hundred and fifty years; viz. between the death of Nehemiah and the time of the Maccabees; but Judæa being, during that period, a province of Syria, and under the prefecture of it, the history of the Jews is of course involved in that of the country to which they were subject.—This was the case during the captivity.

[3] See an account of the persecution of the Christians by Dioclesian (which was continued with unrelenting fury by Maximin), in Dr. Lardner's Heathen Testimonies, chap. xl. Works, 8vo. vol. vii. pp. 293—329. 4to. vol iv. pp. 273—295.

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SECTION IV.

THE TENDENCY OF THE SCRIPTURES TO PROMOTE THE PRESENT AND ETERNAL HAPPINESS OF MANKIND, CONSTITUTES ANOTHER UNANSWERABLE PROOF OF THEIR DIVINE INSPIRATION.

I. *Appeals of Christian apologists, and testimonies of heathen adversaries, to the beneficial effects of the Gospel upon the characters and conduct of the first Christians.*—II. *Summary review of its blessed effects on society, especially in private life.*—III. *On the political state of the world.*—IV. *On literature.*—*Christianity not chargeable with the crimes of those who have assumed the name of Christians, while they have been utterly destitute of every Christian feeling.*—V. *Historical facts, further attesting the benefits conferred by the Gospel on the world.*—VI. *The effects respectively produced by Christianity and infidelity in private life, contrasted, particularly under adversity, afflictions, and in the prospect of futurity.*

The page of history shows that no regular government was ever established without some religion; as if the former was defective without the latter, and the one was a necessary appendage to the other. And it also shows, particularly in the case of the Romans, that while nations cherished a regard for morality and for the sacred obligation of an oath, prosperity attended them;[1] but that when immorality became universal, their power and prosperity as rapidly declined. That religion, or virtue, as founded upon reverence of God and the expectation of future rewards and punishments, is of vast public importance, is one of those self-evident axioms, in which all thinking persons instantly acquiesce. It has, however, been reserved for our own times to witness the bold assertion, that "it is a public injury," and to have the question triumphantly demanded, "Who that has read the page of history, will venture to say that it has been a benefit to any nation or society of people, in which it has been adopted?"

What the deadly effects of infidelity have been, is known to every one who is in any degree conversant with the history of modern Europe for the last fifty years,—viz. anarchy, immorality, profaneness, murders innumerable, confusion, and every evil work.[2] What have been the effects actually produced by Christianity, an appeal to the pages of history will readily show. It is not, indeed, the object of the Gospel to gratify idle curiosity and afford us barren and speculative knowledge. It every where aims directly at the heart, and through the heart, to influence the life. Nothing is wanting to remedy the actual state of the world, and to fit men for the worship and felicity of heaven, but that they should believe and obey the Bible.[3] Were all men thus *sincerely and cordially* to believe and obey it as a divine revelation, how would the *moral face* of the world be changed! How would the wilderness and the solitary place be glad, and the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose! Wherever, indeed, it has thus been embraced, the most beneficial effects *have been* the result. A *brief* review of the POSITIVE BENEFITS produced by Christianity on the political and moral state of society, and also in private life, will show that it is and could only be of heavenly origin, and afford a satisfactory refutation of the cavils of its enemies.[4]

I. The writings of the earliest professors of Christianity prove that the first converts were *reformed* characters, and the DEFENCES or APOLOGIES, which many of them published against the accusations of unbelievers, also demonstrate the virtues that adorned the primitive Christians.

Thus, although it was not the object of the apostle Paul to point out the influence of his preaching, but to exhort men to virtue, yet some incidental passages of his writings evince that he reformed the manners of his converts, and rendered them ashamed of their former vices. In his epistle to the Romans he thus expresses himself:—*What fruit had ye then in those things whereof ye are now ashamed? for the end of these things is death. But now being made free from sin and become the servants of God, ye have your fruit unto holiness and the end everlasting life.* (Rom. vi. 21, 22.) This apostle also in his epistle to the Corinthians, observes that some of them were reclaimed by the Gospel:—*Be not deceived, neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor idolaters, nor effeminate persons, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God. And such were some of you; but ye are washed, ye are sanctified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.* (1 Cor. vi. 9—11.) Peter, in the following passage, alludes to the reformation wrought among the Jewish converts in Pontus, Galatia, and other places.—*The time past of our life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when we walked in lasciviousness, lust, excess of wine, revellings, banquettings, and abominable idolatries, wherein they think it strange that ye run not with them to the same excess of riot.* (1 Pet. iv. 3, 4.)

The various Christian apologists, whom the persecutions of the pagans compelled to vindicate their character and conduct, have borne ample testimony to their exemplary lives and conversation. Among these, the attestations of Justin Martyr and Athenagoras (both of whom had been heathen philosophers), Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Origen, and Lactantius, are particularly worthy of notice; but the limits of this work compel us to admit only two or three.

1. From the following passage of JUSTIN MARTYR, who flourished about the middle of the second century, it is manifest that a mighty change was wrought, in his time, on the proselytes to the Gospel. "We," says the philosopher, "who formerly delighted in adultery, now observe the strictest chastity. We, who used the charms of magic, have devoted ourselves to the true God; and we, who valued money and gain above all things, now cast what we have in common, and to distribute every man according to his necessities."[5]

2. "We deny not," says TERTULLIAN (who lived about sixty years later than Justin), "a pledge left with us: we defile no man's marriage-bed, we piously educate orphans, relieve the indigent, and render to no man evil for evil. The husband, now cured of his former jealousy, turns his wife and her new modesty out of his house; the father, so tender of his undutiful heathen son, disinherits him when he becomes a Christian and obedient to his will; and the master, hitherto so kind to a faithless servant, disbands him on becoming religious and faithful. So much is the Christian name hated, notwithstanding the advantages of the Gospel, that the husband prefers a false wife, the father a rebellious son, and the master a knavish servant, to having them good and virtuous Christians."[6]

3. "Inquire," says ORIGEN, in his celebrated reply to the cavils and objections of the philosopher Celsus, written about A. D. 246,—"Inquire into the lives of some amongst us:

[1] The testimony of the historian Polybius to the beneficial effects of the pagan superstition in fortifying the sentiments of moral obligation, and supporting the sanctity of oaths, is so weighty and decisive, that it would be an injustice to the subject not to insert it; more especially, as it is impossible to attribute it to the influence of credulity on the author himself, who was evidently a sceptic. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that all the benefits which might in any way flow from superstition, are secured to an incomparably greater degree by the belief of true religion. "But among all the useful institutions (says Polybius) that demonstrate the superior excellence of the Roman government, the most considerable, perhaps, is the opinion which people are taught to hold concerning the gods; and that, which other men regard as an object of disgrace, appears, in my judgment, to be the very thing by which this republic is chiefly sustained, —I mean superstition, which is impressed with all its terrors, and influences the private actions of the citizens and the public administration of the state, to a degree that can scarcely be exceeded. The ancients, therefore, acted not absurdly, nor without good reason, when they inculcated the notions concerning the gods, and the belief of infernal punishments; but much rather *are those of the present age to be charged with rashness and absurdity* in endeavouring to extirpate these opinions; for, not to mention other others that flow from such an institution, if among the Greeks, for example, a single talent only be intrusted to those who have the management of any of the public money, though they give ten written sureties, with as many seals, and twice as many witnesses, they are unable to discharge the trust reposed in them with integrity. But the Romans, on the other hand, who in the course of their magistracies and in embassies discuss the greatest sums, are prevailed on, by the single obligation of an oath, to perform their duty with inviolable honesty. And, as in other states a man is rarely to be found whose hands are pure from public robbery, so among the Romans it is no less rare to discover one that is tainted with this crime."—Hampton's Polybius, vol. ii. book vi. pp. 405, 406.

Though the system of paganism is justly condemned by reason and Scripture, yet it assumed as true several principles of the first importance to the preservation of public manners; such as a persuasion of invisible power, of the folly of incurring the divine vengeance for the attainment of any present advantage, and the divine approbation of virtue: so that, strictly speaking, it was the mixture of truth in it which gave it all its utility.—Hall's Discourse on Infidelity. (Sermons, p. 73. note.)

[2] See a few instances of the effects of atheism, supra, pp. 25, 26.; and also, infra, p. 176

[3] "If," says a late eloquent antagonist of Christianity,—"If all were perfect Christians, individuals would do their duty; the people would be obedient to the laws; the chiefs just; the magistrates incorrupt; the soldiers would despise death; and there would be neither vanity nor luxury in such a state."—ROUSSEAU, Du Contrat Social, liv. iv. ch. 8.

[4] The following statement of the inestimable blessings conferred by Christianity on the world, is abridged from Dr. Ryan's elaborate "History of the effects of Religion on Mankind" (3d edit. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1806), collated with Bp. Porteus's Tract on the Beneficial Effects of Christianity.

[5] Apol. c. 2.

[6] Tertullian, Apol. c. 3.

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compare our former and present mode of life, and you will find in what impieties and impurities men were involved before they embraced our doctrines. But since they embraced them, how just, grave, moderate, and constant are they become! yea, some are so inflamed with the love of purity and goodness, as to abstain even from lawful enjoyments: the church abounds with such men, wherever the doctrines of Christianity prevailed. How is it possible they can be pestilent members of society, who have converted many from the sink of vice to the practice of virtue and a life of temperance, conformable to the dictates of right reason? We reclaim women from immodesty, quarrelling with, or parting from, their husbands; men from the wild extravagance of the sports and theatres; and restrain youth, who are prone to vice and luxury, by painting, not only the vileness of lust, but the punishment reserved for the vicious and dissolute."[1]

4. "They are not Christians," says LACTANTIUS (who flourished A. D. 306), "but pagans, who rob by land, and commit piracy by sea; who poison their wives for their dowries, or their husbands that they may marry their adulterers; who strangle or expose their infants, commit incest with heir daughters, sisters, mothers, or vestals, who prostitute their bodies to unnatural lusts, seek heaven by witchcraft, and commit other crimes odious to relate."[2] The same writer also, contrasting the contradictions between the doctrines, precepts, and practice of the philosophers, and the little effects that resulted from them, with the purity and efficacy of the Gospel, has the following animated passage: "Give me a man who is choleric, abusive in his language, headstrong, and unruly; with a very few words,—the words of God,—I will render him as gentle as a lamb. Give me a greedy, covetous, parsimonious man, and I will presently return him to you a generous creature, freely bestowing his money by handfuls. Give me a cruel and bloodthirsty man; instantly his ferocity shall be transformed into a truly mild and merciful disposition. Give me an unjust man, a foolish man, a sinful man; and on a sudden he shall become honest, wise, and virtuous. So great is the efficacy of divine wisdom, that when once admitted into the human heart, it expels folly, the parent of all vice; and in accomplishing this great end, there is no occasion for any expense, no absolute need of books, or deep and long study or meditation. The benefit is conferred gratuitously, easily, expeditiously; provided the ears and the heart thirst after wisdom. Did or could any of the heathen philosophers accomplish such important purposes as these?"[3] Thus is the infinite superiority of Christianity evinced, in a moral point of view, over every other system of philosophy. Lactantius, it should be recollected, had himself been a heathen philosopher, and here delivers the result of his own experience.

Though we cannot expect from pagans *direct* testimonies to the virtues of men whom they cruelly persecuted, yet the works of heathen writers incidentally furnish ample and sufficient proofs of their innocence and worth. To adduce one or two instances:—it was a common saying of the heathens, that a person was a good man, *only* he was a Christian. PLINY, in the memorable letter already cited,[4] says, on the information of some apostate Christians, that their great crime consisted in assembling together on a stated day before light, to sing hymns to Christ as God; and that they bound themselves by oath, not to the commission of any wickedness, *but* NOT *to be guilty of theft, or robbery, or adultery,* NEVER *to falsify their word,* NOR *to deny a pledge committed to them when called upon to return it.* He adds, that though he put two Christian women *to the torture*, he discovered NOTHING besides a bad and excessive superstition. In the course of time, the perseverance of Christians in a life of exemplary piety prevailed so far that the apostate emperor JULIAN, in an epistle to Arsacius, a heathen pontiff (written A. D. 430),[5] recommended their charities and other virtues to the imitation of the pagans, and desired Arsacius to turn his eyes to the means by which the superstition of the Christians was propagated, viz. by *sanctity of life*, by *kindness to strangers*, and by the *attention they paid to the burial of the dead.* He recommends an imitation of their virtues; exhorts the pontiff to prevail on the priests of Galatia to attend to the worship of the gods; enjoins works of charity; and desires him to relieve the distressed, and build houses for the accommodation of strangers of whatever religion "*It is,*" adds the emperor, "*a disgrace to the pagans to disregard those of their own* religion, while CHRISTIANS *do kind offices to strangers and enemies.*" From this admission of Julian, it is evident that the Christians were improved in benevolence and morals by the Gospel; and even the heathens were improved by the example of the Christians. These involuntary testimonies of heathens to the innocence and virtues of the primitive Christians, we shall find corroborated by various other proofs, which we now proceed briefly to exhibit.

II. If we advert to the EFFECTS OF CHRISTIANITY ON SOCIETY IN GENERAL, we shall find that the benevolent spirit of the Gospel served as a bond of union between independent nations; broke down the partition which separated the Heathens and Jews, abated their prejudices, and rendered them more liberal to each other. It checked pride and revenge, those sources of war and bloodshed, and promoted humility and forgiveness; it rendered its *sincere* professors just and honest, and inspired them with firmness under persecution. The apostles and evangelists endured the severest sufferings rather than renounce their religion; nor could the primitive Christians who succeeded them be induced by threats or torments to desert their profession. They neither repined nor railed at their enemies, but endured various excruciating torments with invincible meekness, patience, and resignation. Further, wherever the benign influence of the Gospel has penetrated, it has descended into families, and carried with it peace and happiness. The female sex, which is degraded and maltreated in modern heathen nations, as it was among many of the ancient pagan nations, is elevated, wherever the Gospel has spread, to that rank in society to which it is so justly entitled, and the civil, moral, and religious condition of women has been proportionably improved.[6] Polygamy has been abolished, and divorce is permitted,—not to gratify the levity, caprice, or profligacy of either party (for in Rome at least the women also had the power of divorce, where their licentiousness was equal to that of the men),—but only in the case of unfaithfulness to the nuptial vow. It is true, that in certain countries of Europe, where the Christian religion has been so far corrupted as to lose nearly all its influence, illicit connections may be formed, adulterous intrigues pursued, and even crimes against nature perpetrated, with but little dishonour. But it is not so in Britain and other Protestant countries, where the Gospel has had a freer course; for, though the same dispositions are discovered in great numbers of persons, yet the fear of the public frown holds most of them in awe. From the lowest degradation and oppression the female sex has been raised to respect, cultivation, and refinement, to a rank and influence in society, which they possess only in Christian countries, where their interest and happiness are uniformly and properly consulted in every important concern in life. We have no public indecencies between the sexes, no law that requires prostitution. If any unnatural crimes be perpetrated, they are not common; much less are they tolerated by the laws, or countenanced by public opinion. On the contrary, the odium which follows such practices is sufficient to stamp the perpetrators of them with perpetual infamy in the land. Rapes, incests, and adulteries are not only punishable by law, but odious in the estimation of the public. No one can live in the *known* practice of fornication, lying, theft, fraud, or cruelty, and retain his character. It cannot be pleaded in excuse with us, as it is in China or Hindostan (and as the profligate Rousseau pleaded when he sent his illegitimate offspring to the foundling hospital), that *such things are the custom of the country.*

Further, the harshness of parental authority has been restrained; the barbarous practice of exposing, or depriving of life, weak, deformed, or helpless children (which was sanctioned by the laws of many states), has been abolished, and hospitals have been instituted for the preservation of deserted children; and what was then deemed a wise political expedient to rid the state of useless and troublesome members, is now justly considered and punished as the most atrocious of crimes. And that uncontrolled power, which was possessed by fathers and husbands, and which rendered the condition of sons worse than that of slaves,[7] and exposed wives to the

[1] Origen contra Celsum, lib. i. Origen was singularly eminent for his exemplary learning and piety.

[2] Lactantius, Instit. Divin. lib. v. c. 9. Op. tom. i. pp. 349, 350. edit. Bipont.

[3] Ibid. lib. iii. c 26. tom. i. p. 232. edit. Bipont.

[4] See p. 84. *supra.* [5] Julian. Epist. 130.

[6] On this subject the reader will find a collection of interesting facts, compiled from various writers, in an "Essay on what Christianity has done for Women," prefixed to the second volume of "Female Scripture Biography, by F. A. Cox, A. M." London, 1817, 2 vols. 8vo.

[7] "The cruelty of the Roman law, not content with the destruction of infants, extended its severity even to the adult: it considered children not as persons but as *things*, as part of the furniture of the family mansion, which the master of the family might remove, or sell, or destroy, like any other

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most cruel treatment,[1] has been annihilated by the gentle spirit of Christianity. The system of domestic slavery, which subjected the greater part of mankind to the capricious tyranny of a few free-born masters,—who treated and valued them like beasts, while they were sometimes made the sacrifice of a youthful frolic, and murdered in the streets and roads, by thousands for amusement,—is fully extinguished; and our own times have witnessed another triumph of Christian benevolence, in the extirpation (at least in the British dominions) of the infamous traffic in human beings: the success of which measure is to be ascribed *principally* to the influence of Christianity in directing public opinion.

Thus, while the Gospel prescribes the best rules for promoting family peace and domestic happiness, it has also removed the great obstacles which have often impeded it. The condition of the inferior and dependent ranks of society has been ameliorated; and every varied form of human misery finds some alleviation from the active diligence of private benevolence, and the munificent provisions of public charity. The heathens had no public places for the accommodation of the sick, the poor, the widow, or the orphan, nor was there a single hospital in the whole heathen world: whereas every Christian country abounds with charitable institutions for those humane purposes. The flow of beneficence, proceeding from this divine source (especially in this highly favoured country), has scarcely left any means untried for meliorating the sufferings of the poor: it has erected asylums for almost every form of human misery, for all the children of the needy, for the destitute, and for the houseless. It has extended itself to the abodes of guilt and crime, and has attempted to put within the reach of the prisoner all the comforts that are compatible with the strict claims of justice; and it has even reached the inferior animals, by procuring for them gentle treatment, and constituting them objects of legal protection. In vain may we search in the writings of pagan moralists for exhortations to benevolence like this: not a word is to be found in Cicero's Offices, of active and liberal love to the poor, to slaves, to criminals, to the brute creation, in short, to any, except friends and relations, or for merely worldly and selfish purposes; and if *modern* moralists do better, Christianity may claim the praise. What terminated the horrid gladiatorial massacres and murders, which destroyed so many thousands of unhappy persons among the Romans? —CHRISTIANITY. What has instituted so many establishments for the reclaiming of the vicious, and for instructing even criminals?—CHRISTIANITY. What has meliorated the condition and procured security to the lives of insolvent debtors, whose misfortunes—not their faults—place them in the power of merciless creditors?—CHRISTIANITY. What has protected widows and orphans against injustice,—orphan princes against usurpers and rebellious subjects,—subjects against exaction and oppression,—the weak against the powerful in suits of law,—the goods and the persons of the shipwrecked against plunderers—and, in short, every description of persons against the distress which would otherwise have overwhelmed them?—CHRISTIANITY. What has discouraged suicides?—CHRISTIANITY. The heathens very frequently committed suicide agreeably to their religious or philosophical dogmas; but *no* REAL *Christian* can commit this crime without knowing that he is acting contrary to the principles of the Gospel, committing murder, and clearly violating a divine command. What has discouraged the absurd practice of duels, or deciding doubtful or disputed points by single combat, which obtained so generally in the north and west of Europe?—CHRISTIANITY. It is true that, from a false notion of honour, duels continue to be fought, often for the most frivolous or imaginary affront; but these are not chargeable upon the Gospel, which prohibits murder of every kind; and the men who engage in such duels, show by their conduct that, though they may *profess and call themselves Christians*, THEY ARE TOTALLY DESTITUTE OF CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLE, and act in utter disregard of the laws of a Christian country (at least of this country), which prohibit them, under severe penalties.[2]

III. From society, generally, let us ascend to the influence of Christianity on the RELIGION AND GOVERNMENT OF STATES AND COUNTRIES.

Wherever the Gospel has spread, we have the most satisfactory evidence of its mighty efficacy as a means of improving the present condition of man. Polytheism and idolatry, together with human sacrifices, and all their attendant cruelties and profligate immoralities, have been abolished. And as soon as nations and governments became Christian, they were actuated by that mild, benevolent, and generous spirit which the early believers had displayed even in the midst of calumny, insult, and persecution. Those princes who embraced Christianity, became more humble than their heathen predecessors; blended Christian morality with their civil institutes; and transcribed into their political codes the humanity and benevolence inspired by their religion. Fewer kings were murdered, and fewer revolutions took place in Christian than in pagan states. It is the power of the Gospel alone that has greatly reformed the laws of nations, and has diminished the horrors of war. That it has not hitherto been sufficient to banish unjust wars from the earth is true; and, as an acute writer has forcibly remarked, "It would have been wonderful if it had, seeing it has never yet been *cordially* embraced by the majority, nor perhaps by the preponderating part of any nation. Nevertheless it *has* had its influence;"[3] and that influence has been of the most beneficial kind for the happiness of man. For, the cold inhumanity, which considered war, not as the greatest scourge of the human race, but as the prime business and most exquisite gratification of life;—the restless ambition, passion for mar-

part of the furniture, at his discretion. In one respect, the condition of a son was worse than that of a slave. A slave could only be sold *once*, a son THREE times: and he might be *imprisoned, scourged, exiled*, or *put to death* by the pater-familias, without appeal to any other tribunal." (Nieupoort de Ritibus Romanis, p. 685.) With respect to daughters, there was an act of power more exquisitely cruel perhaps than all the rest. The father could compel his married daughter to repudiate a husband whom she tenderly loved, and whom he himself had approved. (Esprit des Loix, liv. xxvi. c. 2.) Bp. Porteous's Beneficial Effects of Christianity, in his Tracts, p. 379.

[1] What was, if possible, still more preposterous and intolerable, the wife herself, though the mother perhaps of a numerous family, was subjected, no less than her children, to the paternal authority and despotic will of her husband. She was in the eye of the law considered as his daughter, and might be retained or dismissed at pleasure; and for certain crimes (some of them of a very trivial nature), *might be put to death*. Ibid.

[2] By the law of England, where the parties meet with an intent to murder,—(and with what other intent, we may ask, *can* they meet? since challenges are always sent at least one or two days before the duel takes place, so that they meet *deliberately* and with a determination to take each other's lives,—thinking it their duty as *gentlemen*, and claiming it as their right to wanton with their own lives and the lives of others, without any warrant for it either human or divine,)—if one party kills the other, it comes within the notion of murder, and is punishable accordingly. So repugnant indeed is our law that not only the principal who actually kills the other, but also his seconds, are guilty of murder, whether they fought or not; and it is held, that the seconds of the party slain are likewise guilty as accessaries. See Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 199.

The modern practice of duelling is considered as absolutely necessary to protect men from insult: but, that it is a mere custom, and unnecessary for that purpose, is evident from the fact, that females, the Christian societies called Quakers, and Unitas Fratrum or United Brethren, and ministers of the Gospel, are scarcely more insulted than the man who will fight. "It is strange," Dr. Ryan remarks, with equal force and justice, "that fighting should be considered a proof of the truth, honour, or honesty of the duellist: a man may possess personal courage without another good quality. The liar, the knave, the seducer of his friend's wife, will fight. He who was a villain before he fought will still be a villain, and, in some cases, a greater villain than if he had declined the combat. *(If a man is so grossly insulted that his religious principle is not sufficiently strong to support him under the affront, let him challenge the aggressor, form a resolution not to fire, and commit this resolution, sealed up, to his second. If he escapes, let him prosecute at law; if he is killed, let his friends prosecute for a wanton and unprovoked murder.)* I knew a gentleman, who had fought many duels, receive a challenge for a trifling offence; he made an apology, which the challenger did not accept of, but insisted on a meeting. When the challenged went to the ground, he carried a paper, stating the offence, his offer of an apology, his private resolution not to fire, with a direction to his friends to prosecute for murder, if he should fall. The challenger fired without effect; his antagonist did not fire, but prosecuted him at law, and caused him to be imprisoned. Though the challenger was thus punished for firing, it is probable he would have escaped unpunished if he had killed his opponent, as juries are in the habit of perjuring themselves in support of this practice. They find a man guilty of a breach of the peace who sends a challenge, or fires without hitting, but acquit him if he kills in consequence of that challenge! Their usual verdict, that the survivor killed in his own defence, is GENERALLY FALSE, *because self-preservation seldom requires a man to kill his antagonist*. Where the combatants are supposed to fire at the same instant, each stands as good a chance of escaping, where he reserves his shot, as where he discharges it, provided his opponent is not apprized of his intention. He defends his honour by standing his adversary's fire, and his reserved shot protects his own life and that of his antagonist. He, therefore, who unnecessarily kills, has no claim to impunity on the plea of self-defence, and juries who urge that plea are absolutely perjured. The jury man, however, has precedents for disregarding his oath: most juries perjured themselves in the same way, and he is satisfied; as if he was not accountable to God, and to society, for his perjury, and for the evils which generally arise from the encouragement of duels." (Dr. Ryan's History of the Effects of Religion on Mankind, pp. 121, 122.) Most of the preceding observations are equally applicable to the disgusting and brutal practice of prize-fighting.

[3] Fuller's Gospel its own Witness, p. 134.

* A correspondent, since the publication of the sixth edition, has objected that the sentences, above printed between brackets, may mislead a weak Christian to think that he was allowed to send and receive a challenge. As these sentences form an integral part of a quotation from Dr. Ryan, the author of the present work does not consider himself at liberty to omit them. But whoever calmly and attentively weighs the *whole* of the quotation above given, and the context of the note in which it occurs, must come to the conclusion that ALL duels are contrary to the word of God and to the spirit of Christianity. *Note to the seventh edition.*

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tial achievements, and ferocious rapacity, which produced the most unprovoked aggressions;—the implacable and vindictive spirit with which wars were carried on, and which, consequently, for many ages, overwhelmed the world with bloodshed, ruin, and desolation;—that relentless cruelty which condemned the unhappy captive to perpetual slavery, or to an ignominious death (sometimes by torture) by the hand of the executioner;—the desolations of whole countries, together with the utter destruction of flourishing and opulent cities, and that relentless cruelty which spared not from massacre and extermination the unoffending female, the helpless infant, and the decrepitude of old age;—these are outrages, of which we seldom, if ever, hear in the wars carried on by professing Christians, though nothing was more frequent among the most polished nations of antiquity, and those most celebrated for their private and public virtue. (Such were the *pagan* notions of virtue!)

"It is the spirit of Christianity alone, which, moderating the views of sovereigns and states, and directing the measures of government to the legitimate objects of its institution, viz. the promotion of the welfare of society and the preservation of its moral interests, leads to an equitable consideration of the rights and independence of other nations, and to an unremitted regard to the well-being of the community over which it presides. It is the spirit of just and reasonable policy, which inspires rulers with a desire of fulfilling the intentions of God, who appointed them *as a terror to evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well;* teaching them to promote, upon general and permanent principles, the interests of every class of society, and to ground the confidence of power on the observance of the just claims of every department."[1] Hence the ancient fierceness of despotism, where such a form of government still exists, has been limited and assuaged. Those arbitrary laws, and that perversion and corruption of justice, which prevailed at Athens, and especially at Rome, during the latter periods of the republic, have disappeared from the codes of Christian states, especially in our own country. These great civil blessings, it may be safely affirmed, are in a great degree owing to the influence which the spirit of Christianity has had on our civil constitution (with which it is so closely and essentially interwoven, that it is part of the common law of England),[2] on the temper of our governors and of the people, on the temper of the laws, and of those who framed them, as well as of those who administer them. It is this holy influence of Christianity, principally, "which, by mitigating in some degree the rancour of contending factions against each other, and inspiring them with some little share of mutual charity and forbearance, has hitherto preserved this country from those scenes of carnage and devastation, that stain and disgrace the annals of ancient history. It is this, which has, in general, restrained our provincial governors from exceeding the bounds of equity and humanity in their administration; and has carried even to our most distant colonies a large share of the freedom, the justice, the ease, the tranquillity, the security and prosperity of the parent state. It is this, in fine, which has impressed on the minds of our magistrates and our judges, that strong sense of duty to God, to man, and to their country, that sacred regard to justice and rectitude, which renders them, beyond all example, impartial, upright, and uncorrupt; which secures to every rank of men the equal benefit of the laws, which extends to the meanest their protection, and brings the greatest under their control."[3]

IV. But the blessings conferred by Christianity on the world are not confined to ameliorating the moral, civil, religious, and political condition of mankind: the most polished nations, now in existence, are indebted to it for the preservation and diffusion of literature and the elegant arts of painting, statuary, architecture, and music. Christianity has been instrumental in preserving and disseminating moral, classical, and theological KNOWLEDGE, in every nation where it has been established. The Law, the Gospel, the comments on them, and the works of the fathers, were written in Hebrew, Greek, or Latin: so that a knowledge of these three languages became indispensably necessary to every man who wished to be an intelligent Christian. Christianity being contained in books, the use of letters became necessary to its teachers; nor could learning have been entirely lost, while there was an order of men, who were obliged to possess a moderate share of it, to qualify them for the priesthood, and entitle them to its emoluments. In the time of Tacitus (A. D. 108),[4] the German nations were strangers to letters; and the two following facts prove, that other nations were likely to continue illiterate, had not the teachers of the Gospel exerted themselves for their instruction. The Goths, having made themselves masters of Athens (A. D. 270), brought together into one heap all the books they found there, and would have consumed the valuable treasure, had not one of them told his companions, that while the Greeks amused themselves with those they neglected the art of war, and were easily overcome.[5] Theodoric, a Gothic prince (A. D. 293), would not suffer the children of his subjects to be instructed in the sciences; imagining, that such instruction enervated the mind, rendered men unfit for martial exploits; and that the boy who trembled at the rod, would never look undaunted at the sword or spear.[6] But no sooner was Christianity propagated among barbarians, than they were instructed in the use of letters. Ulphilas, a Gothic bishop (A. D. 380), invented letters for his illiterate countrymen, translated the Bible into the vulgar tongue for their use, and instructed them in its doctrines: and some Goths soon became so well informed, that they compared their version with the Latin, the Greek, and the Hebrew originals.[7] Before the introduction of Christianity in Ireland, the natives had no alphabet, no annals but their verses, nor any thing but memory to preserve their verses, their antiquities, the genealogies of their kings, and the exploits of their heroes. The more verses a man could repeat the more learned he was deemed, while the bard who composed any thing new was sure of being respected by the kings and people.[8] This was the state of the Irish, when the Christian missionaries came to instruct them in the use of letters, and in the truth of the Gospel. Such a change, however, was wrought in them by Christianity and its teachers, that Ireland was styled the island of very pious and very learned men. Ansgarius,[9] the chief apostle of the northern nations, not only preached the Gospel to those barbarians, but established schools for the instruction of youth in religion and letters. Cyril and Methodius,[10] who converted the Bulgarians, Moravians, and Bohemians, about the same time, previously invented the Slavic alphabet, and translated the Bible, and some Greek and Latin authors, into the Slavic tongue, for the purpose of expanding their narrow minds, and softening their hard hearts to mildness and pity. Nearly the same may be said of other barbarians who became proselytes of the Gospel. In Russia the teachers of Christianity recommended, at the same time, the Gospel and letters, the rudiments of the arts, of law, and order; and were seconded in their exertions by religious princes, who employed skilful Greeks for decorating the cities, and for the instruction of the people. "The dome and paintings of [the famous Cathedral of] St. Sophia at Constantinople were rudely copied in the Russian churches of Kiow and Novogorod; the writings of the fathers were translated into the Sclavonic language; and three hundred noble youths were invited, or compelled, to attend lectures in the college of Jaroslaus."[11] In various parts of Europe, edifices for divine worship arose under the fostering care of the clergy, aided by the munificence of sovereigns and of the laity; and though these were sometimes influenced by unworthy motives, yet the effect has not been the less beneficial to the arts of painting, design, architecture, and music, whose professors were encouraged to the exertion of their talents by liberal remuneration. When, however, the love of literature was succeeded by the love of arms (which was particularly the case during the middle ages) few had inducements to study, except those who were educated and destined for the sacred office; nor could a knowledge of the Greek and Roman classics have been propagated so universally as it was, had not the clergy found them necessary for understanding the Scriptures and the works of the fathers. By these means, they possessed most of the learning of those times, and handed it down to their successors, who had the merit of collecting, transcribing, and preserving books, which otherwise must have perished, when a taste for erudition was almost extinct, and the passion of laymen was directed to arms.[12]

[1] Bp. Gray's Connection of Sacred and Profane Literature, vol. i. p. 219.
[2] Blackstone's Commentaries, by Professor Christian, vol. iv. p. 59. and note (5).
[3] Bp. Porteus's Tracts, p. 383

[4] De Moribus Germ. c. ii. iii.
[5] Zonaras, Annal. lib. xii. c. 26. Gibbon's Hist. vol. i. p. 431.
[6] Procop. De Bello Goth. lib. i. c. 2.
[7] Socrat. lib. iv. c. 32. Sosom. lib. vi. c. 36. Philostorg. lib. ii. c. 5.
[8] Bollandi Acta, March xvii. [9] Mabillon, Annal. 826.
[10] Balbini Miscell. part i.
[11] Gibson's Hist. vol. x. p. 244.
[12] The *Literary Benefits* conferred on the world by Christianity, are thus concisely but forcibly stated by Dr. Jortin. "To whom we owe the

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On the subversion of the Greek empire by the Mohammedans, in 1453, literature took refuge in the west of Europe, where many of the clergy were among its most strenuous supporters. At length, learning emerged from the silence of the cloister, whither she had retreated, and where she had been preserved from destruction; and her appearance was followed by a revival of all the blessings which she so eminently bestows. The Reformation promoted, still more, the cause of learning; and its general diffusion has been aided most signally by the discovery and almost universal adoption of the art of printing. The modern opposers of revelation, however, reasoning in a retrograde motion, ascribe all our improvements to philosophy. *But it was religion, the* RELIGION OF CHRIST, *that took the lead.* The Reformers opened to us the Scriptures, and broke all those fetters that shackled human reason. Philosophy crept humbly in her train, profited by her labours and sufferings; and now ungratefully claims all the honour and praise to herself. Luther, Melancthon, and Cranmer preceded Lord Bacon, Boyle, Newton, and Locke. The horrible excesses that will for ever disgrace the annals of the French revolution, are not chargeable upon Christianity. The French nation renounced Christianity before they plunged into such crimes. Philosophy and reason were their boasted guides. Besides, Christianity ought not to be charged with all the crimes of those who have assumed its name. *No* institution has ever been able to prevent all the excesses which it forbad; nor is it peculiar to the Christian revelation, that it has *sometimes* furnished a pretext for introducing those very evils and oppressions, which it was designed to remedy.[1] But the mischiefs which, through the corrupt passions of men, have been the *accidental* consequences of Christianity, ought not to be imputed to its spirit. "The Legislator of the universe, in promulgating the sublime laws of Christianity—though he furnished men with motives calculated to elevate them to his throne, and to extend their hopes far beyond the grave—did not at the same time transform the intelligent creatures, to whom he gave those laws, into mere machines. *He has given them the power either to conform to Christian precepts or to infringe them;* and thus has placed in their own hands their own destiny. If, after this, a great many of them reject the good and choose the evil, the fault is manifestly theirs, and not his, who, by so many the most tremendous denunciations, warns them against the latter, and by the most alluring invitations solicits them to the former." Were all men to become *sincere* believers in the heavenly doctrines of the Gospel, and were all *honestly* disposed to obey its holy precepts, nothing is better calculated to diffuse real comfort, peace, and happiness in this world. Indeed, whoever will candidly and attentively compare the morals of professing Christians throughout the world, defective as they are, with those of the heathen nations in a similar stage of society, will be convinced that the effects of Christianity have been exceedingly beneficial. Some vices were not forbidden, while others were applauded, by the ancients; but the vices of the Christian, the sins of the heart as well as the life, are *all* forbidden by the Gospel. It has silently communicated innumerable blessings to individuals. Besides those enumerated in the preceding pages,[2] we may observe that, through its blessed influence, crimes are less malignant; the manners of mankind are softened and humanized, to a degree unknown in ancient times; a more general respect is paid to the decency of external appearances, and to the sentiments of virtuous and pious men; and although much wickedness still remains among the *nominal* professors of the Christian faith, who are Christians in name, but little better than heathens in practice, yet a large portion of piety and virtue silently exists among the middle and lower classes of mankind, who in every age and country form the greatest part of the community. Nay, in Christian countries, even the wicked themselves (who have not cast off all religion, and deliberately renounced the Gospel) are greatly restrained by the fear of future punishments, which are so clearly set forth in the Gospel. So that mankind are, upon the whole, even in a temporal point of view, under infinite obligations to the mild and pacific temper of the Gospel, and have reaped more substantial worldly benefits from it, than from any other institution upon earth; and, whatever of sobriety or moral virtue is to be found either in the writings or lives of the opposers of revelation in modern times, they are indebted for it to that very Christianity which they are impotently endeavouring to subvert. "To say nothing of the best ideas of the old philosophers on moral subjects being derived from revelation (of which there is considerable evidence),[3] it is manifest that, so far as the moderns exceed them, it is principally, if not entirely, owing to this medium of instruction. The Scriptures having diffused the light, they have insensibly imbibed it; and finding it to accord with reason, they flatter themselves that *their* reason has discovered it. 'After grazing,' as one expresses it, 'in the pastures of revelation, they boast of growing fat by nature.'—So long as they reside among people, whose ideas of right and wrong are formed by the morality of the Gospel, they must (unless they wish to be stigmatized as profligates) behave with some degree of decorum. Where the conduct is uniform and consistent, charity, and even justice, will lead us to put the best construction upon the motive; but when we see men uneasy under restraints, and continually writing in favour of vices which they dare not openly practise, we are justified in imputing their sobriety not to principle, but to the circumstances attending their situation."[4]

V. It were no difficult task to adduce from the page of history, numerous FACTS that would fully confirm the preceding general survey of the effects produced by the influence of Christianity. A few additional instances, however,

"are we indebted for the knowledge of antiquities, sacred and secular, for every thing that is called *Philology*, or the *Literæ Humaniores*? To Christians. To whom, for grammars and dictionaries of the learned languages? To Christians. To whom, for chronology, and the continuation of history through many centuries? To Christians. To whom, for rational systems of morality and of natural religion? To Christians. To whom, for improvements in natural philosophy, and for the application of these discoveries to religious purposes? To Christians. To whom, for metaphysical researches, carried as far as the subject will permit? To Christians. To whom, for the moral rules to be observed by nations in war and peace? To Christians. To whom, for jurisprudence and political knowledge, and for settling the *rights of subjects*, both civil and religious, upon a proper foundation? To Christians—not to atheists or deists, some of whom (as Hobbes in particular) have been known advocates for tyranny." (Jortin's Sermons, vol. vii. pp. 373, 374.) He further observes, that some of the infidel and deistical writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (and the remark is equally applicable to those of our own times) were "ignorant and illiterate, most of them a sort of half-scholars, and retailers of second-hand wares, none of them eminently learned, or contributors to the improvement of erudition and knowledge in any material article." Ibid. p. 375.)

[2] On the subject above noticed, the reader will find some excellent and forcible remarks in Dr. Dewar's Discourses illustrative of the Designs of Christianity, Disc. 13. entitled "The Imperfection of Christians no valid Objection to Christianity."

[3] "Much general reformation and happiness, in various ways, hath been introduced into the world by the Gospel, both among individuals, and among nations. But even on a supposition it had been otherwise, it proves nothing against the good effects of Christianity, if it were properly obeyed. It only proves, that notwithstanding the purity of the Gospel, and its gracious intention of making mankind religious and happy, there are numbers who will not be made religious and happy by it. But what could God Almighty do more for man, consistently with leaving him at liberty to act freely? He could only give him a rule to walk by, and reason to enforce that rule; unless he had changed his nature, and, by giving him a new religion, had wrought a standing miracle to force his obedience to it. So that, of course, the world will always be divided into two sorts of people—such as are deaf to all the calls of religion; and such as live up to its rules. Among these latter only are to be found those who feel the happiness of living under Gospel laws. It would be a wonderful thing, indeed, if those should profit by them, who never trouble their heads about them. The patient, who rejects the medicine, must not hope to remove the disease. Our Saviour himself, you remember, prophesied, in the parable of the sower, of the different reception which his Gospel should meet among different men. Some seed, he tells you, would fall among thorns, and be choked—others on beaten ground, and be picked up—but that still there would be some which would fall on good ground, and bring forth fruit in abundance. The Christian religion, therefore, is not meant to work by force, or like a charm, on the minds of men. If it did, there could be no goodness in the observance of it; but it is intended mercifully to guide those to happiness, who will listen to its gracious voice. So that when we look into the world, and wish to see the effects of religion, we must look for it only among real Christians—among those who truly live up to its laws—and not among those who happen to live in a Christian country, and are Christians only in name." Gilpin's Sermons, vol. iii. pp. 9—11.

[3] A glance at the devotions of the Gentiles will show that, with very few exceptions, there was nothing spiritual in their prayers—no thanksgiving—no request for divine assistance in the performance of their duty—no pious sorrow and acknowledgment of their offences. But "after the propagation of the Christian religion, we find forms of adoration in some *pagan* writers which are more rational and spiritual than the old hymns and prayers of their ancestors; and we may reasonably suppose that these improvements arose from the Gospel. See *Procl.* Hymn. ad Solem, et ad Musas; *Jamblich.* de Myst. Egypt. § 5. c. 26.; *Simpl.* in *Epictet. ad fin.* to whom I wish I could add *Maximus Tyrius.* It is pity that he who on other accounts deserves commendation, should have taught that prayer to God was superfluous, *Disc.* 30. See also *Juvenal* x. 346. and the Commentators. *Seneca* says, *Primus est deorum cultus, deos credere: deinde reddere illis majestatem suam, reddere bonitatem.—Vis deos propitiare? bonus esto. Satis illos coluit quisquis imitatus est.* Epist. 95. p. 470. But that he did not think prayer to be useless and unnecessary, as some may fancy from these words, will appear from the following places. *Nos quoque existimamus vota proficere, salva vi et potestate fatorum. Quædam enim a Diis immortalibus ita suspensa relicta sunt, ut in bonum vertant, si admotis Diis preces fuerint, si vota suscepta.* Nat. Quæst. ii. 57. *Itaque non dat Deus beneficia—non exaudit precantium voces et undique sublatis in cælum manibus vota facientium privata ac publica. Quod profecto non fieret, nec in hunc furorem omnes mortales consensissent alloquendi surda numina et inefficaces Deos, nisi nossent illorum beneficia nunc ultro oblata, nunc orantibus data.* De Benef. IV. 4." (Jortin's Discourses on the Christian Religion, p. 267. note.)

[4] Fuller's Gospel its own Witness, p. 112

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must suffice. Wherever Christian missionaries have gone, the most barbarous heathen nations have become civilized. Some of them were cannibals; others worshipped their swords as gods; and all of them offered human victims to their idols. The ferocious became mild; those who prowled about for plunder acquired settled property, as well as a relish for domestic happiness; persons who dwelt in caves or huts learned from missionaries the art of building; they who fed on raw flesh applied to agriculture; men who had been clothed in skins, and were strangers to manufactures, enjoyed the comforts of apparel; and the violent and rapacious renounced their rapine and plunder. The various tribes that inhabited Germany ceased to sacrifice men after the introduction of Christianity; nor did the Huns continue to be strangers to the difference of right and wrong, after they embraced it. The Geloni, and other Scythian tribes, ceased to use the skins of their enemies for clothes; and the Heruli (who latterly overran and devastated the western empire) no longer put to death the aged and infirm, as they had formerly done, nor required widows to kill themselves at the tombs of their husbands. The aboriginal inhabitants of Ireland, and the Attacotti (a valiant Caledonian tribe), relinquished cannibalism, and the Hungarians ceased to devour the hearts of their captives, after their conversion. After the conversion also of the Scandinavian nations, they ceased to commit suicide on principle; nor did their wives and slaves voluntarily devote themselves to death, in order to honour the deceased in the paradise of Odin. Christianity imparted to the Danes, Norwegians, and Russians, just ideas of property; and put an end to their piratical expeditions and depredations. The northern kingdoms, which were engaged in incessant wars, while their inhabitants were heathens, became more pacific after the preaching of the Gospel among them. The Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, who could only speak a barbarous language, acquired the use of letters; a people who were continually making depredations on their neighbours, became content with their own territories; and nations, almost inaccessible on account of their cruelty and superstition, became gentle and sociable in consequence of their conversion. The well-informed lawyer must respect Christianity for the numerous benevolent laws to which it gave rise; and every man who has read (however slightly) the laws of the emperors Theodosius, Justinian, and Charlemagne, or the codes of the Visigoths, Lombards, Anglo-Saxons, and other barbarous nations, must venerate Christianity as the source of many just and merciful laws, which were totally unknown to polished as well as to civilized pagans.

Perhaps no country more greatly needed the light of Christianity, or has been more eminently benefited by it, than England. Druidism, uniformly more sanguinary than other cruel modifications of paganism (though in some respects less erroneous), was succeeded first by the impure mythology of Rome, and then by the sanguinary and war-inspiring worship of the deities of the northern hordes, by whom it was invaded from time to time, and finally subdued. Never was Christianity attended with circumstances more pleasing, or with changes more salutary, than among our rude and ferocious forefathers. The preaching of the Gospel, from the very earliest time of the Christian æra, abolished human sacrifices (principally wretched captives), that were offered by the Druids: the rude and unsettled Saxons, when converted to Christianity, acquired a relish for the comforts of civilized life, and ceased to immolate their captives, or the cowardly members of their own army. And the descendants of those barbarous savages, who prohibited commercial intercourse with strangers, and who thus cruelly put their prisoners to death, now feed and clothe them, and encourage intercourse with all the nations of the earth. It was the spirit of Christianity, that, in England, put a stop to the dreadful animosities of the barons; that checked the perpetual feuds of the darker ages; that subdued the pride and fierceness which so convulsed the government of our own and other nations; that gave rise to the singular but beneficial institution of chivalry, which tempered the valour of its professors, by uniting in the same persons the various and useful virtues of courtesy, humanity, honour, and justice; and, finally, has diffused that spirit of practical piety, benevolence, and morality, which have justly rendered Britain the glory of all lands.

Such were the happy changes wrought by Christianity on the state of society in ancient times; nor has it been less useful among modern pagans, so far as its pure and life-giving precepts have been propagated and inculcated among them. Indeed, on whatever part of the field of missionary exertions we fix our attention, we have the most satisfact evidence of the mighty efficacy of the Gospel as the mea of improving the present condition of mankind. Thus, North America, in South America also, and in the East dies, wherever Christianity has been carried, it has abolish human sacrifices, and all the barbarous practices mentio in the former part of this work;[1] and has diffused the ble ings of civilization, together with the glad tidings of salv tion.[2] In the West Indies it has mitigated the horrors slavery, and converted stubborn captives (barbarously a unjustly torn from their native soil) into valuable servan so that a *real* Christian slave, it is well known, is *of grea value* than one who is a pagan.

Further, in Greenland, among a people who, in additi to all the privations which they endure from the severity the climate, had been left in the lowest stages of savage li the Moravians or United Brethren have been instrumental introducing the comforts and endearments of civilizatio and those outcasts of society may now be seen enjoying t food and shelter which their industry and perseverance h secured for them. With the admission of the doctrines Christ, they have relinquished their ferocious habits; th resumed the exercise of reason, when they began to practi the duties of religion; and instead of exhibiting the miseri of their former condition, we behold the edifying spectac of men raising their adorations to him who created and r deemed them, and *walking in all the commandments and ord nances of the Lord blameless*. In South Africa, through th divine blessing on the labours of the same missionaries, an those of other societies, among a race equally removed fro the habits of civilization—and, perhaps, still more hostile the application of any means of improvement—Christiani has made a powerful impression; and has accomplished change, which has raised those who were placed at the e treme point of human nature to the possession of piet decency, and happiness. Similar effects have been pr duced on the western coast of Africa, through the instr mentality of the Church Missionary Society; and the san effects are uniformly seen to follow its progress.[3]

In short, in proportion as Christianity advances into th regions of paganism, we may confidently anticipate a melo ration in the general condition of mankind, and a great equality in the moral and political advantages of every tri and people. The beneficial effects of the Gospel, indeed, a felt even in Mohammedan countries; for all the best mor precepts of the Koran are taken, without acknowledgmen from the Scriptures. Where it agrees with them, it tends advance human happiness; where it differs from them, it generally a rhapsody of falsehoods, contradictions, and absu fables, that will not bear the test of examination.

As, however, *recent* FACTS most powerfully arrest attentio we shall adduce one instance more of the glorious triumpl of Christianity over paganism, which has been achieved *our own time*, since the commencement of the present centu

[1] See p. 21. *supra*.

[2] Some writers have imagined that certain detestable practices of pagans were abolished by civilization, and not by the Christian religi But the falsehood of this opinion will appear, by considering, that bloo and obscene customs prevailed among the Egyptians, Carthaginia Greeks, and Romans, who were, in many respects, equal to us in literat and civilization, and yet performed several hideous rites long after th had arrived at the pinnacle of refinement. Polished heathens offered human victims to their gods, and were, on particular occasions, guilty every abomination imputed to the uncivilized, except devouring their c dren. In all rude nations which embraced the Gospel, Christianity civilization were as cause and effect, so that the benefits of the latter to be ascribed to the former. As the Gospel softened and civilized bar rians, we may fairly attribute to it the happy effects of civilization. T Prussians and Lithuanians having offered human sacrifices, and contin uncivilized till their conversion in the thirteenth and fourteenth centur it is probable they would have done so to this day, were it not for Ch tianity, since the Mingrelians, Circassians, and other heathens, are more rude than Christian nations under nearly the same circumstan of latitude and soil. The Chinese and Japanese, though polished natio and well acquainted with arts and manufactures, it is well known, publi commit crimes which would not be tolerated in the rudest Christian ki dom. Upon the whole, it appears that Christianity has exploded sev crimes of the civilized as well as barbarous heathen, has taught each them virtues to which he was a stranger, and must, wherever it is e blished, prevent relapses to paganism, and the numerous evils result from false systems of religion.—Dr. Ryan's History of Religion, pp. 277,

[3] The details on which the above statements are founded, may be s in Crantz's History of Greenland, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1820; Latrob Journal of his Visit to South Africa in 1815 and 1816, 4to. London, 1818; in the later Reports of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Fore Parts, and of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; of Church Missionary Society; of the Society for Missions established by Unitas Fratrum or Moravians; of the London Missionary Society; of Baptist Missions in the East Indies; and of the Wesleyan Missionary ciety.—Abstracts of the most recent of these reports of Christian bene lence (comprising also much important geographical information) may seen in the periodical journal entitled "The Missionary Register."

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in the numerous clusters of islands in the southern Pacific Ocean, through the divine blessing on the unwearied labours of devoted missionaries; who have persevered in their arduous undertaking, under discouragements the most protracted and depressing, and with a patient endurance of privations not easily comprehended by those who have always remained at home, or visited only civilized portions of foreign climes. In common with missionaries in other parts of the world, they have been described by the enemies of religion, as ignorant and dogmatical fanatics; more intent on the inculcation of the peculiarities of their sect or party, than in promoting the well-being of the people; holding out no inducement by precept or example to industrious habits, &c.: but the PRESENT STATE of the islands in which they spent so many years, compared with what it was previously to and at the time of their arrival (as recorded in the voyages of captains Cook and Bligh, and other navigators), and during several subsequent years, presents a sufficient and triumphant refutation of every charge of this kind. For, in Otaheite (more correctly Tahiti), and many neighbouring islands, many thousand *adult* inhabitants, together with their chieftains,[1] voluntarily embraced, and made an open profession of the Christian faith, without the intervention or influence of any Christian potentate or state; and the consequence has been the abolition of *theft*—of *idolatry*—of *infanticide*—of the *Arroy Society* (a privileged order that practised the vilest cruelty and abominations)—of *human sacrifices*—of the *murder* of prisoners taken in battle—of the *principal causes of war* itself—of *polygamy*—of *unnatural crimes*—and of *various other immoral and indecent practices*, both in public and private life, that were connected with their idolatry. Instead of a rude administration of justice, founded on the arbitrary will of the chieftains, a system of equitable laws has been established, with the voluntary consent of the sovereign, chieftains, and people, founded on the basis of Christian principles. Education, civilization, and industry[2] are rapidly spreading through those islands; for, where the precepts of Christianity are diffused, idleness never fails to become disreputable, and *civilization* INEVITABLY *follows*. Men, devoted to intemperance, cruel, profligate, and ungodly, have been so changed in their hearts and lives, as to become virtuous and useful members of society; and many thousands of adult persons (besides their children) who a few years since were enveloped in error, sensuality, and idolatry, have been turned from dumb idols to serve the living and true God. Public, social, and domestic worship are universal, and private devotion is supposed to be almost universal.[3] Who can contemplate the former condition of these islands, with their inhabitants groaning, and consuming under the tyranny of a cruel system of idolatry, and of vices still more destructive—and then contrast with it the natives in their present circumstances, gradually emerging from their former darkness and misery under the benign influence of Christianity; worshipping the true God, becoming honourable members of the Christian church, reading the Holy Scriptures (for a written language has been given to them), advancing in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, improving in their mental and moral character, and in their social habits, with the comforts of civilized life daily multiplying around them,—where is the Christian who can contemplate these things, and not evidently perceive the finger of Divine Providence,—a most convincing proof of the efficacy of the Gospel, and a most powerful incentive, as well as encouragement to further missionary exertions?

VI. Such are the effects which Christianity is actually producing in our own times. Contrast them with the effects of that atheistical philosophy, which towards the close of the eighteenth century plunged France in desolation, misery, and anarchy almost indescribable, and then judge of the want of candour and truth, in an opposer of Christianity, who, with such facts before him, could assert that the Christian religion is "a pestilence more destructive of life, happiness, and peace, than all other pestilences combined."!!!

It is, however, in the private walks of life, especially, that the efficacy of the Christian system has been practically felt in reclaiming the profane and immoral to sobriety, equity truth, and piety, and to an exemplary behaviour in relative life. Having been *made free from sin, and become the servants of God, they have their fruit unto holiness*, and, after patiently continuing in well-doing, and cheerfully bearing various afflictions (supported by the precious promises of the Bible), they joyfully meet death; being cheered by the hope of *eternal life*, as *the gift of God through Jesus Christ:* while they who are best acquainted with the Gospel are most convinced that they have been rendered wiser, more holy, as well as more happy, by believing it; and that there is a reality in religion, though various conflicting interests and passions may keep them from duly embracing it. "There are indeed *enthusiasts* also, but they become such by forsaking the old rule of faith and duty for some new fancy; and there are *hypocrites*, but they attest the reality and excellency of religion by deeming it worth their while to counterfeit it."[4]

It is the peculiar glory of the Christian revelation that it is adapted to every rank and station in life. Is the Christian favoured with temporal blessings? He is instructed how to enjoy them aright, and to distribute to the necessities of those who are in want. Are his circumstances contracted? It preserves him from repining. *He hath learned in whatsoever state he is, therewith to be content. He knows both how to be abased, and how to abound;—every where, and in all things, he is instructed, both to be full and to be hungry,—both to abound and to suffer need.* Nor does the Gospel only produce contentment, but it gives to its possessor a certain dignity and authority, which the greatest can never acquire without it. The rods and axes of despots may extort an outward reverence, but nothing commands the hearts and affections of men like real piety and goodness. *Godliness is profitable unto all things, having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.* (1 Tim. iv. 8.) A *conscientious* discharge of the duties of religion conciliates the love and esteem of mankind, and establishes a fair character and unblemished reputation. While the *real* Christian fears God and honours the king, he is honest in his dealings, frugal in his expenses, and industrious in the proper calling of his life; and aims to *adorn the doctrine of God his Saviour in all things.*—Real Christians, whatever be their rank in life, have a peculiar enjoyment in the possession of temporal goods (whether they be few or many), while the ungodly find emptiness in all their possessions: for the mind, rendered happy by the holy and excellent principles that govern it, mixes its own sweetness with whatever good is received and imparts an extraordinary relish to it; while the unholy dispositions of those who are not in a Christian state of mind, must, by their very nature, prevent such persons from enjoying what they possess.

But the happy effects of Christianity are not confined to prosperity: its sincere professors have also peculiar consolations in the day of adversity. The experience of every day proves that *man is born to trouble;* and religion will not prevent the Christian from being made to feel what it is, to share in the common lot of mankind. But, what supports will it afford him, when the cup of affliction is put into his hands! Supports to which mere men of the world are utter strangers. These are for the most part miserable in their affliction. If they be kept from murmuring, it is the summit of their attainments, while Christians are enabled to glory even in tribulation, and cordially to approve all the divine dispensations towards them. They truly possess a *peace that passeth all understanding. Being justified by faith, they have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ*, and they also *have the testimony of a good conscience, that, in sim-*

[1] By the instrumentality of *native* teachers, chiefly, has the Gospel been carried to the Palliser Islands, at the distance of 250 miles east of Tahiti; to Raivavai, six islands 500 miles southward of Tahiti; and to the Harvey Islands, 600 miles west-south-west of it. They are preparing to make settlements on other islands still more remote. (Orme's Discourse on the History of the South Sea Mission, p. 33.) The Christian religion has also been voluntarily embraced by the inhabitants of several of the Sandwich Islands, through the divine blessing on the labours of the missionaries sent out by the North American Missionary Society; and in New Zealand by the missionaries sent forth by the Church Missionary and the Wesleyan Missionary Societies.

[2] The results in the way of civilization which have already occurred in those islands, since their inhabitants embraced Christianity, are extraordinary, considering their disadvantages. "Among savages, who a short time since were but a few degrees removed from the state of nature, printing-presses have been established, written laws promulgated, the trial by jury adopted, the rudiments of navies formed, regular roads made, piers constructed, comfortable houses built, and many of the conveniences, and even some of the luxuries, of life introduced. Are not these evidences of the operation of powerful principles, and of an influence of a high moral order?" (Orme's Discourse on Missions, p. 29.)

[3] See the Narrative of the Mission to Otaheite, published by the Directors of the London Missionary Society, 8vo. London, 1818; and particularly Mr. Ellis's Polynesian Researches, London, 1829, in 2 vols. 8vo.; also their Reports for the years 1819 to 1833 inclusive. Many thousand copies of a Tahitian version of the gospel of St. Luke have long been in circulation, besides a large number of spelling-books, Scripture lessons, and catechisms. The number of natives in the Georgian islands only, who are able to read, amounts to several thousands. Schools have been erected, in every district, by command of the late king Pomarre; who himself composed the alphabet at the beginning of the spelling-book, and worked off some of the first sheets at the printing-press.

[4] Scott's Commentary on the Bible, vol. i. pref. p. xvi

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plicity and godly sincerity, by the grace of God, they have had their conversation in the world. This is to them a source of unspeakable joy, with which a *stranger* intermeddleth not. 'What trouble, indeed, can overwhelm, what fear can discompose, that man who loveth Christ, and keepeth his words? What earthly power can make such a man unhappy? Will you take away his riches? His treasure is in heaven. Will you banish him from home? His country is above. Will you bind him in chains? His conscience, his spirit, his affections, are all free. Will you destroy his body? His body shall be raised incorruptible at the last day, and his soul will immediately return unto God, who gave it. Heaven itself is but an emblem of his happiness. As heaven is enlightened by the rising sun, his soul is illuminated by that Sun of righteousness, which ariseth, without setting, in his heart. As heaven is intrinsically bright and beautiful, though clouds obscure and midnight darkness surround it, he is peaceful, happy, and serene, in the midst of trials and afflictions. As heaven is exalted above the storms and tempests of this lower atmosphere, he is elevated above the distractions and perturbations of this troublesome world. He is a Christian. His conversation is in heaven. His life is hid, with Christ, in God.

"We admit, then, that such a Christian has his sorrows. But his sorrow is sweeter than this world's joy. Every trial, every affliction, draws him nearer to his God. In the secrecy of his chamber, in the silence of midnight, he has a resource which the world knows not of. He pours forth his fears, his apprehensions, his griefs, into the bosom of his Maker. Suffering thus becomes a well-spring of delight; for it is felt to be a source of spiritual improvement. Thus it is, that all things work together, not only for good, but for enjoyment, to them that love their God. Thus it is, that if they sow in tears, they also reap in joy."[1] Far different from this is the joy of the hypocrite or of the ungodly. His joy is a malignant passion, excited by the temporary success of some of his devices. *Folly is joy to him that is destitute of wisdom;* but the *triumphing of the wicked is short; and the joy of the hypocrite is but for a moment; God is not in all their thoughts. Therefore they say unto God, Depart from us, for we desire not thee nor the knowledge of thy ways. What is the Almighty that we should serve him? What profit should we have if we pray to him?*[2]

But it is in the prospect of *futurity*, especially, that the happy effects of Christianity are peculiarly felt and displayed. The hour of death must, unavoidably, arrive to every individual of the human race. In that awful moment, when the soul is hovering on the confines of two worlds, suffering the agony of bodily torture, and the remorse of an accusing conscience, something is surely needed to cheer the mind. But, in this exigency, the only consolation afforded by infidelity is, "that there is no hereafter." When friends and relatives are expressing by their agonized looks what they are afraid to utter: when medicines and pains are racking the debilitated frame: when the slumbers of conscience are for ever broken, and its awful voice raised:—all—all that unbelief can present to sustain the mind in this trying hour is—the cold and the comfortless doctrine of an ETERNAL SLEEP.

That these sentiments are unequal at such a period to support the mind, is evident from the death-beds of the most eminent of their advocates. Whilst a Paul, a Peter, and a John, and the whole host of Christian martyrs, could survey, unmoved, death in its most terrific forms: while many have vehemently longed for its approach, desiring *to depart and be with Christ:* while some have exulted in the midst of the most excruciating bodily tortures:—Voltaire endured horrors never to be expressed. His associates have attempted to conceal the fact; but the evidence is too strong to be refuted. Like Herod, who was smitten by an angel whilst receiving undue homage from men; so, immediately after his return from the theatre in which he had been inhaling the incense of adulation from a silly populace, he felt that the stroke of death had arrested him. Immediately his friends crowded around him, and his brethren of the Illuminati exhorted him to die like a hero. In spite of their admonitions, he sent for the *curé* of St. Gervais; and, after confession, signed in the presence of the abbé Mignot (his nephew), and of the marquis de Villevielle (one of the Illuminati), his recantation of his former principles. After this visit, the *curé* was no more allowed to see him. His former friends, having obtained possession of his house, interdicted all access unto him. It has, however, crept out by means of the nurse who attended him, that he died in unutterable agony of mind.[3] D'Alembert, Diderot, and about twenty others, who beset his apartment, never approached him without receiving some bitter execration. Often he would curse them, and exclaim, "Retire! It is you who have brought me to my present state. Begone! I could have done without you all; but you could not exist without me. And what a wretched glory have you procured me!"

These reproaches were succeeded by the dreadful recollection of his own part in the conspiracy against religion. He was heard, in anguish and in dread, alternately supplicating or blaspheming that God against whom he had conspired. He would cry out, in plaintive accents, Oh, Christ! Oh, Jesus Christ! and then complain that he was abandoned by God and man. It seemed as if the hand, which had traced of old the sentence of an impious king, now traced before his eyes his own blasphemies. In vain he turned away from the contemplation of them. The time was coming apace, when he was to appear before the tribunal of him whom he had blasphemed; and his physicians, particularly Dr. Tronchin, calling in to administer relief, thunderstruck, retired. His associates would, no doubt, willingly have suppressed these facts; but it was in vain. The mareschal de Richelieu fled from his bed-side, declaring it to be a sight too terrible to be endured; and Dr. Tronchin observed, that the furies of Orestes could give but a faint idea of those of Voltaire.[4] The last hours of D'Alembert were like those of Voltaire.[5] Condorcet boasts, that he refused admission to the *curé* on his second visit. Such a refusal evidently shows that he feared what an interview would disclose.—Hume, instead of meeting death with the calmness of a philosopher, played the buffoon in that awful hour, proving, by his comic actions, his anxiety to drown serious thought.—Diderot and Gibbon discovered the same anxiety, by deeply interesting themselves in the most trifling amusements. The last hours of Paine were such as might have been expected from his previous immoral and unprincipled habits. Though, in reply to the inquiry of his medical attendant whether he believed or wished to believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, he declared that he "had no wish to believe on that subject;" yet, during the paroxysms of his distress and pain, he would invoke the name of that Saviour whom he had blasphemed by his writings, in a tone of voice that would alarm the house: and at length he expired, undeplored and detested by his adopted countrymen.[6] A conduct like this proves that there was one spark of horror in the souls of these antagonists of revelation which all their philosophic efforts were unequal to extinguish.

The whole of the atheist's creed, with respect to the future world, is comprised in the following summary: that his body, begun by chance or necessity, is continued without design, and perishes without hope; that his soul is a mere attribute of his body, useless and worthless while he lives, and destined at his death to rottenness and corruption; and that the sooner it is returned to its parent mould the better. And, by his mandate, he consigns mankind to the dark and desolate regions of annihilation. By this sweeping sentence, which he passes on all the human race, he takes away from himself and his fellow-men, every motive, furnished by the fear of future punishment or by the hope of future rewards, to virtuous, upright, or amiable conduct.

On the other hand, how glorious are the Christian's views of the future world. From the promise of his Creator, he learns that his *body, sown* here *in corruption, weakness, and dishonour, shall be raised*, beyond the grave, in *incorruption, power, and glory*, with so many attributes of mind or *spirit*, as to be denominated by Him who made it a *spiritual body*.

[1] Bp. Jebb's Sermons, p. 86.

[2] Prov. xv. 21. Job xx. 5. Psal. x. 4. Job xxi. 14, 15

[3] The same nurse, "being many years afterwards requested to wait on a sick Protestant gentleman, refused, till she was assured he was not a philosopher; declaring, if he were, she would on no account incur the danger of witnessing such a scene as she had been compelled to do at the death of M. Voltaire." Bp. Wilson's (of Calcutta) Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 412. 8vo. edition. Dr. Wilson adds, that he received the account from the *son* of the gentleman to whose dying bed the woman was invited.

[4] The reader will find a full account of this transaction, and of the horrid death of Voltaire, in the abbé Barruel's History of Jacobinism, vol. i. ch. 17. pp. 377—380. This account was confirmed by M. de Luc, a philosopher of distinguished science, and of the greatest honour and probity.

[5] Ibid. pp. 381, 382.

[6] See Cheetham's Life of Paine, pp. 153—160. (8vo. London, 1819), which is reprinted from the American publication. What must have been the agony of that man's mind, who could exclaim as Paine did on one occasion,—"*I think I can say what* they *make Jesus Christ to say,—'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'*" Ibid. p. 157.

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Ever young, active, and undecaying, it shall be reunited to the immortal mind, purified from every stain and every error. This perfect man shall be admitted, with an open and *abundant entrance*, into the heaven of heavens, the peculiar residence of Infinite Majesty, and the chosen seat of infinite dominion. In this noblest of all habitations, this mansion of everlasting joy, he shall be united with an innumerable multitude of companions like himself, sanctified, immortal, and happy. Enrolled among the noblest and best beings in the universe, *a child, a priest, a king* in the house of his Heavenly Father, his endless and only destination will be to know, love, serve, and enjoy God; to interchange the best affections and the best offices with his glorious companions: and to advance in wisdom, virtue, and happiness, ...FOR EVER.[1]

This is no ideal picture. Hopes and consolations like these have, in every age of Christianity, supported the minds of millions of Christians, in the humble and retired walks of life, as well as in exalted stations. They cheered and animated the minds of such men as the Lord Chief Justice Hale, Pascal, Newton, Boyle, Locke, Addison, Boerhaave, Lord Lyttleton, Baron Haller, Sir William Jones, Beattie, and very many other distinguished laymen (divines are designedly omitted), both British and foreign, who applied their mighty intellects to the investigation and elucidation of the evidences of the Christian records; and whose lives and writings will continue to instruct and edify the world, so long as the art of printing shall perpetuate them.

Such are the effects which the Christian revelation has actually produced on the happiness of nations, as well as of individuals. Philosophy and infidelity (we have seen) are alike inadequate to accomplish them. *An evil tree*, we know, *bringeth forth not good fruit. If*, therefore, *this revelation were not of God it could do nothing.*

SECTION V.

THE PECULIAR ADVANTAGES, POSSESSED BY THE CHRISTIAN REVELATION OVER ALL OTHER RELIGIONS, A DEMONSTRATIVE EVIDENCE OF ITS DIVINE ORIGIN AND AUTHORITY.

Peculiar advantages of Christianity over all other religions. —I. *In its perfection.*—II. *Its openness.*—III. *Its adaptation to the capacities of all men, and to the growing advancement of mankind in knowledge and refinement.*—IV. *The spirituality of its worship.*—V. *Its opposition to the spirit of the world.*—VI. *Its humiliation of man and exalting of the Deity.* —VII. *Its restoration of order to the world.*—VIII. *Its tendency to eradicate all evil passions from the heart.*—IX. *Its contrariety to the covetousness and ambition of mankind.*—X. *Its restoring the divine image to men.*—XI. *Its mighty effects.*

ALL the truths stated in the preceding pages will appear still more evident, if WE consider the Christian revelation, as it stands opposed to all other religions or pretended revelations. The excellency of the Christian revelation consists in this, that it possesses ADVANTAGES WHICH NO OTHER RELIGIONS OR REVELATIONS HAVE, at the same time that it has none of the defects by which they are characterized.

We affirm, that no other religion or revelation has advantages equal to those of the Christian revelation or religion; for no other can pretend to have been confirmed by ancient prophecies. Even Mohammed thought it better to oblige men to call the Scriptures in question, than to derive any arguments from them, which might serve to confirm his mission. There are indeed several religions which have had their martyrs, but of what description?—Superstitious men, who blindly exposed themselves to death, like the ignorant East Indians, thousands of whom prostrate themselves before the idol Juggernauth, and hundreds of whom devote themselves to be crushed by the wheels of the machine that carries the colossal image of their idol. But no religion, besides the Christian, was ever confirmed by the blood of an infinite number of sensible *understanding* martyrs, who voluntarily suffered death in defence of what they had seen; who from *vicious* and *profligate* persons, became exemplary for the sanctity of their lives, upon the confidence they had in their Master; and who at length, being dispersed throughout the world, by their death gained proselytes; and making their blood the seed of the church, cheerfully suffered martyrdom, having certain assurance of being crowned after their death: a certain assurance which they derived from what they themselves had formerly seen.

We find other religions, which pretend to be confirmed and authorized by several signs and extraordinary events from heaven. Thus, the Romans used to attribute to their religion all the advantages they obtained over other nations; and the Mohammedans pretend that the great successes, which God was pleased to give their prophet, were so many certain and undeniable marks of the truth of their religion. But to pretend that temporal prosperity is a certain character of a true religion, or adversity that of a false one, is to suppose that the most profligate wretches, provided they are happy in this world, are the greatest favourites of God. But certainly it is not prosperity or adversity *simply considered*, but prosperity or adversity as *foretold by God or his prophets* that is a certain character of true religion: and when we affirm that several extraordinary events bear witness to the truth of Christianity, we mean only those events which had been foretold by the prophets; as, for instance, the calling of the Gentiles, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the establishment of the Christian church. Finally, there may be several religions that may deceive, but it is only the Christian religion that can truly satisfy mankind. There are some religions grounded upon fabulous miracles, and confirmed by witnesses easily convicted of imposture: but it is only the Christian religion that is firmly and solidly established upon true miracles and valid testimonies. It appears, then, that no religion in the world has such extraordinary qualifications as the Christian religion; of which it must also be affirmed, that it is free from all such defects as are incident to other religions.

No deep research, no great sagacity or penetration of mind, is necessary to discover this truth; for it is manifest that the Christian religion is not designed for the satisfaction of the carnal and worldly appetites of men, like that of the Jews, who aspired only after temporal prosperity and worldly pomp: nor is it a monstrous medley, like that of the ancient Samaritans, made up of a ridiculous mixture of the pagan and Jewish religion: nor has it any of the faults or extravagant superstitions of the pagan religion. But as it would extend this chapter (already perhaps too long) to a disproportionate length, were we to oppose it particularly to all the errors of other religions, we shall confine our comparison to showing the advantages possessed by the Christian religion over all the rest, in the following respects:—

I. In its PERFECTION.

Other religions, as being principally of human invention and institution, were formed by degrees from the different imaginations of several persons, who successively made such additions or alterations as they thought convenient. The Greeks, for example, added several things to that religion which they received from the Egyptians; and the Romans to that which they had received from the Greeks. Menander improved upon the senseless impieties of Simon Magus; and Saturninus and Basilides added to those of Menander.[2] And the reason is, because men are never weary of inventing, nor the people of believing, novelties. But it is not so with the Christian religion, which was wholly delivered by Christ, is entirely contained in every one of the Gospels, and even in each epistle of the apostles. Whatever alterations men have thought fit to make in the doctrine which Christ brought into the world only corrupted its purity and spirituality, as appears by the great disproportion there is between the apostolical doctrine and the ordinary speculations of men.

II. In its OPENNESS.

Other religions durst not show themselves openly in full light, and therefore were veiled over with a mysterious silence and affected darkness. Some of the Gnostics chose the night to cover the impurity of their abominable mysteries. And the Romans exposed themselves to the satirical raillery of their poets, by being so careful to conceal the worship they paid to their goddess Bona. Julian and Porphyry exerted all their talents, either to set off the ridiculous and offensive ceremonies of paganism, or to palliate their superstition, by several various explanations of it; as when they positively affirmed, that they worshipped one only supreme God, though they acknowledged at the same time other subordinate deities depending one upon another; and when they endeavoured to justify the worship they paid to their idols, by using many subtle and nice distinctions. It is certain that there is a

[1] Dwight's System of Theology, p. 55.

[2] See an account of these false teachers of Christianity, in Dr Lardner's History of Heretics.

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principle of pride in the hearts of men, which is the reason why they cannot endure to be accused of entertaining any absurd and extravagant opinions; so that whenever their passions have made them embrace a religion which seems not very reasonable, they employ all their ingenuity to make it at least appear consonant to reason. But the Christian religion requires no veil to cover it, no mysterious silence, no dark dissimulation, or close disguise, although it proposes such kinds of objects to us as are vastly contrary to all our prejudices and received opinions. The apostles freely confess that the preaching of the Gospel is, as it were, an apparent folly; but yet they assure us that God was resolved to save the world by that seeming folly. They knew that the death of Christ became a scandal to the Jew, and a folly to the Greek; yet they publicly declared, that they were determined not to know any thing save Jesus Christ and him crucified. And how comes it then that they did not in the least degree extenuate, or endeavour to soften the sense of that seeming paradox (so far were they from concealing it), but were strongly and fully persuaded of the truth of that adorable mystery, and the abundance of their understanding served only to make them more fully comprehend the efficacy of the cross?

III. In its ADAPTATION to every existing state, constitution, and to the capacities of all men.

If we were strictly to consider some religions, we should find that they were at first, for the most part, instituted either by poets or philosophers; and that they generally sprang from the sportive conceits or witty speculations of the understanding; which is the reason why they were not so universally approved. The philosophers always derided the religion of the vulgar; and the vulgar understood nothing of the religion of the philosophers. Socrates ridiculed the religion of the Athenians; and the Athenians accused Socrates of impiety and atheism, and condemned him to death. The Christian religion alone is approved both by the philosophers and also by the vulgar people, as neither depending upon the ignorance of the latter, nor proceeding from the learning of the former. It has a *divine efficacy and agreeable power, suitable to all hearts:* it is adapted to all climates, and to every existing state-constitution, and is suited to all classes of the human intellect, and to every variety of human character

1. The Christian religion is adapted to harmonize with every existing state-constitution. It has, indeed, nothing immediately to do with political affairs. It fashions every individual, and produces in him that knowledge and those dispositions and feelings, which enable him to live contented in any place, and become a useful citizen under every kind of civil constitution, and a faithful subject of every government. It does not, according to the principles of its Author, erect one state within another; nor does it in any case disturb the public tranquillity (for loyalty and *true* piety are never disunited), nor can the interest of the church ever come in collision with that of the government. On the other hand, that state, whose citizens should *really* be formed agreeably to the principles of Christianity, would unquestionably be the happiest and most flourishing. Its rulers would have the most faithful, obedient, and active subjects; and the state itself would be distinguished for an order, which would need no power or constraint for its preservation. The arts and sciences would flourish there, without being abused and made the means of poisoning the morals of the people: life also would there be enjoyed in the most agreeable and tranquil manner, and all property and rights would be perfectly secured. No state would be more firmly connected together, and consequently more terrible and invincible to its enemies.[1]

Farther, the Christian religion is adapted to every class of human intellect: it is level to the capacity of the most simple and ignorant, though infinitely raised above the philosophy of the wise: it is sublime without being nicely speculative, and simple without being mean; in its sublimity preserving its clearness, and in its simplicity preserving its dignity. In a word, there is nothing so great nor so inconsiderable in human society, but what may some way fall under its consideration, and it is equally approved of and admired by all. It is, moreover, most wonderfully adapted to those habits and sentiments, which spring up in the advancement of knowledge and refinement, and which seem destined to continue for ages, as they have done for the last three centuries, and to spread themselves more and more widely over the human race. Since the introduction of the Christian religion, "human nature has made great progress, and society experienced great changes; and in this advanced condition of the world, Christianity, instead of losing its application and importance, is found to be more and more congenial and adapted to man's nature and wants. Men have outgrown the other institutions of that period when Christianity appeared, its philosophy, its modes of warfare, its policy, its public and private economy; but Christianity has never shrunk as intellect has opened, but has always kept in advance of men's faculties, and unfolded nobler views in proportion as they have ascended. The highest powers and affections, which our nature has developed, find more than adequate objects in this religion. Christianity is indeed peculiarly fitted to the more improved stages of society, to the more delicate sensibilities of refined minds, and especially to that dissatisfaction with the present state, which always grows with the growth of our moral powers and affections. As men advance in civilization, they become susceptible of mental sufferings, to which ruder ages are strangers; and these Christianity is fitted to assuage. Imagination and intellect become more restless; and Christianity brings them tranquillity by the eternal and magnificent truths, the solemn and unbounded prospects which it unfolds. This fitness of our religion to more advanced stages of society than that in which it was introduced, to wants of human nature not then developed, seems to me very striking The religion bears the marks of having come from a Being who perfectly understood the human mind, and had power to provide for its progress. This feature of Christianity is of the nature of prophecy. It was an anticipation of future and distant ages; and when we consider among whom our religion sprung, where, but in God, can we find an explanation of this peculiarity?"[2]

IV. In the SPIRITUALITY OF ITS WORSHIP.

Other religions brought men from spiritual objects to those which were corporeal and earthly: the Christian religion brings them from the objects of sense to those of the understanding. We all know that when the heathens deified men, or worshipped a deity under a human shape, they were so far from paying to that deity a worship due to a spiritual nature, that their adoration consisted in several games, shows, and divers exercises of the body. The Jews and Samaritans, by their eager disputes whether God was to be worshipped in Jerusalem or on mount Gerazim, extinguished charity, the true spirit of religion, in their violent defences of the external part of it. Nay, the prophets complained formerly that the Jews made a true fast to consist in bowing down their heads as a bulrush, and putting on sackcloth and ashes.[3] And the Holy Scripture observes, that the priests of Baal were wont to cut themselves with knives and lances when they sacrificed to him, as if there were no other way to make their god hear their prayers, but by inflicting such punishments on their own bodies.[4] The modern Jews cannot be persuaded that we have been called to the knowledge of the true God (though they find we all profess to put our trust and confidence in him), because they perceive not that we use any corporeal ceremonies. And the Mohammedans, more irreligious than superstitious, make their religion and its happiness depend chiefly on their senses. When they worship, they turn themselves towards Mecca, as the Jews turned towards Jerusalem and earnestly desire of God that he would gratify their senses and though they have a sort of religious respect for the letters that compose the name of God, and the paper on which it is written, yet they are enjoined to oppress men that bear the image of God, by their religion, which breathes nothing but violence, fury, and oppression.

The reason why men thus usually refer every thing to the senses, is, because a worship that is corporeal and sensual is far more easy; it is much easier for a man to take the sun for a God than to be continually occupied in seeking after a God that is invisible: to solemnize games and festivals in honour of a pretended deity, than to renounce himself for the sake of a true one; it is much easier for him to fast, than to renounce his vices; to sing spiritual songs, or bow to a statue, than forgive his enemies. It appears, then, that the Christian religion bears a more excellent character, as it gives us for the object of our worship, not a God under a human shape, but a God, that is a spirit, and teaches us to honour him, not with a carnal, but with a spiritual worship; and this Christ himself has very elegantly told us in these words, *God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.* (John iv. 24.) Who could fill his mind with such elevated notions? And how comes it that he so excellently sets down in that short precept the genius of true religion, of which men before were wholly ignorant?

[1] Reinhard's Plan of the Founder of Christianity, pp. 211, 212. New York, 1831.

[2] Dr. W. E Channing's Discourse on the Evidences of revealed religion, pp. 36. 38. Bristol, 1824. (Reprinted from the American edition.)

[3] Isa. lviii. 5.

[4] 1 Kings xviii. 28.

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V. In its OPPOSITION TO THE SPIRIT OF THE WORLD.

It may be said of all other religions, without exception, that they induce us to look after the pleasures and profits of the world in the worship of God; whereas the Christian religion makes us glorify God by renouncing the world. Thus the heathens, designing rather to please themselves than their deities, introduced into religion whatever could in any way flatter and divert them: and the Mohammedan religion, not being encumbered with many ceremonies, at least affixes temporal advantages to the practice of its worship; as if the pleasures of the world were to be the future reward of religion: but certainly both of them are much mistaken: for the heathens should have known that the worship of God consisted not in diverting and pleasing themselves; and the Mohammedans should not have been ignorant, that since temporal and worldly advantages were insufficient in themselves to satisfy the boundless desires of the human heart, they could not come in competition with those benefits which true religion had peculiarly designed for him. But both these followed the motions of self-love, which being naturally held in suspense between the world and religion, imagines that nothing can be more pleasant than to unite them both, thinking thereby to reconcile its inclination and duty, consecrate its pleasures and put no difference between conscience and interest.

But the first rule of true religion teaches us, that that mutual agreement is impossible; or, to use its own words, that Christ and Belial are incompatible one with the other; that we must either glorify God at the expense of worldly pleasures, or possess the advantages of the world with the loss of our religion: and this certainly shows the Christian religion to have a divine character.

VI. In its HUMILIATION OF MAN AND EXALTATION OF THE DEITY.

Other false religions debase the Deity and exalt man: whereas the Christian religion *humbles man, and exalts the Deity*. The Egyptians, a nation that boasted so much of their antiquity, made monsters of their deities; and the Romans made deities of their emperors, who were rather monsters than men: the most famous philosophers were not ashamed to rank their deities below themselves, and themselves even before Jupiter; but the Christian religion teaches us that we owe all to God, who owes nothing at all to us. It humbles us by the consideration of that infinite distance which there is between God and us: it shows that we are miserable despicable creatures in comparison of God, who is a Supreme Being, and who alone is worthy of our love and adoration. Who then can but admire so excellent a religion?

VII. In its RESTORATION OF ORDER TO THE WORLD.

Other religions made us depend upon those beings which were given us to command, and pretend a power over that Supreme Being upon whom we ought only to depend. They taught men to burn incense to the meanest creatures, and impudently to equal themselves to the universal monarch of the world. It is indeed no wonder that men should be so impious, as to desire to become gods, since they were so base as to forget that they were men; and yet how ill their pride became them when they disdained not to submit to four-footed beasts, to the fowls of the air, and to the creeping animals and plants of the earth, as St. Paul reproaches them; and how basely superstitious were they, in that they were not content to deify themselves, but would also deify their own vices and imperfections! But the Christian religion alone restores that equitable order which ought to be established in the world, by submitting every thing to the power of man, that he might submit himself to the will of God. And what can be the duty of true religion, but to restore such just and becoming order in the world?

VIII. In its TENDENCY TO ERADICATE ALL EVIL PASSIONS FROM THE HEART.

We need no deep research into other religions to find that they chiefly tend to flatter the corrupt desires of men, and efface those principles of justice and uprightness which God has imprinted on their minds. But he that shall truly consider the Christian religion will certainly find that it tends to the eradication of those corrupt desires out of our hearts, and restoring those bright characters of honesty and justice imprinted on our minds by the hand of God. The heathens flattered their passions to such a degree, as to erect altars in honour of them; and Mohammed was so well pleased with temporal prosperity, that he made it the end and reward of his religion. The Gnostics imagined, that when they had arrived at a certain degree of knowledge, which they called a state of perfection, they might commit all sorts of actions without any scruple of conscience; and that sin, which polluted others, would be sanctified in them. But what blindness! what impiety was this! How admirable is the Christian religion, which alone among all others shows us our own wickedness and corruption, and heals it with such remedies as are as wholesome to the soul as unpleasing to the body.

IX. In its CONTRARIETY to the covetousness and ambition of mankind.

It is, moreover, worthy of remark, that other religions are contrary to policy, either in favouring or restraining too much human weakness and corruption upon the account of policy, whereas the Christian religion preserves its rights and privileges inviolable, *independent of either*. The pagan religion was against policy in giving too much to human weakness and corruption. It would have been much better for the good and welfare of the state, if men had framed to themselves a greater idea of the holiness of their gods; because they would have been less licentious and more submissive to the civil laws: whereas they were encouraged by the example of their deities to violate the most sacred and inviolable rights. Mohammed, desirous to avoid this irregularity, retained the notion of a true God; but then, being willing also to flatter men's inclinations in order to draw them to his side, he confusedly mixed with that idea the carnal and gross notions which the heathens had entertained of paradise, borrowing from Christianity such objects as must necessarily mortify our passions, and assuming those from paganism which serve to flatter our bad inclinations. But the Christian religion keeps no such measures either with policy or corruption. Policy complains that the doctrine of Christ necessarily softens men's courage; and that instead of encouraging them to enlist themselves soldiers for the welfare and preservation of the state, it rather makes them lambs, who can hardly be exasperated against their enemies, whom they must continually pray for, and are obliged to love as themselves. And human frailty and corruption murmurs to see itself impugned by the Christian religion, even in the dispositions and most secret recesses of the soul; and that the veil of hypocrisy, and the pious pretences and dissimulations of the soul under which it ought to lie secure, are ineffectual against it. Who, then, but God, can be the author of a religion so equally contrary both to the covetous desires of the mean, and the ambition of the great, and so equally averse both to policy and corruption?

X. In its RESTORATION OF THE DIVINE IMAGE to Man.

Other religions would have God bear the image of man, and so necessarily represent the Deity as weak, miserable, and infected with all manner of vices, as men are. Whereas the Christian religion teaches us that man ought to bear the image of God: which is a motive to induce us to become perfect, as we conceive God himself to be holy and perfect. That religion, then, which restores to God his glory, and the image of God to man, must necessarily be of divine authority.

XI. In its MIGHTY EFFECTS.

False religions were the irregular confused productions of the politest and ablest men of those times: whereas the Christian religion is a wonderful composition, which seems wholly to proceed from the most simple and ignorant sort of people; and, at the same time, it is such as evinces that it *must* have for its principle the God of holiness and love. They, who *habitually* apply the Christian religion in their tempers and lives, and who imbibe its spirit and hopes, have an evidence of its superiority, still more internal than any which has hitherto been mentioned;—an evidence which is to be FELT rather than described, but which is not less real because it is founded on feeling. We refer to that conviction of the divine original of the Christian religion, which springs up and continually gains strength in their hearts. "In such men there is a consciousness of the adaptation of Christianity to their noblest faculties; a consciousness of its exalting and consoling influences, of its power to confer the true happiness of human nature, to give that peace which the world cannot give; which assures them that it is not of earthly origin, but a ray from the everlasting light, a stream from the fountain of heavenly wisdom and love. This is the evidence which sustains the faith of thousands, who never read and cannot understand the learned books of Christian apologists; who want, perhaps, words to explain the ground of their belief, but whose faith is of adamantine firmness; who hold the Gospel with a conviction more intimate and unwavering, than *mere* argument can produce."[1]

And now let us put together all these characters, and ask the opposers of revelation, whether they can be so extravagant as to ascribe to an impostor a religion so perfect in its

[1] Dr. Channing's Discourse on the Evidences of revealed Religion, p. 44.

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original, that nothing could ever since be superadded to it, but what necessarily lessens its perfection; a religion that proposes its mysteries with such authority and boldness; that brings men from sensual objects to spiritual ones; that extirpates corruption; that restores the principles of righteousness and uprightness which were imprinted in our souls; that teaches us to glorify God without any regard to self-love or pleasure; to exalt God and humble ourselves; to submit ourselves to his will, who is above us all, and to raise ourselves above those beings which he has put in subjection under us; a religion that is contrary to policy, and yet more averse to corruption; that astonishes our reason, and yet gives us the peace of a good conscience; and, in a word, is as delightful to the one as it is comfortable to the other?

If the Christian religion, then, has all these qualifications, as it certainly has, we cannot doubt but that it is directly, as to these qualifications, opposite to all other religions. And if it be thus opposite to all other religions, it must necessarily have a principle opposite to them: so that, as all other religions peculiarly belong to the flesh, the Christian wholly appertains to the spirit; and as the former are the products of the corrupt desires and imaginations of men, so the *latter must have for its principle the God of holiness and purity*.[1]

The preceding considerations will derive additional force if we contrast the advantages which infidelity and Christianity respectively afford to those who embrace them.

Let it be supposed, then, that the deist is right, and that Christianity is a delusion; what does the former gain? In what respects has he the advantage?—Is the deist *happier* than the Christian? No.—Is he *more useful* in society? No.—Can he meet the sorrows of life with *more fortitude?* No.—Can he look into futurity with *more composure?* No. His highest bliss arises from base lusts; his conscience is his daily tormentor; his social circle is a wilderness overgrown with thorns; his life is perfect madness; and of his death it may be said, that *he dieth as a fool dieth*. But the Christian is happy in himself, or rather in his Saviour; he is *useful* in his day; amid all the tumults and anxieties incident to mortality, he enjoys a peace which the world can neither give nor take away; his mind is supported under all the sorrows and afflictions of life; and, in that awful moment, when the great problem is about to be solved,—of annihilation or eternity,—he looks forward to futurity with holy tranquillity. *At least*, he is as safe in his death as any of the children of men.[2]

On the other hand, let it be supposed that the antagonist of revelation is *wrong*, and that Christianity is TRUE (and TRUE *it will be found*), what advantage has the Christian more than the infidel,—the believer than the unbeliever? or what does it profit us to be Christ's peculiar people? Much every way. For if our happiness in a future state, as is highly probable, shall increase in proportion to what we know, believe, and practise of our duty, upon a principle of obedience to the will of God, in the present life; the consequence is indisputable, that the more we know, believe, and practise of our duty here, so much the more pure and exalted will be our joys in the eternal mansions of bliss hereafter. This, then, is the Christian's boasting, and this our serious triumph, that the Holy Scriptures have made us fully acquainted with all the various relations in which we stand to the Divine Nature, as our Creator, Preserver, Redeemer, and constant assistant in our progress towards perfection; that our whole duty is laid open to our view, and that we never can be ignorant of what is the good and acceptable will of our Sovereign Lord; that we have the strongest motives of gratitude and interest to animate us to live up to the law of our being; and that we are filled with the comfortable assurance, that our merciful God and Father will receive our sincere, though imperfect, endeavours to serve and please him, in and through the death and mediation of his Son Jesus Christ. *The best Christian must be the best, and consequently, upon the whole, will be the happiest man.* Let it not, therefore, be imagined, as is too often the case, that God arbitrarily assigns to Christians a higher degree of happiness than to others, without having a proper regard to their moral agency, and that this is the doctrine of the Gospel. On the contrary, the faith of sincere Christians is always directed to the right and best object, their piety is of the noblest kind, and their virtues the most pure and extensive: to be uniformly engaged in an upright, benevolent, and religious course of action is the solemn vow and profession of Christians. In a word, the deist, by wilfully rejecting all moral evidence, *forfeits all things*, and *gains nothing*; while THE CHRISTIAN HAZARDS NOTHING, AND GAINS ALL THINGS.

[1] Abbadie's Vindication of the Truth of the Christian Religion, vol. ii. pp. 307—320. But the fullest view of the superiority of the Christian Revelation will be found in the Rev. Jerome Alley's "Vindiciæ Christianæ: a Comparative Estimate of the Genius and Temper of the Greek, the Roman, the Hindu, the Mahometan, and the Christian Religions" (London, 1826, 8vo.);—a work written with equal elegance, accuracy, and research

[2] On the subject of the preceding paragraph, the reader will find several admirable and eloquent observations in Dr. Dwight's Two Discourses on the Nature and Danger of Infidel Philosophy, pp. 59—68.

SECTION VI.

INABILITY TO ANSWER ALL OBJECTIONS NO JUST CAUSE FOR REJECTING THE SCRIPTURES.—UNBELIEVERS IN DIVINE REVELATION MORE CREDULOUS THAN CHRISTIANS.[3]

ALL the objections, which can with any color or pretence be alleged against the Scriptures, have at different times been considered and answered by men of great learning and judgment, the result of whose inquiries we have attempted to concentrate in the present volume; and several objections, particularly those relative to the Mosaic history of the creation and of the deluge, have been demonstrated to be groundless and frivolous. But even though all the difficulties, that are alleged to exist in the Sacred Writings, could not be accounted for, yet this would be no just or sufficient cause why we should reject the Scriptures: because objections for the most part are impertinent to the purpose for which they were designed, and do not at all affect the *evidence* which is brought in proof of the Scriptures; and if they were pertinent, yet unless they could confute that evidence, they ought not to determine us against them.

He that, with an honest and sincere desire to find out the truth or falsehood of a revelation, inquires into it, should first consider impartially what can be alleged for it, and afterwards consider the objections raised against it, that so he may compare the arguments in proof of it, and the objections together, and determine himself on that side which appears to have most reason for it. But to insist upon particular objections, collected out of difficult places of Scripture, without attending to the main grounds and motives, which induce a belief of the truth of the Scriptures, is a very fallacious mode of arguing: because it is not in the least improbable, that there may be a true revelation, which may have great difficulties in it. But if sufficient evidence be produced to convince us that the Scriptures are indeed the word of God, and there be no proof on the contrary to invalidate that evidence, then all the objections besides, that can be raised, are but objections, and *no more!*[4] For if those arguments, by which our religion appears to be true, remain still in their full force, notwithstanding the objections, and if no positive and direct proof be brought that they are insufficient, we ought not to reject those arguments and the conclusions deduced from them on account of the objections, but to reject the objections for the sake of those arguments; because, if those can not be disproved, all the objections which can be conceived must proceed from some mistake. For when a person is once assured of the truth of a thing, by direct and positive proof, he has the same assurance, that all objections against it must be vain and false, which he has that such a thing is true; because every thing must be false which is opposite to truth, and nothing but that which takes off the arguments, by which any thing is proved to be true, can ever prove it false; but all objections must be false themselves, or irrelevant to the purpose for which they are alleged, if the evidence for the truth of that, against which they are brought, cannot be disproved, that is, if the thing against which they are brought be true.

To illustrate these observations by a few examples:—if a man produce never so many inconsistencies, as he thinks, in the Scriptures, yet unless he be as well assured, at least, that these which he calls inconsistencies, cannot be in any book of divine revelation, as he may be that the Scriptures are divine revelation, he cannot in reason reject their authority. And to be assured of this, it must be considered, what is consistent with the evidence whereby the authority of

[3] For the materials of this section, the author is indebted to Dr. Jenkin's Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion, vol. ii. pp. 5[illegible]—554.; to Dr. Ryan's Evidences of the Mosaic and Christian Codes, pp. [illegible]—295.; and to Dr. Samuel Clarke's Discourse on the Unchangeable Obligations of Natural Religion, &c. Proposition xv. (Boyle's Lectures, vol. [illegible] pp. 192—196. folio edit.)

[4] On this subject the reader will find some admirable observations in Dr. Watts' Caveat against Infidelity, Section 5. Advice xi. Works, vol. ii. [illegible] 105. London, 1810. 4to.

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Scriptures is proved to us; for whatever is not inconsistent with this evidence, cannot be inconsistent with their authority. In like manner, if a man should frame never so many objections against the opinion commonly received, that Cæsar himself wrote the Commentaries which pass under his name, and not Julius Celsus or any other author; unless he can overthrow the evidence by which Cæsar appears to be the author of them, all his objections will never amount to a proof that he was not the author. If Archimedes or Euclid had used improper language or solecisms, would their demonstrations have had the less weight with those by whom they had been understood? Or if they had subjoined an historical account of the discovery and progress of the mathematics, and had made mistakes in the historical part, would the demonstrative part have been the less demonstrative? And does not that man make himself ridiculous who, with Epicurus and Hobbes, pretends by reason to overthrow mathematical axioms and theorems which he cannot understand? Upon the same grounds, if the substance of what the sacred writers deliver be true, it will nevertheless be truth, though the expression were not always proper, and the circumstances of time and place in things less material had been mistaken, and many things should be written which are hard to be understood.

It is very possible for God to reveal things which we may not be able to comprehend; and to enact laws, especially concerning the rites and ceremonies enjoined to a people so many ages past, the reasons of which we may not be able fully to understand; and it is very possible likewise, that there may be great difficulties in chronology, and that the text may in divers places have a different reading: and though all these things have been cleared to the satisfaction of reasonable men by several expositors, yet let us suppose at present, to gratify these objectors (and this will gratify them, if any thing can do it), that the laws are utterly unaccountable, that the difficulties in chronology are no way to be adjusted, that the various readings are by no means to be reconciled; yet what does all this prove? That Moses wrought no miracles? That the children of Israel and the Egyptians were not witnesses to them? That what the prophets foretold did not come to pass? That our Saviour never rose from the dead, and that the Holy Spirit did not descend upon the apostles? Or that any thing is contained in the Scriptures repugnant to the divine attributes, or to the natural notions of good and evil? Does it prove any thing of all this? Or can it be pretended to prove it? If it cannot (and nothing is more plain than that it cannot), then all the evidence produced in proof of the authority of the Scriptures stands firm, notwithstanding all that either has been or can be said concerning the obscurity, and inconsistency, and uncertainty of the text of the Scriptures. And the next inquiry naturally will be, not how the Scriptures can be from God, if these things be to be found in them (for it is already proved that they are from God, and therefore they must from henceforth be taken for granted, till it can be disproved), but the only inquiry will be, how these passages are to be explained or reconciled with other places.

For let us consider this way of reasoning, which is made use of to disprove the truth and authority of the Scriptures in other things, and try whether we are wont to reason thus in any case but that of religion, and whether we should not be ashamed of this way of arguing in any other case. How little is it that we thoroughly understand in natural things, and yet how seldom do we doubt of the truth and reality of them because we may puzzle and perplex ourselves in the explication of them! For instance, we discern the light and feel the warmth and heat of the sun, and have the experience of the constant returns of day and night, and of the several seasons of the year; and no man doubts but that all this is effected by the approach or withdrawing of the sun's influence: but whoever will go about to explain all this, and to give a particular account of it, will find it a very hard task; and such objections have been urged against every hypothesis in some point or other, as perhaps no man is able fully to answer. But does any man doubt, whether there be such a thing as light and heat, as day and night, though he cannot be satisfied whether the sun or the earth move? Or do men doubt, whether they can see or not, till they can demonstrate how vision is made? And must none be allowed to see but mathematicians? Or do men refuse to eat, till they are satisfied how and after what manner they are nourished? Yet, if we must be swayed by objections, which do not come up to the main point, nor affect the truth and reality of things, but only fill our minds with scruples and difficulties about them, we must believe nothing which we do not fully comprehend in every part and circumstance of it. For whatever we are ignorant of concerning it, that may, it seems, be objected against the thing itself, and may be a just reason why we should doubt of it. We must take care that we be not too confident that we move, before we can give an exact account of the cause and laws of motion, which the greatest philosophers have not been able to do; we must not presume to eat till we can tell how digestion and nourishment are carried on. In short, this would lead us into all the extravagancies of scepticism; for upon these principles it was, that some have doubted whether snow be white, or honey sweet, or any thing else be of the same colour or taste of which it appears to be, because they could amuse themselves with difficulties, and they were too much philosophers to assent to any thing that they did not understand, though it were confirmed by the sense and experience of all mankind. They were *rational* men, and it was below them to believe their senses, unless their reason were convinced, and that was too acute to be convinced, so long as any difficulty that could be started remained unanswered. And thus, under the pretence of reason and philosophy, they exposed themselves to the scorn and derision of all who had but the common sense of men, without the art and subtilty of imposing upon themselves and others.

And it is the same thing, in effect, as to matters of religion. The Scriptures come down to us corroborated by all the ways of confirmation that the authority of any revelation at this distance of time could be expected to have, if it really were what we believe the Scriptures to be. Why then do some men doubt whether they be authentic? Can they disprove the arguments which are brought in defence of them? Can they produce any other revelation more authentic? Or is it more reasonable to believe that God should not reveal himself to mankind than that this revelation should be his? No, this is not the case; but there are several things to be found in the Scriptures, which *they* think would not be in them, if they were of divine revelation. But a wise man will never disbelieve a thing for any objections made against it, which do not reach the point nor touch those arguments by which it is proved to him. It is not inconsistent that that may be most true which may have many exceptions framed against it; but it is absurd to reject that as incredible, which comes recommended to our belief by such evidence as cannot be disproved. Till this be done, all which can be said besides only shows, that there are difficulties in the Scriptures, which was never denied by those who most firmly and steadfastly believe them.

But *difficulties can never alter the nature of things, and make that which is true to become false.* There is no science without its difficulties, and it is not pretended that theology is without them. There are many great and inexplicable difficulties in the mathematics; but shall we, therefore, reject this as a science of no value or certainty, and believe no demonstration in Euclid to be true unless we could square the circle? And yet this is every whit as reasonable as it is not to acknowledge the truth of the Scripture, unless we could explain all the visions in Ezekiel, and the revelations of St. John. We must believe nothing and know nothing, if we must disbelieve and reject every thing which is liable to difficulties. We must not believe that we have a soul, unless we can give an account of all its operations; nor that we have a body, unless we can tell all the parts and motions, and the whole frame and composition of it. We must not believe our senses, till there is nothing relating to sensation but what we perfectly understand; nor that there are any objects in the world, till we know the exact manner how we perceive them, and can solve all objections that may be raised concerning them. And if a man can be incredulous to this degree, it cannot be expected that he should believe the Scriptures: but till he is come to this height of folly and stupidity, if he will be consistent with himself, and true to those principles of reason from which he argues in all other cases, he cannot reject the authority of the Scriptures on account of any difficulties that he finds in them, while the arguments by which they are proved to be of divine authority remain unanswered. And all the objections, which can be invented against the Scriptures, cannot seem nearly so absurd to a considering man, as the supposition that God should not at all reveal himself to mankind; or that the heathen oracles, or the Koran of Mohammed, should be of divine revelation.

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Nothing is more frequent, than the charge of superstition and credulity, which is brought by modern unbelievers against Christians, for giving assent to moral evidence of such force as to amount to a moral demonstration. Yet the fact is, that the charge of credulity attaches with unanswerable force to these very rejectors of divine revelation. For they admit, that a few illiterate Jews, devoted to external circumstances and to a national religion, conquered their prejudices, and published an universal religion, which was free from the numerous rites and ceremonies of their nation; that they taught religious and moral doctrines, surpassing the wisdom of the highest heathens—subdued the power and policy of the Jews and Gentiles—speedily propagated their tenets among many nations—and conquered the pride of learning, without divine assistance. The opposers of revelation admit, that many persons united in propagating a forgery, which produced them no advantage; and that not one of them was induced, either by promises or by threats, to betray a plot or to disown a testimony which exposed them to inconveniences. A man may endure *inconveniences* for his country to obtain wealth or power for himself, or in defence of a false religion which he believes to be true; but unbelievers cannot point out a single individual who exposed himself to insult, imprisonment, tortures, or death, which produced none of those *conveniences*. According to the creed which they profess, impostors were attached to virtue, and voluntarily endured every evil, in order to propagate opinions that were beneficial to society, but detrimental to themselves: that bad men reformed the religion and manners of all nations, or that good men attempted it by fraud and imposture. They admit, that a few ignorant fishermen were able to make proselytes, in opposition to power and prejudice, to eloquence and learning: that crafty men chose for their hero a crucified malefactor, and suffered every evil in order to establish the religion of an impostor, who deluded them by false promises, if he did not rise from the dead. It is much easier to believe the facts recorded in the New Testament, than to suppose them false, and believe the absurd consequences that *must* follow from such a supposition. It is more credible that God should work a miracle for the establishment of a useful system of religion, than that the first Christians should act against every principle that is natural to men. It is as contrary to nature that men should prefer shame, affliction, and death, to esteem, comfort, and life, in support of a falsehood, as that the dead should be raised, or ponderous bodies hang unsupported in the air. All the mysteries of the Gospel shall be clearly and satisfactorily explained, when the unbeliever can show, how these or any other things could have been accomplished without supernatural assistance. How little credit, then, is due to those pretenders to wisdom, who are obliged to admit things more incredible than those which they reject or disbelieve! Though they affect to resemble the ancient sages in wisdom and goodness, yet are they inferior to them in both these respects. The wisest heathen sages acknowledged their own ignorance and the imperfection of their faculties; their pretended successors are self-sufficient, and disclaim all assistance. The former laboured to discover arguments for the comfortable hope of a future state; the latter, to erase all apprehensions of it. The former paid great deference to things accounted sacred; while the latter turn every thing serious into jest and ridicule, and openly advocate immorality of every kind. The heathen philosophers spared even false religion for its political benefits; while the modern unbelievers attack the Gospel, which is not only capable of doing much good, but has also produced the greatest blessings, moral, social, and political, in every nation that has embraced it.

Lastly, they who will not, by the arguments and proofs already exhibited, be convinced of the truth and certainty of the Christian religion, and be persuaded to make it the rule and guide of all their actions, would not be convinced (so far as to influence their practice and reform their lives) by any other evidence whatever—not even though one should rise from the dead, on purpose to endeavour to convince them.

From what has been stated in the preceding pages, it is manifest that God has given us all the proofs of the truth of our religion that the nature of the thing would bear, or which it were reasonable either for God to give, or men to expect.

It is true, the resurrection of Christ, and his other mighty works, must be confessed not to be such ocular demonstrations of the truth of his divine mission to after generations, as they were to those men who then *lived*, and *saw*, and *conversed with him*. But since the matters of fact are as clearly proved *to us*, as it is possible for matters of fact to be, he that will run the hazard of losing eternal happiness, and falling into eternal misery, rather than believe the most *credible thing in the world*, merely because he does not see it with his eyes, it is plain he does not believe the thing for want of evidence, but because it is contrary to some particular *vice* of his, which makes it his interest that it should not be true. And for that reason also he might have disbelieved it, though he had seen it himself.

And that this is the *real* cause is most evident from the lives and actions of most of those persons, who pretend want of evidence to be the ground of their infidelity. Their lusts, their appetites, their affections, are interested: they are lovers of vice and debauchery, and slaves to evil habits and customs; and therefore they are not willing to discern the evidence, which would compel them to believe that, which they cannot believe with any comfort, so long as they resolve not to part with their beloved vices. Their hearts and affections are habitually fixed upon things here below; and therefore they will not attend to the force of any argument, that would raise their affections to things above. They are enslaved to the sensual pleasures and sinful enjoyments of earth; and therefore they will not hearken to any reasonable conviction, which would persuade them to relinquish these present gratifications, for the future and more spiritual joys of heaven. The love of this present world has blinded their eyes; and therefore they *receive not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto them; neither can they know them, because they are spiritually discerned.* (1 Cor. ii. 14.) In a word, the true and only reason why *men love darkness rather than light is, because their deeds are evil.* (John iii. 19.)

So long, therefore, as men continue under the dominion of their evil lusts and propensities, they will not be convinced, though the evidence of religion were even much stronger than it actually is. It is true that many men, who are now conscious and willing to acknowledge that they act contrary to all the reasonable evidence of religion, are nevertheless apt to imagine that if its great truths were proved to them by some stronger evidence, they should by that means be induced to act otherwise. If, however, the true reason why these men act thus foolishly is, not because the doctrines of religion are not sufficiently proved, but *because they themselves are hurried away by some unruly passion*, it is plain they might continue to act as they do, though the evidence of these things were greater than it is. They are willing to imagine, that if they had seen our Saviour's miracles they would have embraced his doctrine; and if their affections were not set upon this world, they would do the same *now*. But if they love the pleasures of sin *now*, the case would have been the same if they had lived in our Saviour's time.

Others there are, who imagine that if a person was sent to them from the other world, they would immediately become new creatures. But if God should satisfy their unreasonable desires, there is little room to doubt, but as they *hearkened not unto Moses*, neither would they be *persuaded, though one rose from the dead.* They might be terrified at first, but as soon as the fright was over, it is by no means impossible that their vicious habits would by degrees prevail over them. Some there are, in our present age, who pretend to be convinced of the being of spirits by the demonstration of their own senses, and yet we do not observe that they are more remarkably eminent for exemplary piety than any other good men.

It is not, therefore, for want of evidence that men disbelieve the great truths of religion, but *for want of integrity, and of dealing impartially with themselves.* Wherefore, if they will judge truly of the reasonableness of the Christian revelation, it is necessary that they become impartially willing to embrace whatever shall appear to be agreeable to reason, without interesting their lusts in the judgment; and when they have put themselves into this frame of mind, let them try if they can any longer reject the evidence of the Gospel: indeed, men who are of this good disposition, could not but give their assent to the doctrines of Christianity, on account of the intrinsic excellency of the things themselves, though the evidence was less than it is; nay, were there no other evidence but the bare excellency of the truths of religion, yet even in this case it would be most agreeable to reason to live according to the rules of the Gospel.

But this is not our case. God has afforded us, as the preceding pages have largely and particularly shown, many and certain proofs of the truth and divine authority of the Scrip

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tures; even as *certain* as any matter of fact is capable of. And we now exhort men to believe—not that which is barely possible and excellent, and probable, and of the utmost importance in itself; but that, which they have all the positive evidence, and all the reason in the world to oblige them to believe

To conclude:—No man of reason can pretend to say, but that God *may* require us to *take notice* of some things at our peril: to *inquire into them*, and to consider them thoroughly. And the pretence of want of greater evidence will not excuse *carelessness* or *unreasonable prejudices*, when God has vouchsafed to us all that evidence which was either fit for him to grant, or reasonable for men to desire; or of which the nature of the thing itself, that was to be proved, was capable.

CHAPTER VI.

RECAPITULATION OF THE EVIDENCES FOR THE TRUTH AND DIVINE AUTHORITY OF THE SCRIPTURES.—MORAL QUALIFICATION FOR THE STUDY OF THE SACRED WRITINGS.

I. *Necessity of a Divine Revelation proved.*—II. *The Genuineness and Authenticity of the Scriptures, considered simply as Compositions, established.*—III. *As also their uncorrupted Preservation.*—IV. *And their Credibility.*—V. *Proofs that the Scriptures were written by Men divinely inspired.*—VI. *The Scriptures a perfect Rule of Faith and Morals.*—VII. *Moral Qualifications for the Study of the Scriptures, and in what order they may be read to the greatest Advantage.*

Such are the principal proofs, external and internal, for the genuineness, authenticity, and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; and when the whole are taken together, every rational and candid inquirer must be convinced that we have every possible evidence for their truth and divine authority, which can be reasonably expected or desired.

I. No one, who believes that there is a God, and that He is a Being of infinite power, wisdom, and knowledge, can *reasonably* deny that He can, if he thinks fit, make a revelation of himself and of his will to men, in an extraordinary way, different from the discoveries made by men themselves, in the mere natural and ordinary use of their own powers. And as the works of creation prove that He is a being of infinite power and goodness, so we may be assured that He who has given us the power of communicating our ideas to each other, cannot be at a loss for some proper method, by which to make it apparent to his rational creatures, that it is he who speaks to them. To admit the existence of a God and to deny Him such a power, is a glaring contradiction.

Since it cannot reasonably be denied, that it is POSSIBLE for God to reveal His Will to mankind, let us, in the next place, consider, which is most probable and agreeable to the notions we have of Him, whether he should or should not make such a revelation. Now, if any credit be due to the general sense of mankind in every age, we shall scarcely find one, that believed the existence of a God, who did not likewise believe, that some kind of communication subsisted between God and man. This was the foundation of all the religious rites and ceremonies, which every nation pretended to receive from their deities. Hence also the most celebrated legislators of antiquity, as Zoroaster, Minos, Pythagoras, Solon, Lycurgus, and others, all thought it necessary to *profess* some intercourse with heaven, in order to give the greater sanction to their laws and institutions, notwithstanding many of them were armed with secular power. And, what gave birth and so much importance to the pretended oracles, divinations, and auguries of ancient times, was the *conscious sense* entertained by mankind, of their own ignorance, and of their need of a supernatural illumination, as well as the persuasion that the gods had a perpetual intercourse with men, and by various means gave them intelligence of future things.

The probability and desirableness of a divine revelation further appear from this circumstance, that some of the ancient philosophers, particularly Socrates and Plato (though they did not believe the pretences to revelation made by their priests), yet confessed that they stood in need of a divine revelation, to instruct them in matters which were of the utmost consequence; and expressed their strong expectation that such a revelation would, at some future time, be vouchsafed, as should dispel the cloud of darkness in which they were involved.

From the preceding remarks and considerations, we are authorized to infer, that a divine revelation is not only probable and desirable, but also absolutely NECESSARY. In fact, without such revelation, the history of past ages have shown, that mere human reason *cannot* attain to any certain knowledge of God or of his will, of happiness, or of a future state. Contemplate the most polished nations of antiquity; and you will find them plunged in the grossest darkness and barbarism on these subjects. Though the works of nature sufficiently evidence a Deity, yet the world made so little use of their reason, that they saw not God, where even by the impressions of himself he was easy to be found. Ignorance and superstition overspread the world; the ancients conceived the parts of nature to be animated by distinct principles, and, in worshipping them, lost sight of the Supreme Being. The number of deities continually increased; the grossest and most sanguinary idolatry prevailed; human sacrifices were universal; the vilest obscenities were practised under the name of religion; and the heathen temples were commonly places of prostitution, from which many of them derived a considerable revenue. All men, indeed, under pain of displeasing the gods, frequented the temples, and offered sacrifices: but the priests made it not their business to teach them virtue. So long as the people were punctual in their attendance on the religious ceremonies of their country, the priests assured them that the gods were propitious, and they looked no further. It cannot, therefore, excite surprise, that religion was every where distinguished from, and preferred to, virtue; and that a contrary course of thinking and acting proved fatal to the individual who professed it.

If we advert to the doctrines and practices inculcated by the ancient philosophers, who professed to teach the knowledge of virtue, we shall find the light of reason enveloped in equal obscurity. There was, indeed, a very small number of these, who were comparatively wise and good men; who entertained more correct notions of morality and religion than the rest of mankind; and preserved themselves, to a certain degree, unpolluted from the world. Yet these were never able to effect any considerable change in the prevailing principles and manners of their respective countrymen; their precepts being delivered to their own immediate pupils, and not to the lower orders of people, who constitute the great mass of society. Further, the moral systems of the philosophers were too refined for the common people: about them, indeed, the Stoics gave themselves no trouble, but seem to have considered them as little better than beasts; and even those moral truths, which the philosophers were able to prove and explain to others with sufficient clearness and plainness, they had not sufficient authority to enforce in practice. At the same time they entertained the most imperfect and erroneous notions relative to the nature of the Divine Being, his attributes and worship, and the duties and obligations of morality.

Thus, they were ignorant of the true account of the creation of the world, of the origin of evil, and of the cause of the depravity and misery which actually exist among mankind, and which they acknowledged and deplored. Equally ignorant were they of any method, ordained and established by the Almighty, by which a reconciliation could be effected between God and man, and divine mercy could be exercised without the violation of his attribute of justice. They were, moreover, ignorant—at least they taught nothing of divine grace and assistance towards our attainment of virtue and perseverance in it. Their notions of the true nature of happiness were dark and confused; and they had dark and imperfect notions of the immortality of the soul, and of the certainty of a future state of rewards and punishments: for, although their poets fancied an elysium and a hell, and mention the appearance of the ghosts of departed men, in a visible form, and as retaining their former shapes in the shades

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below, yet these were regarded rather as well-contrived restraints for the vulgar, than as articles of their own belief. Consequently, they had no perfect scheme of moral rules for piety and good manners; indeed they were grossly ignorant of moral duties. Thus we find several sects esteeming *revenge* not only lawful but praiseworthy; *self-murder*, as a proof of a noble mind; and the *love of applause*, as the greatest incentive to the practice of virtue: at the same time they countenanced, both by arguments and example, the most flagitious practices. Destitute of proper authority to enforce the virtues and duties which they *did* recommend, they had no motives powerful enough to overrule strong temptations and corrupt inclinations: their own example, instead of recommending their precepts, tended to counteract them, for it was generally, even in the very best of them, in direct opposition to their doctrines; and the detestable vices to which many of them were addicted, entirely destroyed the efficacy of what they taught.

Lastly, if we advert to the pagan nations of the present age, we learn from the unanimous testimony of navigators and travellers, that they are enveloped in the grossest ignorance and idolatry; and that their religious worship, doctrines, and practices are equally corrupt: yet they also possess the same light of reason which the ancient heathens enjoyed. The consideration of all which facts shows that a divine revelation is not only possible and probable, but also absolutely necessary to recover mankind out of their universal corruption and degeneracy, and to make known to them the proper object of their belief and worship, as well as their present duties and future expectations.[1]

But notwithstanding this mass of evidence,—especially the confessions made by the most distinguished ancient philosophers, of their need of a revelation,—it has been contended by the opposers of revelation in modern times, that the book of creation or of nature is the only word of God; that philosophy and right reason are fully sufficient to instruct and preserve men in their duty; and, consequently, that no divine revelation is necessary. But it is certain that this book of nature is so far from being universally intelligible or convincing, that, though the existence of a God may be known from it, yet very few of the human race have learned even the principles of deism from it. In every age, where the Scriptures have been unknown, almost all men (as we have shown in the preceding pages) have been gross idolaters. How inadequate, indeed, this boasted book of nature is, for the purposes of universal instruction, is evident from the fact, that it requires translators, expositors, and preachers, as well as the Bible: but the bulk of mankind have neither time, money, nor inclination, to become astronomers themselves, nor to attend on the lectures of astronomers, supposing them to become preachers. The book of nature is an excellent book, but there are few indeed who understand it, while the Bible instructs the peasant as well as the philosopher in moral and theological knowledge; and the contradictory and discordant speculations of the enemies of divine revelation,[2] both in religion and morals, only prove that such a revelation (if it had not already been given) is as absolutely necessary now as ever it was.

II. Such a revelation the Scriptures profess to be: but, are we certain—considering them simply as writings professing to be the productions of certain men—that they are GENUINE, that is, actually written by the persons to whom the different books are ascribed, and whose names they bear, and AUTHENTIC, that is, that they relate matters of fact as they really happened? The result of our investigation of these important questions is sufficient to satisfy the mind of every reasonable and candid inquirer.

No nation, indeed, in the world, can be more certain of the genuineness and authenticity of any of their public acts and records, which have been preserved with the utmost care, than we are of the genuineness and authenticity of the writings, called the Scriptures, which are now in our hands. For, in the *first* place, the manner in which they have been transmitted to us, resembles that in which other genuine books and true histories have been conveyed down to posterity, and the most acute adversaries of the Scriptures have never been able to invalidate or to disprove the fact of their being so transmitted to us.[3] *Secondly*, the language and style of writing, both in the Old and New Testaments, are such as prove them to have been composed at the time and by the persons to whom they are ascribed, and, consequently, that they are both genuine and authentic.[4] *Thirdly*, such a multitude of minutely particular circumstances of time, place, persons, &c. is mentioned in the books of the Old and New Testaments as affords a clear and unquestionable proof of their genuineness and authenticity. No forged or false accounts of things superabound thus in peculiarities: in fact, no forger *would* mention so great a number of particulars, since this would be to put into his reader's hands so many criteria by which to detect him; nor *could* any forger or relater of falsehoods produce such minute details. It is easy to conceive how faithful records, kept from time to time by persons concerned in the transactions, should contain such minute particulars of time, place, persons, &c. But it would be a work of the highest invention, and greatest stretch of genius, to raise from nothing such numberless particulars as are almost every where to be met with in the books of the Old and New Testaments;—particulars, the falsehood of which would most assuredly have been detected by the persons most interested in detecting them if they had been forged, but whose acquiescence with them, as well as their obedience to the injunctions contained in these books, are conclusive evidence in favour of their genuineness and authenticity, abundantly sufficient to convince every candid inquirer.[5] *Fourthly*, the moral impossibility of the books of the Old and New Testaments being forgeries is an additional evidence of their genuineness and authenticity: for it is impossible to establish forged writings as authentic, in any place where there are persons strongly inclined and well qualified to detect the fraud. If the *books of the Old Testament* be forgeries, they must have been invented either by Gentiles, by Jews, or by Christians. By the *Gentiles* they could not have been invented, because they were alike ignorant of the history and sacred rites of the Hebrews, who most unquestionably would never have given their approbation to writings invented by them. It is equally certain that they are not the fabrication of the *Jews*, because they contain various difficult precepts and laws, and also relate all the idolatries and crimes of that people, and the very severe punishments inflicted on them by God. Now all these discreditable facts would not be comprised in those books if they had been invented by the Jews. And the Christians could not have forged the books of the Old Testament, because these were extant long before the Christian name had any existence.[6] Equally impossible is it, that the books of the *New Testament* could have been forged; for the Jews were the most violent enemies of Christianity: they put its Founder to death; and both Jews and Gentiles persecuted his disciples with implacable fury; and they were anxious to stifle the new religion in its birth. If the writings of the New Testament had been forged, would not the Jews have detected the imposture? Is there a single instance on record, where a few individuals have imposed a history upon the world against the testimony of a whole nation? Would the inhabitants of Palestine have received the Gospels, if they had not had sufficient evidence that Jesus Christ really appeared among them, and performed the miracles ascribed to him? Or would the churches at Rome or at Corinth have acknowledged the epistles addressed to them as the genuine works of Paul, if he had never preached among them? Or, supposing any impostor to have attempted the invention and distribution of writings under his name, or the names of the other apostles, is it possible that they could have been received without contradiction in all the Christian communities of the three several quarters of the globe? We might as well attempt to prove that the history of the reformation is the invention of historians, and that no revolution happened in Great Britain during the seventeenth century, or in France during the eighteenth century, and the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century.[7]

III. But, have the books of the Old and New Testaments been transmitted to us ENTIRE and UNCORRUPTED? We answer in the affirmative, and upon evidence the most satisfactory that can possibly be required. For, if they had been corrupted, such corruptions must have been introduced either by Christians or by Jews.

[1] The details of evidence, on which the foregoing conclusions are formed, are given in chap. i. pp. 15—22. *supra*.

[2] See pp. 22—27. *supra*.

[3] For the transmission of the Old Testament, see chap. ii. sect. i. pp. 29—31; and for the New Testament, see sect. ii. pp. 40—48.

[4] See p. 31. *supra*, for the language and style of the Old Testament, and pp. 48, 49. for those of the New Testament.

[5] See pp. 31, 32. *supra*, for the Old Testament, especially pp. 33—38. for the Pentateuch, against which the efforts of modern unbelievers are chiefly directed, as the surest way to undermine the New Testament; and also pp. 49—52. for the New Testament.

[6] See p. 29. *supra*.

[7] See pp. 40. 54, 55.

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I. With regard to the *Old Testament*, the silence of the Jews (who would not fail to have noticed the attempt if it had been made) is a clear proof that it was never corrupted by the *Christians*. And if the *Jews* had either mutilated or corrupted these writings, they would have expunged whatever militated against the character or honour of their nation: but the silence of the prophets before the time of Christ, as well as of Christ and his apostles, fully proves that no obliteration or corruption had then been attempted. The constant reading of their sacred books in public and in private (which were at once the rule of their faith and of their political constitution), and the numerous copies both of the original as well as of the Septuagint version, together with the numerous sects and parties into which the Jews were divided after their canon was closed, and the reverence of every party for their law, all concur to render any attempt at falsification improbable and impossible *before* the time of Christ; and *after* that event, the same books being in the hands of the Christians, these would instantly have detected the malice and frauds of the Jews, if they endeavoured to accomplish such a design.[1]

4. Equally satisfactory is the evidence for the integrity and incorruptness of the New Testament, in any thing material. For the contents of its several books are precisely the same now, as they were in the two first centuries; to which fact we may add, that the multiplication of copies, which were read both in public and in private, the reverence of the Christians for these writings, the silence of their acutest enemies, who would most assuredly have charged them with the attempt if it had been made, and the agreement of all the manuscripts and versions extant, are all so many proofs of the integrity and incorruptness of the New Testament; which are further attested by the agreement with it of all the quotations from it which occur in the writings of Christians from the earliest age to the present times.[2] It is true that certain books are cited, or referred to in the Old and New Testaments, which are not now extant: but an examination in detail of those books[3] (which does not admit of abridgment) has shown that none of the genuine or canonical books of Scripture have been lost.

IV. Not less satisfactory is the evidence for the *credibility* of the writers of the books of the Old and New Testaments. For, in the *first* place, they were so many in number, and lived at such a distance of time and place from each other, that, if they had been impostors (which their disinterestedness, integrity, and impartiality prove them *not* to have been), it would have been impracticable for them to contrive and to carry on a forgery without being detected. And as they neither would nor could deceive the world, so they neither could nor would be deceived themselves. Every page, indeed, of these books proves that the writers of them had a perfect knowledge of the subjects which they have recorded; and their moral character, though rigidly tried, was never impeached by their keenest opponents.[4] *Secondly*, if there had been any falsehood in the account of such transactions as were generally known, it would have been easily detected: for these accounts were published among the people who witnessed the events related by the historians, and who could easily have detected fraud or falsehood, if any such there had been, but who did not attempt to question either the reality of the facts or the fidelity of the narrators. *Thirdly*, the credibility of the authors of the Old and New Testaments is further attested by the principal facts contained in them being confirmed by certain ordinances or monuments of great celebrity, which were instituted among Jews and Christians for the express purpose of commemorating particular facts or events in their respective histories, at the very time when those events took place, and which have subsisted from that time to the present day, wherever either Jews or Christians are to be found; but which ordinances most assuredly would not have been thus observed, in commemoration of *fictitious* events.[5] To this consideration we may add, that the wonderful establishment and propagation of Christianity is a most convincing proof of the entire credibility of the New Testament, and of the religion which it establishes; which was spread far and wide, by the force of truth that accompanied the preaching of the Gospel, and which has continued to spread, even to the present time, notwithstanding all the persecutions and oppositions which it has experienced from its numerous, powerful, and most bitter enemies.[6] Nothing, indeed, but the plainest matter of fact could induce so many thousands of prejudiced and persecuted Jews, to embrace the humiliating and self-denying doctrines and precepts of the Gospel, which they held in such detestation and abhorrence. Nor could any thing but the clearest evidence, arising from undoubted truth, make multitudes of lawless and luxurious heathens, receive, follow, and transmit to posterity, the doctrine and writings of the apostles: especially at a time when the vanity of their pretensions to miracles, and to the gift of tongues, could be so easily discovered, if they had been impostors;—at a time when the profession of Christianity exposed persons of all ranks and ages to the greatest contempt and to the most imminent danger. Further, an additional testimony is furnished to the credibility, truth, and genuineness of the Scriptures, by their agreement with profane history, both natural and civil,[7] and by the existence of various coins, medals, and ancient marbles,[8] which attest the reality and truth of many of the facts therein recorded: in short, no history in the world is confirmed by such various and concurrent testimonies as that related in the Bible.

V. Moreover, that the Scriptures are not merely entitled to be received as credible, but also as containing the revealed will of God,—in other words, that they are DIVINELY INSPIRED,—we have evidence of various kinds, amounting to moral demonstration. For their sacred origin is evinced by the most illustrious attestations, viz. miracles and prophecy, which carry with them the most manifest proofs of a divine interposition; and which it cannot reasonably be supposed that the Almighty would ever give, or permit to be given, to an imposture. The miracles were instantaneously and publicly performed before multitudes, both friendly and hostile to the persons by whom they were wrought; they were sensible and easy to be observed. Memorials were instituted at the time many of them were performed, which continue to be observed to the present time;—a manifest proof this, of the reality of those miracles, which the bitterest enemies of the Gospel, who witnessed them, could never gainsay or deny, though they vainly attempted to evade them.[9] The prophecies, also, were delivered during a long succession of ages by persons who lived at different and distant times; they were so numerous, so particular both with respect to nations and individuals, so opposite and apparently so irreconcileable, that no human wisdom could have devised them, no human power could accomplish them. Many of the predictions, which are found in the Old Testament, foretold unexpected changes in the distribution of earthly power. And whether they announced the fall of flourishing cities, or the ruin of mighty empires, the event has minutely corresponded with the prediction. To mention a few instances:—Nineveh is so completely destroyed, that its site is not and cannot be known;—Babylon is made "a desolation for ever, a possession for the bittern, and pools of water:"—Tyre, all voyagers and travellers concur in stating, is become "like the top of a rock, a place for fishers to spread their nets upon;"—and Egypt is "a base kingdom, the basest of the kingdoms," and still tributary, and in a state of the most abject servitude to strangers. But the great object of the prophecies of the Old Testament is the redemption of mankind. This, as soon as Adam's fall had made it necessary, the mercy of God was pleased to foretell. And, as the time for its accomplishment drew near, the prediction concerning it gradually became so clear, that almost every circumstance in the life and character of the most extraordinary personage that ever appeared among men was most distinctly foretold. The connection of the predictions belonging to the Messiah, with those which are confined to the Jewish people, give additional force to the argument from prophecy; affording a strong proof of the intimate union which subsists between the two dispensations of Moses and of Jesus Christ, and equally precluding the artful pretensions of human imposture, and the daring opposition of human power. The plan of prophecy was so wisely constituted, that the passion and prejudices of the Jews, instead of frustrating, fulfilled it, and rendered the person whom they regarded, the suffering and crucified Saviour, who had been promised. It is worthy of remark, that most of these predictions were delivered nearly and some of them more

[1] See pp. 52—54. *supra*.
[2] See pp. 54, 55. *supra*.
[3] See chapter iii. sect. i. pp. 59—68. *supra*.
[4] See pp. 56—58. *supra*.
[5] See pp. 60—62. *supra*, for the Old Testament, and pp. 62—67. for the New Testament.
[6] See pp. 67, 68. *supra*.
[7] See chap. iii. sect. ii. § 1. pp. 69—78. for the Old Testament, and § 2. pp 78—87. for the New Testament.
[8] See chap. iii. § 3. pp. 88—92. *supra*.
[9] See chap. iv. sect. ii. pp. 93—119. *supra*.

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than three thousand years ago. Any one of them is sufficient to indicate a prescience more than human: but the collective force of all taken together is such, that nothing more can be necessary to prove the interposition of omniscience, than the establishment of their authenticity; and this, even at so remote a period as the present, we have already seen, is placed beyond all doubt.[1]

Besides these external attestations, the Scriptures have the most excellent internal characters of truth and goodness (which prove their divine origin and inspiration), in the sublimity, excellence, and sanctity of the doctrines and moral precepts which they deliver, and their admirable adaptation to the actual state and wants of mankind;[2]—in the harmony and connection that subsist between all the parts of which they consist;[3]—in their wonderful preservation, notwithstanding all the attempts which were made by their enemies to destroy them;[4]—and, finally, in their admirable tendency (which is demonstrated by the effects which are invariably produced wherever the Scriptures are cordially and sincerely believed) to promote the glory of God and the good of mankind, and the cause of virtue and righteousness in the world, and to prepare men by a life of faith and holy obedience upon earth for the eternal enjoyment of God in heaven.[5] To which we may add the infinite superiority, in every respect, of the Christian Revelation over every other religion which has ever been in the world.[6]

Upon the whole, we have such a number of evidences of the truth of the Scriptures as no man can resist, who duly and impartially considers them; and it is to the wilful ignorance of those evidences that we are to ascribe that infidelity which at present exists in different parts of the world.

VI. "The Scripture," as a late eminent prelate[7] has justly remarked, "is not a plan of Christianity finished with minute accuracy, to instruct men as in something altogether new, or to excite a vain admiration and applause; but it is somewhat unspeakably nobler and more extensive, comprehending in the grandest and most magnificent order, along with every essential of that plan, the various dispensations of God to mankind, from the formation of this earth to the consummation of all things."—"*Other* books may afford us much entertainment and much instruction, may gratify our curiosity, may delight our imagination, may improve our understandings, may calm our passions, may exalt our sentiments, may even improve our hearts. But they have not, they cannot have, that authority in what they affirm, in what they require, in what they promise and threaten, which the Scriptures have. There is a peculiar weight and energy in *them* which is not to be found in any other writings. Their denunciations are more awful, their convictions stronger, their consolations more powerful, their counsels more authentic, their warnings more alarming, their expostulations more penetrating. There are passages in them throughout so sublime, so pathetic, full of such energy and force upon the heart and conscience, yet without the least appearance of labour and study for that purpose; indeed, the design of the whole is so noble, so well suited to the sad condition of human kind; the morals have in them such purity and dignity; the doctrines, so many of them above reason, yet so perfectly reconcileable with it; the expression is so majestic, yet familiarized with such easy simplicity, that, the more we read and study these writings, with *pious dispositions and judicious attention*, the more we shall see and feel of the hand of God in them." Thus are the Scriptures the only rule of our faith and standard of our lives; and thus do they point out to us the only way by which to attain solid comfort, peace, and happiness. "But that which stamps upon them the highest value, that which renders them, strictly speaking, *inestimable*, and distinguishes them from all other books in the world, is this, that they, and they only, contain *the words of eternal life*. (John vi. 68.) In this respect every other book, even the noblest compositions of man, must fail; they cannot give us that which we most want, and what is of infinitely more importance to us than all other things put together—ETERNAL LIFE.

"This we must look for nowhere but in Scripture. It is there, and there only, that we are informed, from authority, of the immortality of the soul, of a general resurrection from the dead, of a future judgment, of a state of eternal happiness to the good, and of eternal misery to the bad. It is there we are made acquainted with the fall of our first parents from a state of innocence and happiness; with the guilt, corruption, and misery which this sad event brought on all their posterity; which, together with their own personal and voluntary transgressions, rendered them obnoxious to God's severest punishments. But to our inexpressible comfort, we are further told in this divine book, that God is full of mercy, compassion, and goodness; that he is not extreme to mark what is done amiss; that he willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and save his soul alive. In pity, therefore, to mankind, he was pleased to adopt a measure, which should at once satisfy his justice, show his extreme abhorrence of sin, make a sufficient atonement for the sins of the whole world, and release all, who accepted the terms proposed to them, from the punishment they had deserved. This was nothing less than the death of his Son Jesus Christ, whom he sent into the world to take our nature upon him, to teach us a most holy, pure, and benevolent religion, to reform us both by his precept and example; and, lastly, to die for our sins, and to rise again for our justification. By him and his evangelists and apostles we are assured, that if we sincerely repent of our sins, and firmly believe in him and his Gospel, we shall, for the sake of his sufferings and his righteousness, have all our transgressions forgiven and blotted out;—shall be justified, that is, considered as innocent in the sight of God;—shall have the assistance of his Holy Spirit for our future conduct;—and, if we persevere to the end in a uniform (though, from the infirmity of our nature, imperfect) obedience to all the laws of Christ, we shall, through his merits, be rewarded with everlasting glory in the life to come."[8] Thus do the Holy Scriptures contain "all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."[9]

VII. Such, then, being the utility, excellence, and perfection of the Holy Scriptures, since they are not merely the best guide we can consult, but the only one that can make us wise unto salvation, it becomes the indispensable duty of all carefully and constantly to peruse these sacred oracles, that through them they may become "perfect, thoroughly furnished to every good work."[10] This, indeed, is not only agreeable to the divine command,[11] and to the design of the Scriptures, but is further commended to us by the practice of the church in ancient,[12] and in modern times, and by the gracious promise made by Him who cannot lie, to all true believers, that "they shall *all* be taught of God."[13] What time is to be appropriated for this purpose, must ever depend upon the circumstances of the individual. It is obvious that *some* time ought daily to be devoted to this important study, and that it should be undertaken with devout simplicity and humility; prosecuted with diligence and attention;[14] accompanied by prayer for the divine aid and teaching;[15] together

[1] See chap. iv. sect. iii. pp. 123—126. *supra*, for a view of the prophecies respecting nations, and pp. 126—129. for those relative to the Messiah; and pp. 129—132. for predictions delivered by Christ and his apostles; and the Appendix, No. VI. chap. ii. sect. iii. *infra*, for the predictions of Jesus Christ concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and the propagation of Christianity, &c

[2] See chap. v. sect. i. pp. 142, 143. *supra*

[3] See chap. v. sect. ii. p. 167. *supra*.

[4] See chap. v. sect. iii. p. 168. *supra*.

[5] See chap. v sect. iv. pp. 169—177. *supra*.

[6] See chap. v. sect. v. pp. 177—180. *supra*.

[7] Archbishop Secker, Works, vol. iii. pp. 313, 314

[8] Bishop Porteus, Lectures on St. Matthew, vol. i. pp. 18. 21.

[9] Article vi. of the United Church of Great Britain and Ireland. The sufficiency of Scripture is ably illustrated by Bishop Tomline (Elements of Christian Theology, vol. ii. pp. 190—196.); by Bishop Vanmildert (Bampton Lect. pp. 61—76.), by Dr. Edwards, in his "Discourse concerning the Authority, Style, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament," vol. iii. pp. 1—44., and most elaborately by Archbishop Tillotson in his "Rule of Faith," especially part iv. sect. ii. To these works the student is referred, who is desirous of investigating this important topic.

[10] 2 Tim. iii. 17. [11] SEARCH THE SCRIPTURES, John v. 39.

[12] Psal. cxix. 24. Acts xvii. 11. 2 Tim. iii. 15. Psal. i. 2.

[13] Isa. liv. 13. Jer. xxxi. 31. John vi. 45. Heb. viii. 11. and John xvi. 13. Luke xi. 13. Eph. i. 17. "The Revelation of the Holy Ghost inspireth the true meaning of the Scripture to us: in truth, we cannot without it attain true saving knowledge." *Second Homily of the Scripture.*—"Quo etiam spiritu scripturæ factæ sunt, eo spiritu legi desiderant, ipso etiam intelligendæ sunt. Nunquam ingredieris in sensum Pauli, donec usu bonæ intentionis in lectione ejus, et studio assiduæ meditationis, spiritum ejus imbiberis. Nunquam intelliges David, donec ipsâ experientiâ ipsos Psalmorum affectus indueris. Sicque de reliquis." *St. Bernard. Epist. ad Fratr. Montis Dei.*

[14] "Without *attention*," says a pious but neglected writer of the seventeenth century, "all books are alike, and all equally insignificant; for that adverts not to the sense of what he reads, the wisest discourses signify no more to him, than the most exquisite music does to a man perfectly deaf. The letters and syllables of the Bible are no more sacred than those of another book: it is the sense and meaning only that is divinely inspired, and he that considers only the former, may as well entertain himself with the spelling-book." Lively Oracles, sect. viii. § 25.

[15] "Though the natural man may well enough apprehend the letter and grammatical sense of the word, yet its power and energy—that insinuating persuasive force whereby it works upon our hearts, is peculiar to the Spirit, and, therefore, *without his aide* the Scripture, while it lies open before o

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with a sincere desire to know and perform the will of God, and, laying aside all prejudice, to follow the Scriptures wherever conviction may lead our minds. For it is indubitable, that *persons of piety, who are anxiously desirous of the knowledge of divine truth, are aided by the Spirit of God in searching out the meaning of Scripture*, particularly in such subjects as have an especial reference to faith and religious practice.[1]

In order, however, to study the Scriptures aright, it should be recollected that they are not to be contemplated as one entire book or treatise. "The knowledge of divine truth is, indeed, perfectly distinct from human science, in that it emanates immediately from the fountain of Infinite Wisdom. Yet has it this in common with human science, that it is made by its heavenly Author to flow through the channel of human instruction. While, therefore, *we receive it not as the word of men, but as it is in truth the Word of God* (1 Thess. ii. 13.), we must nevertheless examine it as it is delivered to us, clothed in the language of men, and subject to the general rules of human composition. The deference due to it as a divine production does not interfere with this province of human learning; it only exacts submission with respect to the subject matter of the revelation, to which the critical investigation is entirely subordinate."[2]

But besides the paramount importance of the contents of the Holy Scriptures, a further motive to the diligent study of them presents itself, in the facilities that are offered to us for this purpose by the numerous publications on the criticism and interpretation of the Bible, which have appeared at different times, and whose most valuable precepts it is the design of the present work to concentrate. In fact, "a willingness to know and to do the will of God, implies a willingness to resort to all necessary helps for advancement in the truth, and for security against error."[3] The value of such helps was never questioned, except by those who chose to despise what they did not possess. "They are of distinguished value in theology; but then, like every thing else that is excellent, they have their province. While they are supreme in the concerns of human investigation, they are subordinate in those of divine. They cannot communicate a right disposition of heart, nor can they compensate for its absence. Like the armour of the ancient warrior, if the native vigour of the frame can wield them with alertness and skill, they are his defence and ornament: but if this vigour be wanting, they are of no advantage whatever; they become, on the contrary, a burden and an incumbrance."

With regard to the *order* to be pursued in reading the Scriptures, it may be sufficient to remark, that it will be desirable to peruse those books first which are written in the plainest style, and, consequently, are best adapted to the capacity of the mind; and afterwards to proceed gradually from the easier books to such as are more difficult, and especially to read those in succession which are of parallel argument; from the New Testament to the Old, and from the simpler books to such as are more abstruse.

Further, as it is of importance to understand the several dispensations given by God to mankind, besides this elementary reading of the Scriptures, it is necessary that they be studied *according to the historical order of time*. This mode of reading the Bible will at once help both the memory and the judgment: it will also discover to us those connections and dependencies which are otherwise undiscernible. Many chapters and books of Scripture are out of their proper place, according to the order of time; which if put in their proper chronological order in the course of our reading, would reflect on a little light upon each other.

Thus, in the book of Genesis, with which the Bible commences, we have a continued history from the creation of the world down to the death of the patriarch Joseph. Next to that, in order of time, lies the narrative contained in the book of Job (if, indeed, it be not the first written book), in which we meet with several vestiges of the patriarchal theology, as recorded in Genesis, but with no references to any of the succeeding parts of the sacred history. Then comes the book of Exodus, which gives an account of the deliverance of the Jews from their Egyptian bondage, and the erection of the tabernacle for the service of God; from which tabernacle He gave those ordinances for his service, which are related in the book of Leviticus. After these ordinances had been issued, the Israelites performed those journeyings of which we have an account, together with the incidents that befell them in each, in the book of Numbers. When their wanderings in the Desert of Arabia were drawn to a close, Moses, shortly before his departure, recapitulated and explained the preceding laws and ordinances to them, as recorded in the book of Deuteronomy. The settlement of the Israelites in the land of Canaan, and the coincident circumstances, under the command of Joshua, the successor of Moses, are narrated in the book which bears his name; and of their succeeding history we have an account in the book of Judges. But the history contained in the two books of Samuel, of the Kings, and of the Chronicles, is so interwoven, that it requires very considerable attention to develope it; and, unless the different synchronisms be carefully attended to, and the several psalms and prophecies, *previously* to the Babylonish captivity, be also interwoven in the order of time, it will be extremely difficult (not to say impracticable) critically to understand the sacred history. *After* the captivity, the affairs of the Jews are continued by Ezra Esther, and Nehemiah, in whose narratives the predictions of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi (by whom the canon was closed), ought in like manner to be interwoven, together with such of the psalms as manifestly appear, from internal evidences, to have been composed subsequently to the captivity.[4]

In the New Testament, the four evangelists have given us, in so many memoirs, an historical relation of the life and actions of Jesus Christ, which is the same in substance, but different in many particulars. Now, if their several narratives be digested and arranged into *one*, in the order of time, this would throw much light upon various passages, which in a detached state appear difficult to be understood.[5] The book of the Acts of the Apostles also gives us a short history of the Church, from Christ's ascension, together with the propagation of the Gospel by the apostles, and especially of the sufferings and labours of Peter and Paul. The insertion of the different apostolical epistles according to the several times and seasons when they were written (so far at least as we can collect them from attending circumstances), would further be of great use, to enable us the better to understand them.[6] The book of the Revelation of St. John, which closes the canon of Scripture, gives a prophetical history of the church to the end of the world; and, of course, must be studied by itself.

"I can speak it from experience," says the celebrated Erasmus,[7] "that there is little benefit to be derived from the Scriptures, if they be read cursorily or carelessly; but if a man exercise himself therein constantly and conscientiously, he shall find such an efficacy in them as is not to be found in any other book whatsoever."—"The *genuine* philosophy of Christ," says the same eminent scholar and critic, "cannot be derived from any source so successfully, as from the books of the Gospels and the Apostolic Epistles; in which, if a man philosophize with a pious spirit, *praying* rather than *arguing*, he will find that there is nothing conducive to the happiness of man, and the performance of any duty of human life, which is not, in some of these writings, laid down, discussed, and determined, in a complete and satisfactory manner."[8]

eyes, may still be as a book that is sealed (Isa. xxix. 11.), and be as ineffective as if the characters were illegible." Lively Oracles, sect. viii. § 24.

[1] Non est dubitandum, *viros pios et veritatis divinæ cupidos adjuvari a Spiritu Dei in scrutande Scripturæ sensu*, in iis quidem rebus quæ propiùs ad fidem et mores pertinent.—Ernesti Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti, p. 25. Lipsiæ, 1792.—Though the truth of God receives not testimony from men, it is pleasing to observe it thus expressly recognised by men of such intellectual greatness as John Augustus Ernesti; who is admitted to have been one of the most erudite and elegant scholars of modern Germany.

[2] Bishop Vanmildert's Bampton Lectures, p. 22.

[3] Ibid. p. 41. The whole of his second sermon, on the moral qualifications requisite for a right apprehension of the Sacred Word, is truly excellent.

[4] In the second volume of this work the prophetical books are arranged in order of times. The author had it in contemplation to have attempted an arrangement of the entire Scriptures, on the plan above noticed; but he has happily been anticipated in this laborious undertaking, so far as respects the Old Testament, by the Rev. George Townsend, in his work, entitled "The Holy Bible, arranged in Chronological and Historical Order." London, 1821, in two volumes, 8vo. See an account of this work *infra*, in the Bibliographical Appendix to vol. ii. [Note to the *third* edition.]

[5] For an account of the various Harmonies of the Four Gospels, see the Bibliographical Appendix to vol. ii.

[6] Cradock's Apostolical History, Benson's History of the first planting of Christianity, and Bevan's Life of the Apostle Paul, and especially the Rev. Geo. Townsend's New Testament arranged in Historical and Chronological Order, may here be noticed as particularly useful helps for studying the apostolic epistles in the order of time.

[7] Præf. in Paraphr. in Luc.

[8] Existimo puram illam Christi philosophiam non aliunde felicius hauriri, quàm ex evangelicis libris, quàm ex apostolicis literis: in quibus si quis piè philosophetur, *orans* magis quàm *argumentans*, nihil esse inveniet, quod ad hominis felicitatem, nihil quod ad ullam hujus vitæ functionem pertinet, quod in his non sit traditum, discussum, et absolutum. ERASMUS, cited in Dr. Knox's Christian Philosophy, p. 295, 2d edit.

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ON

THE CRITICISM AND INTERPRETATION

OF

THE SCRIPTURES.

CRITICISM, in the more extensive sense of the term, is the art of forming a correct judgment concerning any object proposed to our consideration. In a more restricted sense, particularly with reference to the works of ancient authors, it was fashionable, for a considerable time, among the literati on the continent of Europe, to employ this term as indicating merely that kind of labour and judgment which was employed in settling the genuineness of the whole or part of the text of any author. But the term is now generally used in a much more enlarged sense, viz. to indicate any kind of labour or judgment, which is occupied either in the literary history of the text itself, or in settling or explaining it. To the former the German philosophers have given the appellation of *lower criticism*; while the latter has been termed *higher criticism*, because its objects and results are of a much more important nature.[1] In this latter sense, the term is taken in the present volume, which is devoted to the consideration of the Criticism and Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.

The FIRST PART, which treats on Scripture-Criticism, will be found to comprise a concise account of the Languages in which the Sacred Volume is written; together with a Sketch of the Critical History of its Text, and of the several Divisions and Subdivisions of it, which have obtained at different times. The Sources of Sacred Criticism are next discussed, including a particular account of the Manuscripts of the Old and New Testament, and the History of the Ancient Versions of the Scriptures. The nature of Various Readings, and the means of determining genuine readings, are then considered, together with the Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, and the nature and different kinds of Harmonies of the Old and New Testament.

In the SECOND PART the principles and subsidiary means of Scripture Interpretation are discussed, together with the application of them to the exposition of the Sacred Volume, both exegetical and practical

PART I.

ON SCRIPTURE-CRITICISM.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE LANGUAGES IN WHICH THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS ARE WRITTEN.

A KNOWLEDGE of the original languages of Scripture is of the utmost importance, and indeed absolutely necessary, to him who is desirous of ascertaining the genuine meaning of the Sacred Volume. Happily, the means of acquiring these languages are now so numerous and easy of access, that the student, who wishes to derive his knowledge of the Oracles of God from pure sources, can be at no loss for guides to direct him in this delightful pursuit.

SECTION I.

ON THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

Introductory remarks on the Oriental or Shemitish languages.—I. *Origin of the Hebrew language.*—II. *Historical sketch of this language, and of the study of Hebrew.*—III. *And of its characters.*—IV. *Of the vowel points.*—V. *Hebrew accents.*

THE languages of Western Asia, though differing in respect to dialect, are *radically* the same, and have been so, as far back as any historical records enable us to trace them. Palestine, Syria, Phœnicia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Arabia, and also Ethiopia are reckoned as the countries, where the languages commonly denominated *Oriental* have been spoken. Of late, many critics have rejected the appellation '*Oriental*,' as being too comprehensive, and have substituted that of '*Shemitish*,' a denominative derived from *Shem*. Against this appellation, however, objections of a similar nature may be urged; for no inconsiderable portion of those, who spoke the languages in question, were not descendants of Shem. It is matter of indifference which appellation is used, if it be first defined.

The Oriental Languages may be divided into three principal dialects, viz. the Aramæan, the Hebrew, and the Arabic.

1. The *Aramæan*, spoken in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia or Chaldæa, is subdivided into the Syriac and Chaldee dialects; or, as they are sometimes called, the East and West Aramæan.

2. The *Hebrew* or Canaanitish (Isa. xix. 18.) was spoken in Palestine, and probably with little variation in Phœnicia, and the Phœnician colonies, as at Carthage and other places. The names of the Phœnician and Punic dialects are too few, and too much disfigured, to enable us to judge with certainty how extensively these languages were the *same* as the dialect of Palestine.

3. The *Arabic*, to which the Ethiopic bears a special resemblance, has, in modern times, a great variety of dialects, as a spoken language, and is spread over a vast extent of country. But, so far as we are acquainted with its former state, it appears more anciently to have been principally limited to Arabia and Ethiopia.

The Arabic is very rich in forms and words; the Syriac, so far as it is yet known, is comparatively limited in both; the Hebrew holds a middle place between them, both as to copiousness of words and variety of forms.

Besides the preceding dialects, there are many slighter variations of language, sometimes distinguished from the general names by local appellations. Thus, the Ephraimites could not distinguish between the letters ס (s) and ש (sh), as the Hebrews did, in speaking: hence the Ephraimites pronounced S*i*bboleth instead of S*h*ibboleth. (Judges xii. 6.) Nehemiah was indignant that part of his countrymen should speak the language of Ashdod. (Neh. xiii. 23—25.)

The *Samaritan* Dialect appears to be composed (as one

[1] Muntinghe, Brevis Expositio Critices Vet. Fœd. pp. 1, 2. Jahn's Dissertations, by Prof. Stuart, pp. 64, 65. Clerici Ars Critica, pp. 1, 2.

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might expect, see 2 Kings xvii.) of Aramæan and Hebrew: and the slighter varieties of Arabic are as numerous as the provinces where the language is spoken.

All the Oriental or Shemitish languages are distinguished from the Western or European Tongues, in general, by a number of peculiar traits, viz.:—

(1.) Several kinds of guttural letters are found in them, which we cannot distinctly mark; and some of which our organs are incapable of pronouncing after the age of maturity.

(2.) In general, the roots are tri-literal, and of two syllables. By far the greater part of the roots are verbs.

(3.) Pronouns, whether personal or adjective, are, in the oblique cases, united in the same word with the noun or verb, to which they have a relation.

(4.) The verbs have but two tenses, the past and future; and, in general, there are no optative or subjunctive moods distinctly marked.

(5.) The genders are only masculine and feminine; and these are extended to the verb as well as to the noun.

(6.) For the most part, the cases are marked by prepositions. Where two nouns come together, the latter of which is in the genitive, the first in most cases suffers a change, which indicates this state of relation; while the latter noun remains unchanged; that is, the *governing* noun suffers the change, and not the noun *governed*.

(7.) To mark the comparative and superlative degrees, no special forms of adjectives exist. But from this observation the Arabic must be excepted; which for the most part has an extensive form of adjectives, that marks both the comparative and superlative.

(8.) Scarcely any composite words exist in these languages, if we except proper names.

(9.) Verbs are not only distinguished into *active* and *passive* by their forms; but additional forms are made, by the inflections of the same verb with small variations, to signify the cause of action, or the frequency of it, or that it is reflexive, reciprocal, or intensive, &c.

(10.) All these dialects (the Ethiopic excepted), are written and read from the right hand to the left; the alphabets consisting of consonants only, and the vowels being generally written above or below the consonants.[1]

I. ORIGIN OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

Of all the Oriental Languages, the HEBREW bears marks of being the most ancient: in this language the Old Testament is written, with the exception of a few words and passages which are in the Chaldæan dialect, and which are specified in sect. iii. p. 31. *infra*. Numerous appellations have, at different times, been given to this language. In the Scriptures it is nowhere called Hebrew. This term, as it is used in John v. 2. and in several other passages in the New Testament, does not refer to the biblical Hebrew, but to the Syro-Chaldaic dialect prevalent in Palestine in the time of Jesus Christ. In 2 Kings xviii. 26. it is called the *language of the Jews*. In the Targums or Chaldee Paraphrases of the Old Testament the appellation—*holy tongue*—is first applied to it: but the name, by which it is usually distinguished, is *Hebrew*, as being the language of the Hebrew nation.[2]

Concerning the origin of this name there has been considerable difference of opinion. According to some critics, it derived its name from Heber, one of the descendants of Shem (Gen. x. 21. 25. xi. 14. 16, 17.): but other learned men are of opinion that it is derived from the root עבר (ABER) *to pass over*, whence Abraham was denominated the *Hebrew* (Gen. xiv. 13.), having *passed over* the river Euphrates to come into the land of Canaan. This last opinion appears to be best founded, from the general fact that the most ancient names of nations were appellative. "But, whatever extent of meaning was attached to the appellation *Hebrew*, before the time of Jacob, it appears afterwards to have been limited only to his posterity, and to be synonymous with *Israelite*.

The origin of the Hebrew Language must be dated farther back than the period, to which we can trace the appellation *Hebrew*. It is plain, from the names of persons and places in Canaan, that, wherever Abraham sojourned, he found a language in which he could easily converse, viz. the Hebrew or Phœnician language." That this was originally the language of Palestine, is evident from the names of nations being appellative, and from other facts in respect to the formation of this dialect. Thus, the *West* is, in Hebrew, ים (YUM), which means the *sea*, that is, towards the Mediterranean Sea. As the Hebrew has no other proper word for *west*, so it must be evident that the language, in its distinctive and peculiar forms, must have been formed in Palestine.[3]

The Jewish Rabbins, Jonathan the author of the Chaldee Paraphrase, Solomon Jarchi, and Aben-Ezra, have affirmed that Hebrew was the primitive language spoken in Paradise; and their opinion has been adopted by Origen, Jerome, Augustine, and some other fathers, as well as by some modern critics and philologers. Huet, however, and the majority of modern critics, are of opinion, that the language spoken by Adam perished in the confusion of tongues at Babel. But it seems highly probable, that if the original parents of mankind were placed in Western Asia, they spoke substantially the language which has for more than fifty centuries pervaded that country.[4] Without adopting, therefore, the hypothesis just stated, which rests only on bare probabilities, we may observe, that the Hebrew is the most ancient of all the languages in the world; at least we know of none that is older: that it is not improbable that it was the general language of men at the dispersion; and, however it might have subsequently been altered and improved, that it appears to be the original of all the languages, or rather dialects, which have since arisen in the world.[5]

Various circumstances, indeed, combine to prove that Hebrew is the original language, neither improved nor debased by foreign idioms. The words of which it is composed are very short, and admit of very little flexion, as may be seen on reference to any Hebrew grammar or lexicon. The names of persons and places are descriptive of their nature, situation, accidental circumstances, &c. The names of brutes express their nature and properties more significantly and more accurately than any other known language in the world. The names also of various ancient nations are of Hebrew origin, being derived from the sons or grandsons of Shem. Ham, and Japhet: as, the Assyrians from Ashur; the Elamites from Elam; the Aramæans from Aram; the Lydians from Lud; the Cimbrians or Cimmerians from Gomer; the Medians from Madai, the son of Japhet; the Ionians from Javan, &c.[6] Further, the names given to the heathen deities suggest an additional proof of the antiquity and originality of the Hebrew language: thus, Japetus is derived from Japhet; Jove, from JEHOVAH; Vulcan, from Tubal-Cain, who first discovered the use of iron and brass, &c. &c. Lastly, the traces of Hebrew which are to be found in very many other languages, and which have been noticed by several learned men, afford another argument in favour of its antiquity and priority. These vestiges are particularly conspicuous in the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Phœnician, and other languages spoken by the people who dwelt nearest to Babylon, where the first division of languages took place.[7]

The knowledge of the Hebrew language was diffused very widely by the Phœnician merchants, who had factories and colonies on almost every coast of Europe and Asia: that it was identically the same as was spoken in Canaan, or Phœnicia, is evident from its being used by the inhabitants of that country from the time of Abraham to that of Joshua, who gave to places mentioned in the Old Testament, appellations which are pure Hebrew; such are, Kiriath-sepher, or the *city of books*, and Kiriath-sannah, or the *city of learning*. (Josh. xv. 15. 49.) Another proof of the identity of the two languages arises from the circumstance of the Hebrews conversing with the Canaanites, without an interpreter; as the spies sent by Joshua, with Rahab (Josh. ii.); the ambassadors sent by the Gibeonites to Joshua (Josh. ix. 3—25.), &c. But a still stronger proof of the identity of the two languages is to be found in the fragments of the Punic tongue which occur in the writings of ancient authors. That the Carthaginians (Pœni) derived their name, origin, and language from the Phœnicians, is a well-known and authenticated fact; and that the latter sprang from the Canaanites might easily be shown from the situation of their country, as well as from their manners, customs, and ordinances. Not to cite the

[1] Stuart's Hebrew Grammar, pp. 1, 2. (first edition) Robinson's edition of Calmet's Dictionary abridged, pp. 605—607.

[2] Hodge's Biblical Repertory, vol. ii. p. 293.

[3] Stuart's Heb. Gram. p. 5.

[4] Huet, Demonstr. Evang. Prop. IV. c. 13. Calmet, Dissertation sur la première Langue. Alber, Hermeneut. Vet. Test. tom. i. p. 321. Stuart's Heb. Gram. p. 6.

[5] Dr. Gr Sharpe's Dissertations on the Origin of Languages, &c. p. 22 *et seq.*

[6] Grotius de Veritate, lib. i. sec. 16. Walton's Prolegomena to the London Polyglott, prol. iii. § 6. (p. 76. ed. Dathii.)

[7] Walton, Prol. iii. § 7, 8. (pp. 76, 77.)

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testimonies of profane authors on this point, which have been accumulated by Bishop Walton, we have sufficient evidence to prove that they were considered as the same people, in the fact of the Phœnicians and Canaanites being used promiscuously to denote the inhabitants of the same country. Compare Exod. vi. 15. with Gen. xlvi. 10. and Exod. xvi. 33. with Josh. v. 12., in which passages, for the Hebrew words translated *Canaanitish* and *land of Canaan*, the Septuagint reads Phœnician and the country of Phœnicia.

II. HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

The period from the age of Moses to that of David has been considered the *golden* age of the Hebrew language, which declined in purity from that time to the reign of Hezekiah or Manasseh, having received several foreign words from the commercial and political intercourse of the Jews and Israelites with the Assyrians and Babylonians. This period has been termed the *silver* age of the Hebrew language. In the interval between the reign of Hezekiah and the Babylonish captivity, the purity of the language was neglected, and so many foreign words were introduced into it, that this period has, not inaptly, been designated its *iron* age. During the seventy years' captivity, though it does not appear that the Hebrews *entirely* lost their native tongue, yet it underwent so considerable a change from their adoption of the vernacular languages of the countries where they had resided, that afterwards, on their return from exile, they spoke a dialect of Chaldee mixed with Hebrew words. On this account it was, that, when the Hebrew Scriptures were read, it was found necessary to interpret them to the people in the Chaldæan language; as, when Ezra the scribe brought the book of the law of Moses before the congregation, the Levites are said to have caused the people to understand the law, because *they read in the book, in the law of God, distinctly*, AND GAVE THE SENSE, AND CAUSED THEM TO UNDERSTAND THE READING. (Neh. viii. 8.)[1] Some time after the return from the great captivity, Hebrew ceased to be spoken altogether: though it continued to be cultivated and studied, by the priests and Levites, as a learned language, that they might be enabled to expound the law and the prophets to the people, who, it appears from the New Testament, were well acquainted with their general contents and tenor; this last-mentioned period has been called the *leaden* age of the language.[2] "How long the Hebrew was retained, both in writing and conversation; or in writing, after it ceased to be the language of conversation, it is impossible to determine. The coins, stamped in the time of the Maccabees, are all the oriental monuments we have, of the period that elapsed between the latest canonical writers, and the advent of Christ; and the inscriptions on these are in Hebrew. At the time of the Maccabees, then, Hebrew was probably understood, at least, as the language of books; perhaps, in some measure, also, among the better informed, as the language of conversation. But soon after this, the dominion of the Seleucidæ, in Syria, over the Jewish nation, uniting with the former influence of the Babylonish captivity, in promoting the Aramæan dialect, appears to have destroyed the remains of proper Hebrew, as a living language, and to have universally substituted, in its stead, the Hebræo-Aramæan, as it was spoken in the time of our Saviour. From the time when Hebrew ceased to be vernacular, down to the present day, a portion of this dialect has been preserved in the Old Testament. It has always been the subject of study among learned Jews. Before and at the time of Christ, there were flourishing Jewish academies at Jerusalem; especially under Hillel and Shammai. After Jerusalem was destroyed, schools were set up in various places, but particularly they flourished at Tiberias, until the death of R. Judah, surnamed *Hakkodesh* or *the Holy*, the author of the Mishna; about A. D. 230. Some of his pupils set up other schools in Babylonia, which became the rivals of these. The Babylonish academies flourished until near the tenth century."[3] From the academies at Tiberias and in Babylonia, we have received the Targums, the Talmud, the Masora (of all which an account will be found in the course of the present volume), and the written vowels and accents of the Hebrew language. The Hebrew of the Talmud and of the Rabbins has a close affinity with the later Hebrew; especially the first and earliest part of it, the Mishna.

III. ANTIQUITY OF THE HEBREW CHARACTERS.

The present Hebrew Characters, or Letters, are twenty two in number, and of a square form: but the antiquity of these letters is a point that has been most severely contested by many learned men. From a passage in Eusebius's Chronicle,[4] and another in Jerome,[5] it was inferred by Joseph Scaliger, that Ezra, when he reformed the Jewish church, transcribed the ancient characters of the Hebrews into the square letters of the Chaldæans: and that this was done for the use of those Jews, who, being born during the captivity, knew no other alphabet than that of the people among whom they had been educated. Consequently, the old character, which we call the Samaritan, fell into total disuse. This opinion Scaliger supported by passages from both the Talmuds, as well as from rabbinical writers, in which it is expressly affirmed that such characters were adopted by Ezra. But the most decisive confirmation of this point is to be found in the ancient Hebrew coins, which were struck before the captivity, and even previously to the revolt of the ten tribes. The characters engraven on all of them are manifestly the same with the modern Samaritan, though with some trifling variations in their forms, occasioned by the depredations of time. These coins, whether shekels or half shekels, have all of them, on one side, the golden manna-pot (mentioned in Exod. xvi. 32, 33.), and on its mouth, or over the top of it, most of them have a Samaritan Aleph, some an Aleph and Schin, or other letters, with this inscription, *The Shekel of Israel*, in Samaritan characters. On the opposite side is to be seen Aaron's rod with almonds, and in the same letters this inscription, *Jerusalem the holy*. Other coins are extant with somewhat different inscriptions, but the same characters are engraven on them all.[6]

The opinion originally produced by Scaliger, and thus decisively corroborated by coins, has been adopted by Casaubon, Vossius, Grotius, Bishop Walton, Louis Cappel, Dr. Prideaux, and other eminent biblical critics and philologers, and is now generally received: it was, however, very strenuously though unsuccessfully opposed by the younger Buxtorf, who endeavoured to prove, by a variety of passages from rabbinical writers, that *both* the square and the Samaritan characters were anciently used; the present square character being that in which the tables of the law, and the copy deposited in the ark, were written; and the other characters being employed in the copies of the law which were made for private and common use, and in civil affairs in general; and that, after the captivity, Ezra enjoined the former to be used by the Jews on all occasions, leaving the latter to the Samaritans and apostates. Independently, however, of the strong evidence against Buxtorf's hypothesis, which is afforded by the ancient Hebrew coins, when we consider the implacable enmity that subsisted between the Jews and Samaritans, is it likely that the one copied from the other, or that the former preferred, to the beautiful letters used by their ancestors, the rude and inelegant characters of their most detested rivals? And when the vast difference between the Chaldee (or square) and the Samaritan letters, with respect to convenience and beauty, is calmly considered, it must be acknowledged that they never could have been used at the same time. After all, it is of no great moment which of these, or whether either of them, were the original characters, since it does not appear that any change of the words has arisen from the manner of writing them, because the Samaritan and Hebrew Pentateuchs almost always agree, notwithstanding the lapse of so many ages. It is most probable that the form of these characters has varied at different periods: this appears from the direct testimony of Montfaucon,[7] and is implied in Dr. Kennicott's making the characters, in which manuscripts are written, one test of their age.[8] It is, however, certain that the Chaldee or square character was the common one: as in Matt. v. 8. the yod is referred to as the smallest letter in the alphabet. It is highly

[1] It is worthy of remark that the above practice exists at the present time, among the Karaite Jews, at Sympheropol, in Crim Tartary; where the *Tartar* translation is read together with the Hebrew Text. (See Dr. Pinkerton's Letter, in the Appendix to the Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, p. 76.) A similar practice obtains among the Syrian Christians at Travancore, in the East Indies, where the *Syriac* is the learned language and the language of the church; while the *Malayalim* or Malabar is the vernacular language of the country. The Christian priests read the Scriptures from manuscript copies in the *former*, and expound them in the *latter* to the people. Owen's History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. ii. p. 364.

[2] Walton, Prol. iii. § 15—24. (pp. 84—87.) Schleusner's Lexicon, voce, Ἑβραϊς. Jahn, Introd. ad. Vet. Fœdus, pp. 94—96. Parkhurst (Gr. Lex. voce, Ἑβραϊς) has endeavoured to show, but unsuccessfully, that no change from Hebrew to Chaldee ever took place.

[3] Stuart's Heb. Gram. p. 12.

[4] Sub anno 4740.

[5] Præf. in 1 Reg.

[6] Walton, Prol. iii. § 29—37. (pp. 103—125.) Carpzov, Critica Sacra, pp. 225—241. Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 111—127.

[7] Hexapla Origenis, tom. i. pp. 22. *et seq.*

[8] Dissertation on the Hebrew Text, vol. i. pp. 310—314.

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probable that it was the common character, when the Septuagint version was made; because the departures in the Hebrew text from that version, so far as they have respect to the letters, can mostly be accounted for, on the ground, that the square characters were then used, and that the final others which vary from the medial or initial form, were then wanting.[1]

IV. ANTIQUITY OF THE HEBREW VOWEL POINTS.

But however interesting these inquiries may be in a philological point of view, it is of far greater importance to be satisfied concerning the much litigated, and yet undecided, question respecting the antiquity of the Hebrew points; because, unless the student has determined for himself, after a mature investigation, he cannot with confidence apply to the study of this sacred language. Three opinions have been offered by learned men on this subject. By some, the origin of the Hebrew vowel points is maintained to be coeval with the Hebrew language itself: while others assert them to have been first introduced by Ezra after the Babylonish captivity, when he compiled the canon, transcribed the books into the present Chaldee characters, and restored the purity of the Hebrew text. A third hypothesis is, that they were invented, about five hundred years after Christ, by the doctors of the school of Tiberias, for the purpose of marking and establishing the genuine pronunciation, for the convenience of those who were learning the Hebrew tongue. This opinion, first announced by Rabbi Elias Levita in the beginning of the sixteenth century, has been adopted by Cappel, Calvin, Luther, Casaubon, Scaliger, Masclef, Erpenius, Houbigant, L'Advocat, Bishops Walton, Hare, and Lowth, Dr. Kennicott, Dr. Geddes, and other eminent critics, British and foreign, and is now generally received, although some few writers of respectability continue strenuously to advocate their antiquity. The *Arcanum Punctationis Revelatum* of Cappel was opposed by Buxtorf in a treatise *De Punctorum Vocalium Antiquitate*, by whom the controversy was almost exhausted. We shall briefly state the evidence on both sides.

That the vowel points are of modern date, and of human invention, the anti-punctists argue from the following considerations:—

1. "The kindred Shemitish languages *anciently* had no written vowels. The most ancient Estrangelo and Kufish characters, that is, the ancient characters of the Syrians and Arabians, were destitute of vowels. The Palmyrene inscriptions, and nearly all the Phœnician ones, are destitute of them. Some of the Maltese inscriptions, however, and a few of the Phœnician have marks, which probably were intended as vowels. The Koran was confessedly destitute of them, at first. The punctuation of it occasioned great dispute among Mohammedans. In some of the older Syriac writings is found a single point, which, by being placed in different positions in regard to words, served as a diacritical sign. The present vowel system of the Syrians was introduced so late as the time of Theophilus and Jacob of Edessa. (Cent. viii.) The Arabic vowels were adopted soon after the Koran was written; but their other diacritical marks did not come into use, until they were introduced by Ibn Mokla (about A. D. 900), together with the Nishi character, now in common use."[2]

2. The Samaritan letters, which (we have already seen) were the same with the Hebrew characters before the captivity, have no points; nor are there any vestiges whatever of vowel points to be traced either in the shekels struck by the kings of Israel, or in the Samaritan Pentateuch. The words have always been read by the aid of the four letters Aleph, He, Vau, and Jod, which are called *matres lectionis*, or mothers of reading.

3. The copies of the Scriptures used in the Jewish synagogues to the present time, and which are accounted particularly sacred, are constantly written without points, or any distinctions of verses whatever: a practice that could never have been introduced, nor would it have been so religiously followed, if vowel points had been coeval with the language, or of divine authority. To this fact we may add, that in many of the oldest and best manuscripts, collated and examined by Dr. Kennicott, either there are no points at all, or they are evidently a *late* addition; and that all the ancient various readings, marked by the Jews, regard only the letters: not one of them relates to the vowel points, which could not have happened if these had been in use.

4. Rabbi Elias Levita ascribes the invention of vowel points to the doctors of Tiberias, and has confirmed the fact by the authority of the most learned rabbins.

5. The ancient Cabbalists[3] draw all their mysteries from the letters; but none from the vowel points; which they could not have neglected if they had been acquainted with them. And hence it is concluded, that the points were not in existence when the Cabbalistic interpretations were made.

6. Although the Talmud contains the determinations of the Jewish doctors concerning many passages of the law, it is evident that the points were not affixed to the text when the Talmud was composed; because there are several disputes concerning the sense of passages of the law, which could not have been controverted if the points had then been in existence. Besides, the vowel points are never mentioned, though the fairest opportunity for noticing them offered itself, if they had really then been in use. The compilation of the Talmud was not finished until the *sixth century*.[4]

7. The ancient various readings, called Keri and Ketib, or Khetibh (which were collected a short time before the completion of the Talmud), relate entirely to consonants and not to vowel points; yet, if these had existed in manuscript at the time the Keri and Khetib were collected, it is obvious that some reference would directly or indirectly have been made to them. The silence, therefore, of the collectors of these various readings is a clear proof of the non-existence of vowel points in their time.

8. The ancient versions,—for instance, the Chaldee paraphrases of Jonathan and Onkelos, and the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, but especially the Septuagint version,—*all* read the text, in many passages, in senses different from that which the points determine them to mean. Whence it is evident, that if the points had then been known, pointed manuscripts would have been followed as the most correct; but as the authors of those versions did not use them, it is a plain proof that the points were not then in being.

9. The ancient Jewish writers themselves are totally silent concerning the vowel points, which surely would not have been the case if they had been acquainted with them. Much stress indeed has been laid upon the books of Zohar and Bahir, but these have been proved not to have been known for a thousand years after the birth of Christ. Even Buxtorf himself admits, that the book Zohar could not have been written till after the tenth century; and the rabbis Gedaliah and Zachet confess that it was not mentioned before the year 1290, and that it presents internal evidence that it is of a much later date than is pretended. It is no uncommon practice of the Jews to publish books of recent date under the names of old writers, in order to render their authority respectable, and even to alter and interpolate ancient writers in order to subserve their own views.

10. Equally silent are the ancient fathers of the Christian church, Origen and Jerome. In some fragments still extant, of Origen's vast biblical work, entitled the Hexapla (of which some account is given in a subsequent page), we have a specimen of the manner in which Hebrew was pronounced in the third century; and which, it appears, was widely different from that which results from adopting the Masoretic reading. Jerome also, in various parts of his works, where he notices the different pronunciations of Hebrew words, treats *only of the letters*, and nowhere mentions the points, which he surely would have done, had they been found in the copies consulted by him.

11. The letters א, ה, ו, י (Aleph, He, Vau, and Yod), upon the plan of the Masorites, are termed *quiescent*, because, according to them, they have no sound. At other times, these same letters indicate a variety of sounds, as the fancy of these critics has been pleased to distinguish them by points. This single circumstance exhibits the whole doctrine of points as the *baseless fabric of a vision*. To suppress altogether, or to render insignificant, a *radical* letter of any word, in order to supply its place by an *arbitrary dot or a fictitious mark*, is an invention fraught with the grossest absurdity.[5]

[1] Stuart's Hebrew Grammar, p. 16

[2] Ibid. p. 19.

[3] The Cabbalists were a set of rabbinical doctors among the Jews, who derived their name from their studying the *Cabbala*, a mysterious kind of science, comprising mystical interpretations of Scripture, and metaphysical speculations concerning the Deity and other beings, which are found in Jewish writings, and are said to have been handed down by a secret tradition from the earliest ages. By considering the numeral powers of the letters of the sacred text, and changing and transposing them in various ways, according to the rules of their art, the Cabbalists extracted senses from the sacred oracles, very different from those which the expressions seemed naturally to import, or which were even intended by their inspired authors. Some learned men have imagined, that the Cabbalists arose soon after the time of Ezra; but the truth is, that no Cabbalistic writings are extant but what are *posterior* to the destruction of the second temple. For an entertaining account of the Cabbala, and of the Cabbalistical philosophy, see Mr Allen's Modern Judaism, pp. 66—94., or Dr. Enfield's History of Philosophy, vol. ii. pp. 199—221.

[4] For an account of the Talmud, see part ii. book i. chap. ii. sect. i. § 6 *infra*.

[5] Wilson's Elements of Hebrew Grammar, p. 48.

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12. Lastly, as the *first* vestiges of the points that can be traced are to be found in the writings of Rabbi Ben Asher, president of the western school, and of Rabbi Ben Naphthali, chief of the eastern school, who flourished about the middle of the *tenth* century, we are justified in assigning that as the epoch when the system of vowel points was established.

Such are the evidences on which the majority of the learned rest their convictions of the modern date of the Hebrew points: it now remains, that we concisely notice the arguments adduced by the Buxtorfs and their followers for the antiquity of these points.

1. From the nature of all languages it is urged that they require vowels, which are in a manner the soul of words.

This is readily conceded as an indisputable truth, but it is no proof of the antiquity of the vowel points: for the Hebrew language always had and still has vowels, independent of the points, without which it may be read. Origen, who transcribed the Hebrew Scriptures in Greek characters in his Hexapla, did not invent new vowels to express the vowels absent in Hebrew words, neither did Jerome, who also expressed many Hebrew words and passages in Latin characters. The Samaritans, who used the same alphabet as the Hebrews, read without the vowel points, employing the *matres lectionis*, Aleph, He or Hheth, Jod, Oin, and Vau (a, e, i, o, u) for vowels; and the Hebrew may be read in the same manner, with the assistance of these letters, by supplying them where they are not expressed, agreeably to the modern practice of the Jews, whose Talmud and rabbinical commentators, as well as the copies of the law preserved in the synagogues, are to this day read without vowel points.

2. It is objected that the reading of Hebrew would be rendered very uncertain and difficult without the points, after the language ceased to be spoken.

To this it is replied, that even after Hebrew ceased to be a vernacular language, its true reading might have been continued among learned men to whom it was familiar, and also in their schools, which flourished before the invention of the points. And thus daily practice in reading, as well as a consideration of the context, would enable them not only to fix the meaning of doubtful words, but also to supply the vowels which were deficient, and likewise to fix words to one determinate reading. Cappel,[1] and after him Masclef,[2] have given some general rules for the application of the *matres lectionis*, to enable us to read Hebrew without points.

3. "Many Protestant writers have been led to support the authority of the points, by the supposed uncertainty of the unpointed text; which would oblige us to follow the direction of the church of Rome.

"This argument, however, makes against those who would suppose Ezra to have introduced the points: for in that case, from Moses to *his* day the text being unpointed must have been obscure and uncertain; and if this were not so, why should not the unpointed text have remained intelligible and unambiguous *after* his time, as it had done before it? This argument, moreover, grants what they who use it are not aware of: for if it be allowed that the unpointed text is ambiguous and uncertain, and would oblige us in consequence to recur to the church of Rome, the Romanists may prove—at least with every appearance of truth—that it has always been unpointed, and that, therefore, we must have recourse to the church to explain it. Many writers of that communion have had the candour to acknowledge, that the unpointed Hebrew text can be read and understood like the Samaritan text; for although several words in Hebrew may, when separate, admit of different interpretations, the context usually fixes their meaning with precision;[3] or, if it ever fail to do so, and leave their meaning still ambiguous, recourse may be had to the interpretations of ancient translators or commentators. We must likewise remember, that the Masorites, in affixing points to the text, did not do so according to their own notions how it ought to be read: they followed the received reading of their day, and thus fixed unalterably that mode of reading which was authorized among them; and, therefore, though we reject these points as their invention, and consider that they never were used by any inspired writer, yet it by no means follows, that for the interpretation of Scripture we must go to a supposed infallible church; for we acknowledge the divine original of what the points express, namely, the sentiments conveyed by the letters and words of the sacred text."[4]

4. In further proof of the supposed antiquity of vowel points, some passages have been adduced from the Talmud, in which *accents* and *verses* are mentioned. The fact is admitted, but it is no proof of the existence of points; neither is mention of certain words in the Masoretic notes, as being irregularly punctuated, any evidence of their existence or antiquity: for the Masora was not finished by one author, nor in one century, but that system of annotation was commenced and prosecuted by various Hebrew critics through several ages. Hence it happened that the latter Masorites, having detected mistakes in their predecessors (who had adopted the mode of pronouncing and reading used in their day), were unwilling to alter such mistakes, but contented themselves with noting particular words as having been irregularly and improperly pointed. These notes, therefore, furnish no evidence of the existence of points before the time of the first compilers of the Masora.[5]

The preceding are the chief arguments usually urged for and against the vowel points, and from an impartial consideration of them, the reader will be enabled to judge for himself. The weight of evidence, we apprehend, will be found to determine *against* them: nevertheless, "the points *seem* to have their uses, and these not inconsiderable; and to have this use among others,—that, as many of the Hebrew letters have been corrupted since the invention of the points, and as the points subjoined originally to the true letters have been in many of these places regularly preserved, these points will frequently concur in proving the truth of such corruptions, and will point out the method of correcting them."[6]

V. HEBREW ACCENTS.

Besides the vowel points, the antiquity of which has been considered in the preceding pages, we meet in pointed Hebrew Bibles with other marks or signs termed ACCENTS; the system of which is inseparably connected with the present state of the vowel points, inasmuch as these points are often changed in consequence of the accents. The latter therefore must have originated contemporaneously with the written vowels, at least with the completion of the vowel system. Respecting the design of the accents there has been great dispute among Hebrew grammarians. Professor Stuart, who has discussed this subject most copiously in his valuable Hebrew Grammar, is of opinion that they were designed, not to mark the tone-syllable of a word or the interpunction, but to regulate the *cantillation* of the Scriptures. It is well known that the Jews, from time immemorial in the public reading of the Scriptures, have *cantillated* them, that is, read in a kind of half singing or recitative way. In this manner most probably the Ethiopian eunuch was reading the prophecy of Isaiah when he was overheard and interrogated by Philip. (Acts viii. 30.) In this manner also Mussulmen read the Koran; and the people of the East generally deliver public discourses in this way. The mode of cantillating Hebrew in different countries is at present various, but guided in all by the accents; that is, the accents are used as musical notes, though various powers are assigned to them.[7] The mode of reading with Hebrew accents will be found treated at less or greater length in most of the Hebrew grammars with points.

A bibliographical account of the principal editions of the Hebrew Bible will be found in the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to this volume, PART I. CHAP. I. SECT. I., and of the principal Hebrew grammars and lexicons, both *with* and *without* points, in PART II. CHAP. IV. SECT. I. and II

SECTION II.

ON THE GREEK LANGUAGE.

I. *Similarity of the Greek language of the New Testament with that of the Alexandrian or Septuagint Greek version.*—II. *The New Testament why written in Greek.*—

[1] Arcanum Punctationis revelatum, lib. i. c. 18.

[2] Grammatica Hebraica, vol. i.[2] cap. 1. § iv.

[3] Thus the English verb *to skin* has two opposite meanings; but the context will always determine which it bears in any passage where it occurs.

[4] Hamilton's Introd. to the Study of the Hebrew Scriptures, pp. 44, 45.

[5] Walton, Prol. iii. §§ 38—56. (pp. 125—170.) Carpsov. Crit. Sacr. Vet. Test. part i. c. v. sect. vii. pp. 242—274. Pfeiffer, Critica Sacra, cap. iv. sect. ii. (Op. pp. 704—711.) Gerard's Institutes, pp. 32—38. Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœdus, pp. 129—131. Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 128—141. Prideaux's Connection, vol. i. part i. book 5. pp. 347—361. 8th edition. Bishop Marsh (Lectures, part ii. pp. 136—140.) has enumerated the principal treatises for and against the vowel points.

[6] Dr. Kennicott, Dissertation i. on the Hebrew Text, p. 345.

[7] Stuart's Hebrew Grammar, pp. 22, 23. 68. (First edition.) In pp. 64—66., and Appendix (E,) pp. 344—356. Mr. Stuart has treated at large on the number, names, mode of writing, prose and poetic consecution, original design, and importance of the Hebrew accents.

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III. Examination of its style.—IV. Its Dialects—Hebraisms—Rabbinisms—Aramæisms—Latinisms—Persisms and Cilicisms.

I. Similarity of the Greek Language of the New Testament with that of the Alexandrian or Septuagint Greek Version.

If a knowledge of Hebrew be necessary and desirable, in order to understand the Old Testament aright, an acquaintance with the Greek language is of equal importance for understanding the New Testament correctly. It is in this language that the Septuagint version of the Old Testament was executed; and as the inspired writers of the New Testament thought and spoke in the Chaldee or Syriac tongues, whose turns of expression closely corresponded with those of the ancient Hebrew, the language of the apostles and evangelists, when they wrote in Greek, necessarily resembled that of the translators of the Septuagint. And as every Jew, who read Greek at all, would read the Greek Bible, the style of the Septuagint again operated in forming the style of the Greek Testament.[1] The Septuagint version, therefore, being a new source of interpretation equally important to the Old and New Testament, a knowledge of the Greek language becomes indispensably necessary to the biblical student.

II. A variety of solutions has been given to the question, why the New Testament was written in Greek.

The true reason is simply this,—that it was the language best understood, both by writers and readers, being spoken and written, read and understood, throughout the Roman empire, and particularly in the eastern provinces. In fact, Greek was at that time as well known in the higher and middle circles as the French is in our day; almost all Romans, who had received any tincture of education, speaking it in addition to their mother tongue. To the universality of the Greek language, Cicero,[2] Seneca,[3] and Juvenal[4] bear ample testimony: and the circumstances of the Jews having had both political, civil, and commercial relations with the Greeks, and being dispersed through various parts of the Roman empire, as well as their having cultivated the philosophy of the Greeks, of which we have evidence in the New Testament, all sufficiently account for their being acquainted with the Greek language; to which we may add the fact, that the Septuagint Greek version of the Old Testament had been in use among the Jews upwards of two hundred and eighty years before the Christian æra; which most assuredly could not have been the case if the language had not been familiar to them. And if the eminent Jewish writers, Philo and Josephus, had motives for preferring to write in Greek, there is no reason— at least there is no general presumption—why the first publishers of the Gospel might not use the Greek language.[5] But we need not rest on probabilities. For,

1. It is manifest from various passages in the first book of Maccabees, that the Jews of all classes must at that time (B. C. 175—140) have understood the language of their conquerors and oppressors, the Macedonian Greeks under Antiochus, falsely named the Great, and his successors.

2. Further, when the Macedonians obtained the dominion of western Asia, they filled that country with Greek cities. The Greeks also possessed themselves of many cities in Palestine, to which the Herods added many others, which were also inhabited by Greeks. Herod the Great, in particular, made continual efforts to give a foreign physiognomy to Judæa; which country, during the personal ministry of Jesus Christ, was thus invaded on every side by a Greek population. The following particulars will confirm and illustrate this fact:

Aristobulus and Alexander built or restored many cities, which were almost entirely occupied by Greeks, or by Syrians who spoke their language. Some of the cities, indeed, which were rebuilt by the Asmonæan kings, or by the command of Pompey, were on the frontiers of Palestine, but a great number of them were in the interior of that country; and concerning these cities we have historical data which demonstrate that they were very nearly, if not altogether, Greek. Thus, at Dora, a city of Galilee, the inhabitants refused to the Jews the right of citizenship which had been granted to them by Claudius.[6] Josephus expressly says that Gadara and Hippos *are Greek cities*, ἑλληνίδες εἰσι πόλεις.[7] In the very centre of Palestine stood Bethshan, which place its Greek inhabitants called *Scythopolis*.[8] Josephus[9] testifies that Gaza, in the southern part of Judæa, was Greek; and Joppa, the importance of whose harbour induced the kings of Egypt and Syria successively to take it from the Jews,[10] most certainly could not remain a stranger to the same influence. Under the reign of Herod the Great, Palestine became still more decidedly Greek. That prince and his sons erected several cities in honour of the Cæsars. The most remarkable of all these, Cæsarea (which was the second city in his kingdom), was chiefly peopled by Greeks;[11] who after Herod's death, under the protection of Nero, expelled the Jews who dwelt there with them.[12] The Jews revenged the affront, which they had received at Cæsarea, on Gadara, Hippos, Scythopolis, Askalon, and Gaza,—a further proof that the Greeks inhabited those cities jointly with the Jews.[13] After the death of Pompey, the Greeks, being liberated from all the restraints which had been imposed on them, made great progress in Palestine under the protection of Herod; who by no means concealed his partiality for them,[14] and lavished immense sums of money for the express purpose of naturalizing their language and manners among the Jews With this view he built a theatre and amphitheatre at Cæsarea;[15] at Jericho an amphitheatre, and a stadium;[16] he erected similar edifices at the very gates of the holy city, Jerusalem, and he even proceeded to build a theatre within its walls.[17]

3. The Roman government was rather favourable than adverse to the extension of the Greek language in Palestine, in consequence of Greek being the official language of the procurators of that country, when administering justice, and speaking to the people.

Under the earlier emperors, the Romans were accustomed frequently to make use of Greek, even at Rome, when the affairs of the provinces were under consideration.[18] If Greek were thus used at Rome, we may reasonably conclude that it would be still more frequently spoken in Greece and in Asia. In Palestine, in particular, we do not perceive any vestige of the official use of the Latin language by the procurators. We do not find a single instance, either in the books of the New Testament or in Josephus, in which the Roman governors made use of interpreters; and while use and the affairs of life accustomed the common people to that language, the higher classes of society would on many accounts be obliged to make use of it.

4. So far were the religious authorities of the Jews from opposing the introduction of Greek, that they appear rather to have *favoured* the use of that language.

They employed it, habitually, in profane works, and admitted it into official acts. An article of the Mischna prohibits the Jews from writing books in any other language, except the Greek.[19] Such a prohibition would not have been

[1] Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part iii. pp. 30, 31. The question relative to the supposed Hebrew originals of Saint Matthew's Gospel, and of the Epistle to the Hebrews, is purposely omitted in this place, as it is considered in the subsequent part of this work.

[2] Orat. pro Archia Poeta, c. 10. Græca leguntur *in omnibus fere gentibus*: Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur. Julius Cæsar attests the prevalence of the Greek language in Gaul. De Bell. Gal. lib. i. c. 29. lib. vi. c. 14. (vol. i. pp. 23. 161. edit. Bipont.)

[3] In consolat. ad Helviam, c. 6. Quid sibi volunt in mediis barbarorum regionibus *Græcæ urbes?* Quid inter Indos Persasque *Macedonicus sermo?* Scythia et totus ille ferarum indomitarumque gentium tractus civitates Achaiæ, Ponticis impositas litoribus, ostentat.

[4] Nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas. Sat. xv. *v.* 110. Even the female sex, it appears from the same satirist, made use of Greek as the language of familiarity and passion. See Sat. vi. *v.* 186—191. To the authorities above cited may be added the testimonies of Tacitus (De Orat. c. 29.), of Ovid (De Arte Amor. lib. ii. v. 121.), and of Martial. (Epigr. l. c. xiv. Epig. 58.)

[5] Josephus, de Bell. Jud. Proem. § 2. says, that he composed his history of the Jewish war in the language of his country, and afterwards wrote it in Greek for the information of the Greeks and Romans. The reader will find a great number of additional testimonies to the prevalence of the Greek language in the East, in Antonii Josephi Binterim Epistola Catholica Internecessaria de Linguâ Originali Novi Testamenti non Latinâ, &c. pp. 171—198. Dusseldorpii, 1820. It is necessary to apprize the reader, that the design of this volume is to support the dogma of the Romish church, that the reading of the Holy Scriptures, in the vulgar tongue, ought not to be promiscuously allowed.

[6] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xix. c. 6. § 5.

[7] Ant. Jud. lib. xvi. c. 11. § 4.

[8] Σκυθων Πολις, Judges i. 27. (Septuagint version.) Polybius, lib. v. c 70. § 4.

[9] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xvii. c. 11. § 4.

[10] Diod. Sic. lib. xix. cc. 59. 93. 1 Macc. x. 75. xii. 33, 34. xiii. 11. xiv. 34. 2 Macc. xiii. 3. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xiii. c. 9. § 2. and lib. xiv. c. 10. § 22.

[11] Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. iii. c. 9. compared with lib. ii. c. 13. § 7.

[12] Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 14. § 4.

[13] Ibid. lib. ii. c. 18.

[14] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xix. c. 7. § 5.

[15] Idem. lib. xv. c. 9. compared with lib. xvi. c. 5.

[16] Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 33. §§ 6. 8. Ant. Jud. lib. xvii. c. 6.

[17] Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 9. s. 3. Ant. Jud. lib. xv. c. 8. Θεατρον εν Ἱεροσολυμοις ῳκοδομησεν. Compare Eichhorn de Judæorum Re Scenica in Comment. Soc. Reg. Scient. Gotting. vol. ii. Class. Antiq. pp. 10—13.

[18] This will account for the Jewish king, Herod Agrippa, and his brother being permitted by the emperor Claudius to be present in the senate, and to address that assembly in Greek. Dion. Hist. lib. lx. c. 8

[19] Mischna, Tract. Megill. c. 1. § 8.

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given if they had not been accustomed to write in a foreign language. The act or instrument of divorce might, indifferently, be written and signed in Greek or Hebrew: in either language, and with either subscription, it was valid.[1] During the siege of Jerusalem, for the first time, some opposition was made to the use of the Greek language, when brides were forbidden to wear a nuptial crown, at the same time that fathers were commanded to prevent their children thenceforward from learning Greek.[2] This circumstance will enable us readily to understand why Josephus, when sent by Titus to address his besieged countrymen, spoke to them ἑβραΐζων, that is, in the Hebrew dialect, and τῇ πατρῴῳ γλώσσῃ, *in his native tongue*:[3] it was not that he might be better heard, but that he might make himself known to them as their fellow-countryman and brother.

5. The Greek language was spread through various classes of the Jewish nation by usage and the intercourse of life. The people, with but few exceptions, generally understood it, although they continued to be always more attached to their native tongue. There were at Jerusalem religious communities wholly composed of Jews who spoke Greek; and of these Jews, as well as of Greek proselytes, the Christian church at Jerusalem appears in the first instance to have been formed. An examination of the Acts of the Apostles will prove these assertions. Thus, in Acts xxi. 40. and xxii. 2. when Paul, after a tumult, addressed the populace in Hebrew, *they kept the more silence*. They, therefore evidently expected that he would have spoken to them in another language which they would have comprehended,[4] though they heard him much better in Hebrew, which they preferred. In Acts vi. 9. and ix. 29. we read that there were at Jerusalem whole synagogues of Hellenist Jews, under the name of Cyrenians, Alexandrians, &c. And in Acts vi. 1. we find that these very Hellenists formed a considerable portion of the church in that city.[5] From the account given in John xii. 20. of certain Greeks (whether they were Hellenistic Jews or Greek proselytes it is not material to determine), who through the apostle Philip requested an interview with Jesus, it may fairly be inferred that both Philip and Andrew understood Greek.[6]

6. Further, there are extant Greek monuments, containing epitaphs and inscriptions, which were erected in Palestine and the neighbouring countries,[7] as well as ancient coins which were struck in the cities of Palestine, and also in the various cities of Asia Minor.[8] What purpose could it answer, to erect the one or to execute the other, in the Greek language, if that language had not been familiar—indeed vernacular to the inhabitants of Palestine and the neighbouring countries? There is, then, every reasonable evidence, amounting to demonstration, that Greek did prevail universally throughout the Roman empire; and that the common people of Judæa were acquainted with it, and understood it.

Convincing as we apprehend the preceding facts and evidence will be found to the unprejudiced inquirer, two or three objections have been raised against them, which it may not be irrelevant here briefly to notice.

1. It is objected that, during the siege of Jerusalem, when Titus granted a truce to the factious Jews just before he commenced his last assault, he advanced towards them accompanied by an interpreter:[9] but the Jewish historian, Josephus, evidently means that the Roman general, confident of victory, from a sense of dignity, spoke first, and in his own maternal language, which we know was Latin. The interpreter, therefore, did not attend him in order to translate Greek words into Hebrew, but for the purpose of rendering into Hebrew or Greek the discourse which Titus pronounced in Latin.

2. It has also been urged as a strong objection to the Greek original of the Gospels, that Jesus Christ spoke in Hebrew; because Hebrew words occur in Mark v. 41. (*Talitha cumi*); vii. 34. (*Ephphatha*); Matt. xxvii. 46. (*Eli, Eli! Lama sabachthani*), and Mark xv. 34. But to this affirmation we may reply, that on this occasion the evangelists have noticed and transcribed these expressions in the original, because Jesus did not ordinarily and habitually speak Hebrew. But admitting it to be more probable, that the Redeemer did ordinarily speak Hebrew to the Jews, who were most partial to their native tongue, which they heard him speak with delight, we may ask—in what language but Greek did he address the multitudes, when they were composed of a mixture of persons of different countries and nations—proselytes to the Jewish religion, as well as heathen Gentiles? For instance, the Gadarenes (Matt. viii. 28—34. Mark v. 1. Luke viii. 26.); the inhabitants of the borders of Tyre and Sidon (Mark vii. 24.); the inhabitants of the Decapolis; the Syrophœnician woman, who is expressly termed a *Greek*, ἡ γυνὴ Ἑλληνίς, in Mark vii. 26.; and the *Greeks*, Ἕλληνες, who were desirous of seeing Jesus at the passover. (John xii 20.)[10]

3. Lastly, it has been objected, that, as the Christian churches were in many countries composed chiefly of the common people, they did not and could not understand Greek. But, not to insist on the evidence already adduced for the universality of the Greek language, we may reply, that "in every church there were numbers of persons endowed with the gifts of tongues, and of the interpretation of tongues; who could readily turn the apostles' Greek epistles into the language of the church to which they were sent. In particular, the president or the spiritual man, who read the apostle's Greek letter to the Hebrews in their public assemblies, could, without any hesitation, read it in the Hebrew language, for the edification of those who did not understand Greek. And with respect to the Jews in the provinces, Greek being the native language of most of them, this epistle was much better calculated for their use, written in the Greek language, than if it had been written in the Hebrew, which few of them understood." Further, "it was proper that all the apostolical epistles should be written in the Greek language; because the different doctrines of the Gospel being delivered and explained in them, the explanation of these doctrines could with more advantage be compared so as to be better understood, being expressed in one language, than if, in the different epistles, they had been expressed in the language of the churches and persons to whom they were sent. Now, what should that one language be, in which it was proper to write the Christian Revelation, but the Greek, which was then generally understood, and in which there were many books extant, that treated of all kinds of literature, and on that account were likely to be preserved, and by the reading of which Christians, in after ages, would be enabled to understand the Greek of the New Testament? This advantage none of the provincial dialects used in the apostle's days could pretend to. Being limited to particular countries, they were soon to be disused; and few (if any) books being written in them which merited to be preserved, the meaning of such of the apostles' letters as were composed in the provincial languages could not easily have been ascertained."[11]

III. EXAMINATION OF THE STYLE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The style of the New Testament has a considerable affinity with that of the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, which was executed at Alexandria,[12] although it approaches somewhat nearer to the idiom of the later Greek language. Hence some philologers have wished to call the diction of the New Testament the *Alexandrine dialect*, and have regarded the dialect of Alexandria as the source of the style of the New Testament. This opinion is supported, neither by a comparison of the New Testament with this dialect, nor by history: for the writers of the New Testa-

[1] If the book of divorce be written in Hebrew, and the names of the witnesses in Greek, or *vice versa*; or the name of one witness be in Hebrew and the other in Greek;—if a scribe and witness wrote it, it is lawful.—Mischna, Tract. Gitin. c. 9. § 8.

[2] Ibid. Tract. Sotah. c. 9. § 14.

[3] Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 9. § 2. lib. vi. c. 2. § 1.

[4] In like manner, it is well known, there are many hundred thousand natives of Ireland who *can* understand what is said to them in English, which language they will tolerate; but they LOVE their native Irish dialect, and will listen with profound attention to any one who kindly addresses them in it.

[5] Essai d'une Introduction Critique au Nouveau Testament, par J. E. Cellérier, fils, pp. 242—248. Genève, 1823. 8vo. Dr. Wait's Translation of Hug's Introduction. vol. ii. pp. 32—53.

[6] A. Arigler Hermeneutica Biblica, pp 74—79. Alber, Instit. Hermeneut Nov. Test. tom. i. pp. 242, 243.

[7] Antonii Jos. Bluterim, Propemticum ad Molkenbuhrii Problema Criticum,—Sacra Scriptura Novi Testamenti in quo idiomate originaliter ab apostolis edita fuit? pp. 27—40. (Moguntiæ, 1822, 8vo.)

[8] Ibid. pp. 40—44.

[9] Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. vi. c. 6

[10] Cellérier Essai, p. 249. Hug. vol. ii. p. 54.

[11] Dr. Macknight on the Epistles, Pref. to Hebrews, sect. ii. § 3. vol. iv p 336. 4to edit.

[12] Michaelis has devoted an entire section to show that the language of the New Testament has a tincture of the Alexandrian idiom. Vol. i. pp. 143 et seq. Professor Winer has given an interesting historical sketch of the Greek Language of the New Testament, in his Greek Grammar of the New Testament, translated by Professor Stuart and Mr. Robinson, pp. 12—35 Andover (North America), 1825. 8vo.

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ment were not citizens of Alexandria; nor, simply because they have sometimes followed the Alexandrine version, can it be concluded, that they have imitated the Alexandrine Dialect, which was not a language peculiar and appropriate to the citizens of that place alone, but was a kind of speech mixed and corrupted by the confluence of many nations, as Greeks, Macedonians, Africans, Carthaginians, Syrians, East Indians, Sicilians, and others. After the Macedonians had subjugated the whole of Greece, and extended their dominion into Asia and Africa, the refined and elegant Attic began to decline; and all the dialects being by degrees mixed together, there arose a certain peculiar language, called the *Common*, and also the *Hellenic;* but more especially, since the empire of the Macedonians was the chief cause of its introduction into the general use from the time of Alexander forwards, it was called the (later) *Macedonic*. This dialect was composed from almost all the dialects of Greece, together with very many foreign words borrowed from the Persians, Syrians, Hebrews, and other nations, who became connected with the Macedonian people after the age of Alexander. Now, of this Macedonian dialect, the dialect of Alexandria (which was the language of *all* the inhabitants of that city, as well of the learned as of the Jews), was a degenerate progeny far more corrupt than the common Macedonian dialect. This last-mentioned common dialect, being the current Greek spoken throughout Western Asia, was made use of by the writers of the Greek Testament.[1] In consequence of the peculiarities of the Hebrew phraseology being discernible, it has by some philologers been termed *Hebraic-Greek*, and (from the Jews having acquired the Greek language, rather by practice than by grammar, among the Greeks, in whose countries they resided in large communities,) *Hellenistic-Greek*. The propriety of this appellation was severely contested towards the close of the seventeenth and in the early part of the eighteenth century:[2] and numerous publications were written on both sides of the question, with considerable asperity, which, together with the controversy, are now almost forgotten. The dispute, however interesting to the philological antiquarian, is, after all, a mere "strife of words;"[3] and as the appellations of *Hellenistic* or *Hebraic-Greek*, and of *Macedonian-Greek*, are sufficiently correct for the purpose of characterising the language of the New Testament, one or other of them is now generally adopted. The peculiar genius and character of the Greek style of the New Testament are copiously and ably discussed by Henry Planck, in a dissertation on this subject, to which the reader is necessarily referred.[4]

Of this Hebraic style, the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark exhibit strong vestiges: the former presents harsher Hebraisms than the latter: and the Gospel of St. Mark abounds with still more striking Hebraisms. "The epistles of St. James and Jude are somewhat better, but even these are full of Hebraisms, and betray in other respects a certain Hebrew tone. St. Luke has, in several passages, written pure and classic Greek, of which the four first verses of his Gospel may be given as an instance: in the sequel, where he describes the actions of Christ, he has very harsh Hebraisms, yet the style is more agreeable than that of St. Matthew or St. Mark. In the Acts of the Apostles he is not free from Hebraisms, which he seems to have never studiously avoided; but his periods are more classically turned, and sometimes possess beauty devoid of art. St John has numerous, though not uncouth, Hebraisms both in his Gospel and epistles: but he has written in a smooth and flowing language, and surpasses all the Jewish writers in the excellence of narrative. St. Paul again is entirely different from them all: his style is indeed neglected and full of Hebraisms, but he has avoided the concise and verse-like construction of the Hebrew language, and has, upon the whole, a considerable share of the roundness of Grecian composition. It is evident that he was as perfectly acquainted with the Greek manner of expression as with the Hebrew; and he has introduced them alternately, as either the one or the other suggested itself the first, or was the best approved."[5]

This diversity of style and idiom in the sacred writers of the New Testament affords an intrinsic and irresistible evidence for the authenticity of the books which pass under their names. If their style had been uniformly the same, there would be good reason for suspecting that they had all combined together when they wrote; or, else, that having previously concerted what they should teach, one of them had committed to writing their system of doctrine. In ordinary cases, when there is a difference of style in a work professing to be the production of *one* author, we have reason to believe that it was written by several persons. In like manner, and for the very same reason, when books, which pass under the names of *several* authors, are written in different styles, we are authorised to conclude that they were not composed by one person.

Further, If the New Testament had been written with classic purity; if it had presented to us the language of Isocrates, Demosthenes, Xenophon, or Plutarch, there would have been just grounds for suspicion of forgery; and it

[1] Ernesti on the causes of the forced interpretations of the New Testament, in the Biblical Repository, vol. i. pp. 472—476.

[2] The "controversy on this topic began very soon after the revival of literature in Europe. In the sixteenth century, Erasmus and Laurentius Valla ventured to assert publicly, that the Greek of the New Testament is Hellenistic. Many learned men of that day were inclined to adopt this opinion. But Robert Stephens, in the preface to his celebrated edition of the New Testament (1576), took it into his head strenuously to contend for the Attic purity of its dialect. As his Testament was so widely circulated, the preface served to excite general attention to the subject in question, and to prepare the minds of critics for the mighty contest which followed. Sebastian Pforacher led the way, in his *Diatribe de Ling. Graec. N. Test. puritate*, published in 1629, at Amsterdam; in which he defends, with great warmth, the purity of the New Testament Greek. His antagonist was J. Jung, who published in 1640 his *Sententiæ doctiss. virorum, de Hellenistis et Hellenistica Dialecto*. To this a reply was made, by J. Grosse of Jena, styled *Trias propositionum theol. stilum Nov. Test. a barbaris criminationibus vindicantium;* in which the whole mass of Hellenists were consigned over to the most detestable heresy. In the same year, Wulfer wrote an answer to this in his *Innocentia Hellenistarum vindicata;* to which Grosse replied, in his *Observationes pro triade Observatt. apologeticæ*. Musæus defended Wulfer (though not in all his positions) in his *Disquisitio de stilo Nov. Testamenti*, A. D. 1641; to which Grosse replied by a *Tertia defensio Triados*, 1641. In 1642, Musæus felt himself compelled to publish his *Vindiciæ Disquisitionis;* which however only excited Grosse to a *Quarta defensio Triados*.

"About the same time, the controversy was briskly carried on in Holland. D. Heinsius, in his *Aristarchus Sacer*, and his *Exercitt. Sac. in Nov. Testamentum*, had espoused the cause of Hellenism, and commented upon Pforacher's Diatribe. In a plainer manner still did he do this, in his *Exercitatio de Lingua Hellenistica*, published in 1643. In the very same year, the celebrated Salmasius appeared as his antagonist, in three separate publications, the spirit and tone of which may be readily discerned from their titles. The first was inscribed *Commentarius controversiam de lingua Hellenistica decidens:* the second, *Funus linguæ Hellenisticæ;* the third, *Ossilegium linguæ Hellenisticæ*. In 1648, Gataker, in England, warmly espoused the cause of the Hellenists, in his *Dissert. de stilo Nov. Testamenti*. On the same side, about this time, appeared Werenfels, of Switzerland, in his essay *De stylo Script. Nov. Testamenti;* and J. Olearius, of Germany, in his book *De stilo Nov. Testamenti;* also Böckler, in his tract, *De ling. Nov. Test. originali*. In Holland, Vorstius published, in defence of the same side, his book *De Hebraismis Nov. Testamenti*, 1658; and in 1665, his *Comment. de Hebraismis N. Test.* The last was attacked by H. Witsius, in his *Specimen annotatt. ad Philol. Sac. Vorstii*. The best of these dissertations were collected and published by Rhenferd in his *Syntagma Diss. Philol. Theol. de stilo Nov. Test.* 1703; and also by Van Element about the same time, at Amsterdam.

"J. H. Michaelis, in his essay *De textu Nov. Test.* Halæ, 1707, and H. Blackwall, in his *Sacred Classics illustrated and defended*, endeavoured to moderate the parties, and to show, that while it might safely be admitted that there are Hebraisms in the New Testament, it may at the same time be maintained, that the Greek of the sacred writers is entitled to the character of classic purity. But all efforts at peace were defeated by Georgi of Wittemberg, who, in 1732, published his *Vindiciæ Nov. Test.* This was answered by Knapp and Dressing of Leipsic. In 1733, Georgi published his *Hypercriticus Sacer*, in three books; and at the end of the year, a second part, in as many more books; which were also answered by his Leipsic opponents. From this time, the cause of the Hellenists began to predominate throughout Europe. And though many essays on this subject have since appeared, and it has been canvassed in a far more able manner than before, yet few of these essays have been controversial; almost all writers owning to the style of Hellenism." Dissertations on the Importance and best Method of studying the Original Languages of the Bible, by Jahn and others, with Notes by Prof. Stuart, (Andover, N. America, 1821), pp. 77, 78. The reader, who is desirous of investigating the controversy on the purity of the language of the New Testament, is referred to the Acroases Academicæ super Hermeneutica Novi Testamenti of Prof. Morus (vol. i. pp. 202—233.); in which he has enumerated the principal writers on each side of the question. A similar list has been given by Beck (Monogrammata Hermeneutices Novi Testamenti, part i. pp. 28—32.), by Carpzov, (Isagoge ad Lectionem N. T. p. 33. et seq.) and by Rambach, (Instit. Herm. Sacræ, pp. 23. 399.) Dr. Campbell has treated the subject very ably in the first of his Preliminary Dissertations, prefixed to his version of the four Gospels; and Wetstein (Libelli ad Crisin atque Interpretationem N. T. pp. 48—60.) has given some interesting extracts from Origen, Chrysostom, and other fathers, who were of opinion that the language of the New Testament was *not* pure Greek. Other writers might be mentioned, who have treated bibliographically on this topic: but the preceding foreign critics only are specified, as their works may be easily procured from the Continent.

[3] Michaelis ascribes the disputes above noticed either to "a want of sufficient knowledge of the Greek, the prejudices of pedantry and school orthodoxy, or the injudicious custom of choosing the Greek Testament as the *first* book to be read by learners of that language; by which means they are so accustomed to its singular style, that in a more advanced age they are incapable of perceiving its deviation from the language of the classics." (Bp. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. i. p. 211.)

[4] Commentatio de vera Natura atque Indole Orationis Græcæ Novi Testamenti (Gottingæ, 1810.) As the Latin Treatise is not of very common occurrence, the reader is particularly referred to two accessible English translations, one in the second volume, (pp. 91—188.) of the Edinburgh 'Biblical Cabinet,' and the other in the first volume (pp. 638—689.) of the 'Biblical Repository' (Andover, Massachusetts. 1833.)

[5] Michaelis, vol. i. p. 112.

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might with propriety have been objected, that it was impossible for Hebrews, who professed to be men of no learning, to have written in so pure and excellent a style, and, consequently, that the books which were ascribed to them must have been the invention of some impostor. The diversity of style, therefore, which is observable in them, so far from being any objection to the authenticity of the New Testament, is in reality a strong argument for the truth and sincerity of the sacred writers, and of the authenticity of their writings. "Very many of the Greek words found in the New Testament, are not such as were adopted by men of education, and the higher and more polished ranks of life, but such as were in use with the common people. Now this shows that the writers became acquainted with the language, in consequence of an actual intercourse with those who spoke it, rather than from any study of books: and that intercourse must have been very much confined to the middling or even lower classes; since the words and phrases most frequently used by them passed current only among the vulgar. There are undoubtedly many plain intimations[1] given throughout these books, that their writers were of this lower class, and that their associates were frequently of the same description; but the character of the style is the strongest confirmation possible that their conditions were not higher than what they have ascribed to themselves."[2] In fact, the vulgarisms, foreign idioms, and other disadvantages and defects, which some critics imagine that they have discovered in the Hebraic Greek of the New Testament, "are assigned by the inspired writers as the reasons of God's preference of it, whose thoughts are not our thoughts, nor his ways our ways. Paul argues, that the success of the preachers of the Gospel, in spite of the absence of those accomplishments in language, then so highly valued, was an evidence of the divine power and energy with which their ministry was accompanied. He did not address them, he tells us (1 Cor. i. 17.), *with the wisdom of words*,—with artificial periods and a studied elocution,—*lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect*;—lest to human eloquence that success should be ascribed, which ought to be attributed to the divinity of the doctrine and the agency of the Spirit, in the miracles wrought in support of it. There is hardly any sentiment which he is at greater pains to enforce. He *used none of the enticing or persuasive words of man's wisdom*. Wherefore?—'That their faith might not stand *in the wisdom of man, but in the power of God*.' (1 Cor. ii. 4, 5.) Should I ask what was the reason why our Lord Jesus Christ chose for the instruments of that most amazing revolution in the religious systems of mankind, men perfectly illiterate and taken out of the lowest class of the people? Your answer to this will serve equally for an answer to that other question,—Why did the Holy Spirit choose to deliver such important truths in the barbarous idiom of a few obscure Galilæans, and not in the politer and more harmonious strains of Grecian eloquence?—I repeat it, the answer to both questions is the same—That it might appear, beyond contradiction, that the excellency of the power was of God, and not of man."[3]

As a large proportion of the phrases and constructions of the New Testament is pure Greek, that is to say, of the same degree of purity as the Greek which was spoken in Macedonia, and that in which Polybius and Appian wrote their histories; the language of the New Testament will derive considerable illustration from consulting the works of classic writers, and especially from diligently collating the Septuagint version of the Old Testament: the collections also of Raphelius, Palairet, Bos, Abresch, Ernesti, and other writers whose works are noticed in the Bibliographical Appendix to Vol. II., will afford the biblical student every essential assistance in explaining the pure Greek expressions of the New Testament according to the usage of classic authors. It should further be noticed, that there occur in the New Testament words that express both doctrines and practices which were utterly unknown to the Greeks; and also words bearing widely different interpretation from those which are ordinarily found in Greek writers.

IV. In consequence of the Macedonian Greek being composed of almost all the dialects of Greece (as well as of very many foreign words), the New Testament contains examples of the various DIALECTS occurring in the Greek language, and especially of the Attic. To these, some have added the poetic dialect, chiefly, it should seem, because there are a few passages cited by St. Paul from the ancient Greek poets, in Acts xvii. 28. 1 Cor. xv. 33. and Tit. i. 12.[4] But the sacred writers of the New Testament, being Jews, were consequently acquainted with the Hebrew idioms, and also with the common as well as with the *appropriated* or *acquired* senses of the words of that language. Hence, when they used a Greek word, as correspondent to a Hebrew one of like signification, they employed it as the Hebrew word was used, either in a common or appropriated sense, as occasion required. The whole arrangement of their periods "is regulated according to the Hebrew verses (not those in Hebrew poetry, but such as are found in the historical books); which are constructed in a manner directly opposite to the roundness of Grecian language, and for want of variety have an endless repetition of the same particles."[5] These particular idioms are termed HEBRAISMS, and their nature and classes have been treated at considerable length by various writers. Georgi, Pfochenius, and others, have altogether denied the existence of these Hebraisms; while their antagonists have, perhaps unnecessarily, multiplied them. Wyssius, in his Dialectologia Sacra, has divided the Hebraisms of the New Testament into thirteen classes; Vorstius[6] into thirty-one classes; and Viser into eight classes;[7] and Masclef has given an ample collection of the Hebraisms occurring in the sacred writings in the first volume of his excellent Hebrew Grammar.[8] The New Testament, however, contains fewer Hebrew grammatical constructions than the Septuagint, except in the book of Revelation; where we often find a nominative, when another case should have been substituted, in imitation of the Hebrew, which is without cases.[9] As the limits necessarily assigned to this section do not permit us to abridge the valuable treatises just noticed, we shall here adduce some instances of the Hebraisms found principally in the New Testament, and shall offer a few canons by which to determine them with precision.

1. Thus, *to be called, to arise*, and *to be found*, are the same as *to be*, with the Hebrews, and this latter is in the Old Testament frequently expressed by the former. Compare Isa. lx. 14. 18. lxi. 3. lxii. 12. Zech. viii. 3.

Accordingly, in the New Testament, these terms are often employed one for the other, as in Matt. v. 9. *They shall be called the children of God*: and ver. 19. *He shall be called the least in the kingdom of Heaven!*—1 John iii. 1. *That we should be called the sons of God. To be called* here and in other places is really *to be*, and it is so expressed according to the Hebrew way of speaking. There is the like signification of the word *arise*, as in 2 Sam. xi. 20. *if the king's wrath arise*.—Esth. iv. 14. *Enlargement and deliverance shall arise to the Jews*. Prov. xxiv. 22. *Their calamity shall arise suddenly*.—In all which places the word *arise* signifies no other than actual *being* or *existing*; according to the Hebrew idiom. And hence it is used in a similar manner in the New Testament, as in Luke xxiv. 38. *Why do thoughts arise in your hearts? i. e.* Why are they there?—Matt. xxiv. 24. *There shall arise false Christs, i. e.* there shall actually be at that time such persons according to my prediction. So, *to be found* is among the Hebrews of the same import with the above-mentioned expressions, and accordingly in the Old Testament one is put for the other, as in 1 Sam. xxv 28. *Evil hath not been found in thee*.—2 Chron. xix. 3. *Good things are found in thee*.—Isa. li. 3. *Joy and gladness shall be found therein*.—Dan v. 12. *An excellent spirit was found* in Daniel. In these and other texts the Hebrew word rendered *found* is equivalent to *was*. In imitation of this Hebraism *to be found* is used for *sum* or *existo*, to *be* in the New Testament, as in Luke xvii. 18. *There are not found that returned to give glory to God, save this stranger*.—Acts v. 39. *Lest haply ye be found to fight against God*.—1 Cor. iv. 2. *That a man be found faithful*.—Phil. ii. 8. *Being found in fashion as a man*.—Heb. xi. 5. *Enoch was not found*: which

[1] It is obvious to cite such passages, as Mark i. 16. ii. 14. John xxi. 3. 7. where the occupations of the apostles are plainly and professedly mentioned. It may be more satisfactory to refer to Acts iii. 6. xviii. 3. xx. 34. 2 Cor. viii. and ix. xi. 6. 8, 9. 27. xii. 14, &c. Phil. ii. 25. iv. 10, &c. 1 Thess. ii. 6. 9. 2 Thess. iii. 8. 10. Philem. 11. 18. In these, the attainments, occupations, and associates of the preachers of the Gospel are indirectly mentioned and alluded to; and afford a species of *undesigned* proof, which seems to repel the imputation of fraud, especially if the circumstance of style be taken into the account.

[2] Bp. Maltby's "Illustrations of the Truth of the Christian Religion," pp. 10—12.

[3] Dr. Campbell's Preliminary Dissertation, Diss. i. (vol. i. 3d edit.) p. 50. Bishop Warburton has treated this topic with his usual ability in his "Doctrine of Grace," book i. chapters viii.—x. (Works, vol. viii. pp. 279—302.) See also Michaelis's Introduction vol. . pp. 116—123.

[4] J. B. Carpzov. Primæ Lineæ Hermeneuticæ, p. 16. Pfeiffer, Herm. Sacra, c. vii. § 6. (Op. tom. ii. p. 652.)

[5] Leusden de Dialectis, p. 20. Michaelis, vol. i. p. 123.

[6] In his Philologia Sacra: this work was originally published in 4to. but the best edition is that of M. Fischer, in 8vo. Leipsic, 1778. Vorstius's treatise was abridged by Leusden in his Philologus Græcus; and Leusden's Abridgment was republished by Fischer, with valuable notes and other additions, in 8vo. Leipsic, 1783.

[7] In his Hermeneutica Sacra Novi Testamenti, pars ii. vol. ii. pp. 1—62.

[8] See particularly pp. 273—290. 304—307. and 333—352. See also Schaefer's Institutiones Scripturisticæ, pars ii. pp. 194—205.

[9] Michaelis, vol. i. p. 125. Glassius has given several instances in his Philologia Sacra, canons xxviii. and xxix. vol. i. pp. 67—72. edit. Dathe. Professor Winer divides the Hebraisms of the New Testament into two classes, *perfect* and *imperfect*. Greek Grammar of the New Test. pp. 32—35., where he has given many important examples. Winer's arrangement of Hebraisms is approved by Dr. Alt in his Grammatica Græca Novi Testamenti, p. xiii. (Hal. Sax. 1829. 8vo.)

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is the same with Enoch was not, as is evident from comparing this place with Gen. v. 24. to which it refers. The expression of St. Peter, 1 Ep. ii. 22. *Neither was guile found in his mouth*, is taken from Isa. liii. 9. *Neither was there any deceit* (or guile) *in his mouth*. Whence it appears, that in this, as well as the other texts above cited, *to be found* is equivalent to *was*.

2. Verbs expressive of a person's doing an action, are often used to signify his supposing the thing, or discovering and acknowledging the fact, or his declaring and foretelling the event, especially in the prophetic writings.

Thus, *He that findeth his life shall lose it* (Matt. x. 39.) means, *He that expects to save his life by apostacy, shall lose it.*—So, *Let him become a fool* (1 Cor. iii. 18.) is equivalent to, *Let him become sensible of his folly.*—*Make the heart of this people fat* (Isa. vi. 9, 10.), i. e. *Prophesy that they shall be so.*—*What God hath cleansed* (Acts x. 15.), i. e. *What God hath declared clean.*—*But of that day and hour no man knoweth* (that is, maketh known), *not even the angels who are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father* (Matt. xxiv. 36.), that is, neither man, nor an angel, nor the Son, has permission to make known this secret.

3. Negative verbs are often put for a strong positive affirmation.

Thus, *No good thing will he withhold* (Psal. lxxxiv. 11.) means, *He will give them all good things.*—*Being not weak in the faith* (Rom. iv. 19.), i. e. *Being strong in the faith.*—*I will not leave you comfortless* (John xiv. 18.) means, *I will both protect and give you the most solid comfort.*

4. The privileges of the first-born among the Jews being very great, that which is chief or most eminent in any kind is called the first-born. Gen. xlix. 3.

So, in Job xviii. 13., the *first-born* of death is the most fatal and cruel death.—In Isa. xiv. 30. the *first-born* of the poor denotes those who are most poor and miserable. (See also Psal. lxxxix. 27. Jer. xxxi. 9. Rom. viii. 29. Col. i. 15. 18. Heb. xii. 23.)

5. The word *son* has various peculiar significations. This word was a favourite one among the Hebrews, who employed it to designate a great variety of relations. The *son* of any thing, according to the oriental idiom, may be either what is closely connected with it, dependent on it, like it, the consequence of it, worthy of it, &c.

Thus, the *sons* or *children of Belial*, so often spoken of in the Old Testament, are wicked men, such as are good for nothing, or such as will not be governed.—*Children of light* are such as are divinely enlightened. (Luke xvi. 8. John xii. 36. Ephes. v. 8. 1 Thess. v. 5.)—*Children of disobedience* are disobedient persons. (Ephes. ii. 2.) Children of *Hell* (Matt. xxiii. 15.); of *wrath* (Ephes. ii. 3.); and *Son of perdition* (John xvii. 12. 2 Thess. ii. 3.), are respectively such as are worthy thereof, or *obnoxious* thereto.—A *son of peace* (Luke x. 6.) is one that is worthy of it. (See Matt. x. 13.)—The *children* of a place are the inhabitants of it. (Ezra ii. 1. Psal. cxix. 2. Jer. ii. 16.)—So the word *daughter* is likewise used (2 Kings xix. 21. Psal. xlv. 12. cxxxvii. 8. Lam. ii. 13. Zech. ii. 10.); the *city* being as a *mother*, and the *inhabitants* of it, taken collectively, as her *daughter*. The children of the *promise* are such as embrace and believe the promise of the Gospel. (Gal. iv. 28.)—*Sons of men* (Psal. iv. 2.) are no more than men. And Christ is as often called the *son of man*, as he is man. The *sons of God* (Gen. vi. 2.) are those who professed to be pious, or the children of God[1] (Matt. v. 45.) They are such as imitate him, or are governed by him. (1 John iii. 10.) On the same account are men called the *children of the devil*. So likewise (John viii. 44.) *father* is understood in a like sense; also those who are the *inventors* of any thing, or instruct others therein, are called their fathers. (Gen. iv. 20.)

6. *Name* is frequently used as synonymous with *persons*.

Thus, to believe on the *name* of Christ (John i. 12.) means to believe on him. See similar examples in John iii. 18. xx. 31. Rev. iii. 4. In like manner *soul* is put for person, in Matt. xii. 18. *In whom* my soul *is well pleased*, that is, in whom I am well pleased. See other examples in Gen. xii. 13. xix. 20. Psal. cvi. 15. Job xvi. 4. Prov. xxv. 25. Rom. xiii. 1. Heb. x. 38.

7. As the Jews had but few adjectives in their language, they had recourse to substantives, in order to supply their place.

Hence we find *kingdom and glory* used to denote a *glorious kingdom*. (1 Thess. ii. 12.) *Mouth and wisdom* for *wise discourse* (Luke xxi. 15.); the *patience of hope* for *patient expectation* (1 Thess. i. 3.); *glory of his power* for *glorious power*. (2 Thess. i. 9.) So circumcision and uncircumcision mean circumcised and uncircumcised persons. Anathema (1 Cor. xvi. 22.) means, an excommunicated member. *The spirits of the prophets* (1 Cor. xiv. 32.) means, the *spiritual gifts of the prophets*. When one substantive governs another, in the genitive, one of them is sometimes used as an adjective. *In the body of his flesh*, means, *in his fleshly body* (Col. i. 22.); *bond of perfectness* (Col. iii. 14.) means, a *perfect bond*. In Eph. vi. 12. *spiritual wickedness* means, *wicked spirits*. *Newness of life* (Rom. vii. 6.) means *new life*. *The tree of the knowledge of good and evil* (Gen. ii. 9. compared with iii. 22.) means, *the tree of the knowledge of good*, or *of a pleasure which to taste is an evil*. When two substantives are joined together by the copulative *and*, the one frequently governs the other, as in Dan. iii. 7. *All the people, the nations, and the languages*, mean, *people of all nations and languages*. In Acts xxiii. 6. *the hope and resurrection of the dead* means, *the hope of the resurrection of the dead*. In Col. ii. 8. *Philosophy and vain deceit* denotes *a false and deceitful philosophy*. *Hath brought life and immortality to light* (2 Tim. i. 10.) means, *to bring immortal life to light*. But the expression, *I am the way, the truth, and the life* (John xiv. 6.), means, *I am the true and living way*. It is of importance to observe, that, in the original, nouns in the genitive case sometimes express the object, and sometimes the agent. In Matt. ix. 35. *the gospel of the kingdom*, means, *good news concerning the kingdom*. *Doctrines of devils* (1 Tim. iv. 1.) evidently mean, *doctrines concerning demons*. *The faith of Christ* often denotes the faith which the Lord Jesus Christ enjoins. The righteousness of God sometimes means, his personal perfection, and sometimes that righteousness which he requires of his people. In Col. ii. 11. *the circumcision of Christ* means, *the circumcision enjoined by Christ*. The Hebrews used the word *living* to express the excellence of the thing to which it is applied. Thus, *living water*, or *living fountain*, signifies, *running*, or *excellent water*. *Living stones, living way, living oracles*, mean, *excellent stones, an excellent way*, and *excellent oracles*.

8. The Jews, having no superlatives in their language, employed the words *of God* or *of the Lord* in order to denote the greatness or excellency of a thing.

Thus, in Gen. xiii. 10. a beautiful garden is called the *garden of the Lord*. In 1 Sam. xxvi. 12. a *very deep sleep* is called *the sleep of the Lord*. In 2 Chron. xiv. 14. and xvii. 10. the *fear of the Lord* denotes a very great fear. In Psal. xxxvi. 7. Heb. (6. of English Bibles), the *mountains of God* are exceeding high mountains; and in Psal. lxxx. 10. (Heb.) the *tallest cedars* are termed *cedars of God*. The *voices of God* (Exod. ix. 28. Heb. in our version properly rendered *mighty thunderings*) mean superlatively, loud thunder. Compare also the sublime description of the effects of *thunder*, or the voice of God, in Psal. xxix. 3—8. The production of rain by the electric spark is alluded to, in a very beautiful manner, in Jer. x. 13. *When he* (God) *uttereth his voice, there is a multitude of waters in the heavens.*[2] In Jonah iii. 2. Nineveh is termed an *exceeding great city*; which in the original Hebrew is *a city great to God*. The like mode of expression occurs in the New Testament. Thus in Acts vii. 20. Moses is said to be αστειος τω Θεω, literally *fair to God*, or, as it is correctly rendered in our version, *exceeding fair*. And in 2 Cor. x. 4. the weapons of our warfare are termed δυνατα τω Θεω, literally, *mighty to God*, that is, *exceeding powerful*,—not mighty *through God*, as in our authorized translation.

9. According to the Hebrew idiom, a sword has a *mouth*, or the edge of the sword is called a *mouth*. (Luke xxi. 24.)

They shall fall by the mouth (or, as our translators have correctly rendered it, *the edge of the sword* (Heb. xi. 34)—*escaped the edge of the sword*, is in the Greek στομα, the *mouth* of the sword. So, we read of a *two-mouthed sword* (Heb. iv. 12.), for it is διστομος in the Greek. That this is the Hebrew phraseology may be seen by comparing Judg. iii. 16. Psal. cxlix. 6. Prov. v. 4.

10. The verb γινωσκω, *to know*, in the New Testament, frequently denotes *to approve*.

Thus in Matt. vii. 23. *I never* knew *you* means, I never approved you. A similar construction occurs in 1 Cor. viii. 3. and in Rom. vii. 15. (Gr.) which in our version is rendered *allow*. Compare also Psal. i. 6.

11. Lastly, to *hear* denotes to *understand*, to *attend to*, and to *regard what is said*.

In illustration of this remark, compare Deut. xviii. 15. with Acts iii. 23. and see also Matt. xvii. 5. and xi. 15. xiii. 9. and Luke viii. 8.

It were no difficult task to adduce numerous similar examples of the Hebraisms occurring in the Scriptures, and particularly in the New Testament; but the preceding may suffice to show the benefit that may be derived from duly considering the import of a word in the several passages of Holy Writ in which it occurs.

In order to understand the full force and meaning of the Hebraisms of the New Testament, the following canons have been laid down by the celebrated critic John Augustus Ernesti, and his annotator Professor Morus:—

1. *Compare Hebrew words and forms of expressions with those which occur in good Greek formulæ, particularly in doctrinal passages.*

As all languages have some modes of speech which are common to each other, it sometimes happens that the same word or expression is both Hebrew, and good Greek, and affords a proper meaning, whether we take it in a Hebrew or a Greek sense. But, in such cases, it is preferable to adopt that meaning which a Jew would give, because it is most probable that the sacred writer had this in view rather than the Greek meaning, especially if the latter were not of very frequent occurrence. Thus, the expression, *ye shall die in your sins* (John viii. 24.), if explained according to the Greek idiom, is equivalent to *ye shall persevere in a course of sinful practice to the end of your lives*: but, according to the Hebrew idiom, it not only denotes a physical or temporal death, but also eternal death, and is equivalent to *ye shall be damned on account of your sins*, in rejecting the Messiah. The latter interpretation, therefore, is preferably to be adopted as agreeing best with the Hebrew mode of thinking, and also with the context.

This rule applies particularly to the doctrinal passages of the New Testament, which must in all cases be interpreted according to the genius of the Hebrew language. Thus, *to fear God*, in the language of a Jew, means to reverence or worship God generally. *The knowledge of God*, which is so frequently mentioned in the New Testament, if taken according to the Hebrew idiom, implies not only the mental knowledge of God, but also the worship and reverence of him which flows from it, and, consequently, it is both a *theoretical* and a *practical* knowledge of God. The reason of this rule is obvious. In the first place, our Saviour and his apostles, the first teachers of Christianity, were Jews, who had been educated in the Jewish religion and language; and who (with the exception of Paul), being unacquainted with the nicetics of the Greek language at the time they were called to the apostolic office, could only express themselves in the style and manner peculiar to their country. Secondly, the religion taught in the New Testament agrees with that delivered in the Old Testament, of which it is a *continuation*; so that the ritual worship enjoined by the law of Moses is succeeded by a *spiritual* or *internal* worship; the legal dispensation is succeeded by the Gospel dispensation, in which what was imperfect and obscure is become perfect and clear. Now things that are continued are substantially the same, or of a similar nature. Thus the expression to *come unto God* occurs both in the Old and in the New Testament. In the former it simply means to *go up to the temple*; in the latter it is continued, so that what was imperfect becomes perfect, and it implies the *mental* or *spiritual approach unto the most High*, i. e. the spiritual worshipping of God. In like manner, since the numerous particulars related in the Old Testament concerning the victims, priests, and temple of God are transfer

[1] The various significations of the words "Son," and "Sons of God," according to the oriental idioms, are investigated and elucidated at considerable length by Professor Stuart, in his "Letters on the Eternal Generation of the Son of God," pp. 94—107. Andover (North America), 1822

[2] Dr. A. Clarke on Exod. ix. 28.

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red, in the New Testament, to the atoning death of Christ, to his offering of himself to death, and to the Christian church, the veil of figure being withdrawn, the force and beauty of these expressions cannot be perceived, nor their meaning fully ascertained, unless we interpret the doctrinal parts of the New Testament by the aid of the Old Testament.

2. *The Hebraisms of the New Testament are to be compared with the good Greek occurring in the Septuagint or Alexandrian version.*

As the Hebraisms occurring in the Old Testament are uniformly rendered, in the Septuagint version, in good Greek, this translation may be considered as a commentary and exposition of those passages, and as conveying the sense of the Hebrew nation concerning their meaning. The Alexandrian translation, therefore, ought to be consulted in those passages of the New Testament in which the sacred writers have rendered the Hebraisms literally. Thus, in 1 Cor. xv. 54. death is said to be *swallowed up in victory*, which sentence is a quotation from Isaiah xxv. 8. As the Hebrew word נצח NETSACH, with the ל prefixed, acquires the force of an adverb and means *for ever, without end*, or *incessantly*; and as the Septuagint sometimes renders the word לנצח by εἰς νῖκος in victory, but most commonly by εἰς τέλος, *for ever*, Michaelis is of opinion that this last meaning properly belongs to 1 Cor. xv. 54., which should therefore be rendered *death is swallowed up for ever*. And so it is translated by Bishop Pearce.

3. *In passages that are good Greek, which are common both to the Old and New Testament, the corresponding words in the Hebrew Old Testament are to be compared.*

Several passages occur in the New Testament, that are good Greek, and which are also to be found in the Alexandrian version. In these cases it is not sufficient to consult the Greek language only: recourse should also be had to the Hebrew, because such words of the Septuagint and New Testament have acquired a different meaning from what is given to them by Greek writers, and are sometimes to be taken in a more lax, sometimes in a more strict, sense. Thus, in Gen. v. 24. and Heb. xi. 5. it is said that Enoch *pleased God*, συνεστησεν τω Θεω; which expression in itself is sufficiently clear, and is also good Greek; but if we compare the corresponding expression in the Hebrew, its true meaning is, that *he walked with God*. In rendering this clause by συνεστησεν τω Θεω, the Greek translator did not render the Hebrew *verbatim*, for in that case he would have said περιπατησε συν Θεω; but he translated it correctly as to the sense. Enoch *pleased God*, because he lived habitually as in the sight of God, setting him always before his eyes in every thing he said, thought, and did. In Psal. ii. 1. the Septuagint version runs thus, Ινατι εφυξαν εθνη, *why did the nations rage?* Now though this expression is good Greek, it does not fully render the original Hebrew, which means *why do the nations furiously and tumultuously assemble together, or rebel?* The Septuagint therefore is not sufficiently close. Once more, the expression ουκ οντες, *they are not*, is good Greek, but admits of various meanings, indicating those who are not yet in existence, those who are already deceased, or, figuratively, persons of no authority. This expression occurs both in the Septuagint version of Jer. xxxi. 15. and also in Matt. ii. 18. If we compare the original Hebrew, we shall find that it is to be limited to those who are dead. Hence it will be evident that the collation of the original Hebrew will not only prevent us from taking words either in too lax or too strict a sense, but will also guard us against uncertainty as to their meaning, and lead us to that very sense which the sacred writer intended.

Besides the Hebraisms which we have just considered, there are found in the New Testament various Rabbinical, Syriac, Persic, Latin, and other idioms and words, which are respectively denominated Rabbinisms, Syriasms, Persians, Latinisms, &c. &c. on which it may not be improper to offer a few remarks.

1. *Rabbinisms.*—We have already seen that during, and subsequent to, the Babylonian captivity, the Jewish language sustained very considerable changes.[1] New words, new sentences, and new expressions were introduced, especially terms of science, which Moses or Isaiah would have as little understood, as Cicero or Cæsar would a system of philosophy or theology composed in the language of the schools. This new Hebrew language is called Talmudical, or Rabbinical, from the writings in which it is used; and, although these writings are of much later date than the New Testament, yet, from the coincidence of expressions, it is not improbable that, even in the time of Christ, this was the learned language of the Rabbins.[2] Lightfoot, Schoetgenius, Meuschen, and others, have excellently illustrated the Rabbinisms occurring in the New Testament.

2. *Aramæisms*, or *Syriasms* and *Chaldaisms*.—The vernacular language of the Jews, in the time of Jesus Christ, was the Aramæan; which branched into two dialects, differing in pronunciation rather than in words, and respectively denominated the *Chaldee* or East Aramæan, and the *Syriac*, or West Aramæan. The East Aramæan was spoken at Jerusalem and in Judæa; and was used by Christ in his familiar discourses and conversations with the Jews; the West Aramæan was spoken in "Galilee of the Gentiles." It was therefore natural that numerous Chaldee and Syriac words, phrases, and terms of expression, should be intermixed with the Greek of the New Testament, and even such as are not to be found in the Septuagint; and the existence of these Chaldaisms and Syriasms affords a strong intrinsic proof of the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament. Were this, indeed, "free from these idioms, we might naturally conclude that it was not written either by men of Galilee or Judæa, and therefore was spurious; for, as certainly as the speech of Peter betrayed him to be a Galilæan, when Christ stood before the Jewish tribunal, so certainly must the written language of a man, born, educated, and grown old in Galilee, discover marks of his native idiom, unless we assume the absurd hypothesis, that God hath interposed a miracle, which would have deprived the New Testament of one of its strongest proofs of authenticity."[3]

The following are the principal Aramæan or Syriac and Chaldee words occurring in the New Testament:—Αββα (*Abba*), Father, (Rom. viii. 15.)—Ακελδαμα (*Aceldama*), the field of blood, (Acts i. 19.)—Αρμαγεδδων (*Armageddon*), the mountain of Megiddo, *or the Gospel*, (Rev. xvi. 16.)—Βηθεσδα (*Bethesda*), the house of mercy, (John v. 2.)—Κηφας (*Cephas*), a rock or stone, (John i. 43.)—Κορβαν (*Corban*), a gift or offering dedicated to God, (Mark vii. 11.)—Ελωι, Ελωι, λαμα σαβαχθανι (*Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani*), my God, my God! why hast thou forsaken me! (Matt. xxvii. 46. Mark xv. 34.)—Εφφαθα (*Ephphatha*), be thou opened, (Mark vii. 34.)—Μαμμωνας (*Mammon*), riches, (Matt. vi. 24.)—Μαραν Αθα (*Maran Atha*), the Lord cometh, (1 Cor. xvi. 22.)—Ρακα (*Raca*), thou worthless fellow! (Matt. v. 22.)—Ταλιθα κουμι (*Talitha cumi*), maid arise! (Mark v. 41.)[4]

3. *Latinisms.*—"The sceptre having departed from Judah" (Gen. xlix. 10.) by the reduction of Judæa into a Roman province, the extension of the Roman laws and government would naturally follow the success of the Roman arms; and if to these we add the imposition of tribute by the conquerors, together with the commercial intercourse necessarily consequent on the political relations of the Jews with Rome, we shall be enabled readily to account for the Latinisms, or Latin words and phrases, that occur in the New Testament.

The following is a list of the principal Latinisms:—Ασσαριον (*assarion*, from the Latin word *assarius*), equivalent to about three quarters of a farthing of our money, (Matt. x. 29. Luke xii. 6.)—Κηνσος (*census*), assessment or rate, (Matt. xvii. 25.)—Κεντουριων (*centurio*), a centurion, (Mark xv. 39. 44, 45.)—Κολωνια (*colonia*), a colony, (Acts xvi. 12.)—Κουστωδια (*custodia*), a guard of soldiers, (Matt. xxvii. 65, 66. xxviii. 11.)—Δηναριος (*denarius*), a Roman penny, equivalent to about seven-pence halfpenny of our money, (Luke vii. 41.)—Φραγελλιον (*flagellum*), a scourge, (John ii. 15.); from this word is derived Φραγελλοω, to scourge with whips, (Matt. xxvii. 26. Mark xv. 15.) As this was a Roman punishment, it is no wonder that we find it expressed by a term nearly Roman.—Ιουστος (*Justus*), (Acts i. 23.)—Λεγιων (*legio*), a legion, (Matt. xxvi. 53.)—Κοδραντης (*quadrans*), a Roman coin equivalent to about three fourths of an English halfpenny, (Matt. v. 26.)—Λιβερτινος (*libertinus*), a freed man, (Acts vi. 9.)—Λεντιον (*linteum*), a towel, (John xiii. 4.)—Μακελλον (*macellum*), shambles, (1 Cor. x. 25.)—Μεμβρανα (*membrana*), parchment, (2 Tim. iv. 13.)—Μιλιον (*mille*), a mile; the Roman mile consisting of a thousand paces, (Matt. v. 41.)—Ξεστης (*sextarius*), a kind of pot, (Mark vii. 4. 8.)—Πραιτωριον (*prætorium*), a judgment hall, or place where the prætor or other chief magistrate heard and determined causes, (Matt. xxvii. 27.)—Σημικινθιον or Σημικινθιον (*semicinctium*), an apron, (Acts xix. 12.)—Σικαριος (*sicarius*), an assassin, (Acts xxi. 38.)—Σουδαριον (*sudarium*), a napkin, or handkerchief, (Luke xix. 20.)—Σπεκουλατωρ (*speculator*), a soldier employed as an *executioner*, (Mark vi. 27.)—Ταβερνα (*taberna*), a tavern, (Acts xxviii. 15.)—Τιτλος (*titulus*), a title, (John xix. 19, 20.)[5]

[1] See p. 190. *supra*.

[2] Michaelis, vol. i. p. 129., who has given some illustrative examples. Mori Acroases super Hermeneuticæ Novi Testamenti, vol. i. p. 238. See also Olearius de Stylo Novi Testamenti, membr. iii. aphorism vii. (Thesaurus Theologicus Nov. Test. tom. ii. pp. 23, 24.)

[3] Michaelis, vol. i. p. 135. Morus, vol. i. p. 237. Arigler, Hermeneutica Biblica. pp. 83—88. Bishop Marsh, in his notes to Michaelis, states, that a new branch of the Aramæan language has been discovered by Professor Adler, which differs in some respects from the East and West Aramæan dialects. For an account of it, he refers to the third part of M. Adler's *Novi Testamenti Versiones Syriacæ, Simplex, Philoxeniana, et Hierosolymitana, denuo examinatæ*, &c. 4to. Hafniæ, 1789, of which work we have not been able to obtain a sight. Pfeiffer has an amusing disquisition on the Galilæan dialect of Peter, which in substance corresponds with the above-cited remark of Michaelis, though Pfeiffer does not seem to have known the exact names of the dialects then in use among the Jews. Op. tom. i. pp. 616—622

[4] Additional examples of Chaldaisms and Syriasms may be seen in Olearius de Stylo Novi Testamenti, membr. iii. aphorism vi. (Thesaurus Theologico-Philologicus, tom. ii. pp. 22, 23.)

[5] Pritii Introductio ad Lectionem Novi Testamenti, pp. 320—322 Olearius sect. 2. membr. iii. aph. ix. pp. 24, 25. Arigler, Hermeneutica Biblica, p. 99. Michaelis, vol. i. pp. 162—173. Morus, vol. i. pp. 235, 236. Olearius and Michaelis have collected numerous instances of Latinizing phrases occurring in the New Testament, which want of room compels us to omit. Full elucidations of the various idioms above cited are given by Schleusner and Parkhurst in their Lexicons to the New Testament. The Græco-Barbara Novi Testamenti (16mo. Amsterdam, 1649), of Cheromæus, may also be consulted when it can be met with

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4. From the unavoidable intercourse of the Jews with the neighbouring nations, the Arabs, Persians (to whose sovereigns they were formerly subject), and the inhabitants of Asia Minor, both words and expressions may occasionally be traced in the New Testament, which have been thus necessarily introduced among the Jews. These words, however, are not sufficiently numerous to constitute so many entire dialects; for instance, there are not more than six or seven Persian words in the whole of the New Testament.[1] These cannot, therefore, be in strictness termed PERSISMS; and though the profoundly learned Michaelis is of opinion that the Zend-avesta, or ancient book of the Zoroastrian religion, translated by M. Anquetil du Perron, throws considerable light on the phraseology of Saint John's writings; yet, as the authenticity of that work has been questioned, not to say disproved, by eminent orientalists, it cannot (we apprehend) be with propriety applied to the elucidation of the New Testament. From the number of words used by Saint Paul in peculiar senses, as well as words not ordinarily occurring in Greek writers, Michaelis is of opinion (after Jerome) that they were provincial idioms used in Cilicia in the age in which he lived; and hence he denominates them CILICISMS.[2]

The preceding considerations and examples may suffice to convey some idea of the genius of the Greek language of the New Testament. For an account of the principal editions of the Greek Testament, see the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to Volume II. PART I. CHAP. I. SECT. III.; and for the most useful Lexicons that can be consulted, see PART II. CHAP. IV SECT. III.

SECTION III.

ON THE COGNATE OR KINDRED LANGUAGES.

I. *The Aramæan, with its two dialects;* 1. *The Chaldee;* 2. *The Syriac.*—II. *The Arabic, with its derivative, the Ethiopic.*—III. *Use and importance of the cognate languages to sacred criticism.*

THE *Cognate* or *Kindred* Languages are those which are allied to the Hebrew, as being sister-dialects of the Shemitish languages, all of which preserve nearly the same structure and analogy. The principal cognate languages are the Aramæan, and the Arabic, with their respective dialects or derivatives.

I. The ARAMÆAN LANGUAGE (which in the authorized English version of 2 Kings xviii. 26., and Dan. ii. 4., is rendered the *Syrian* or *Syriac*) derives its name from the very extensive region of Aram, in which it was anciently vernacular. As that region extended from the Mediterranean sea through Syria and Mesopotamia, beyond the river Tigris, the language there spoken necessarily diverged into various dialects; the two principal of which are the Chaldee and the Syriac.

1. The CHALDEE, sometimes called by way of distinction the *East-Aramæan* dialect, was formerly spoken in the province of Babylonia, between the Euphrates and the Tigris, the original inhabitants of which cultivated this language as a distinct dialect, and communicated it to the Jews during the Babylonian captivity. By means of the Jews it was transplanted into Palestine, where it gradually became the vernacular tongue; though it did not completely displace the old Hebrew until the time of the Maccabees. Although the Aramæan, as spoken by Jews, partook somewhat of the Hebrew character, no entire or very important corruption of it took place; and to this circumstance alone the Babylonians are indebted for the survival, or at least the partial preservation, of their language, which, even in the mother-country, has, since the spread of Mohammedism, been totally extinct.

The principal remains of the Chaldee dialect now extant will be found,—

(1.) In the Canonical Books, Ezra iv. 8. to vi. 18. and vii. 12—26. Jer. x. 11., and Dan. ii. 4. to the end of chapter vii.; and

(2.) In the Targums or Chaldee Paraphrases of the books of the Old Testament, of which an account will be found in chap. iii. sect. iii. § 1. *infra.*[3]

2. The SYRIAC or *West-Aramæan* was spoken both in Syria and Mesopotamia; and, after the captivity, it became vernacular in Galilee. Hence, though several of the sacred writers of the New Testament expressed themselves in Greek, their ideas were Syriac; and they consequently used many Syriac idioms, and a few Syriac words.[4] The chief difference between the Syriac and Chaldee consists in the vowel points or mode of pronunciation; and, notwithstanding the forms of their respective letters are very dissimilar, yet the correspondence between the two dialects is so close, that if the Chaldee be written in Syriac characters without points, it becomes Syriac, with the exception of a single inflection in the formation of the verbs.[5] The earliest document still extant in the Syriac dialect is the Peschito or old Syriac version of the Old and New Testament, of which an account will be found in chap. iii. sect. iii. § 3. *infra.* The great assistance, which a knowledge of this dialect affords to the critical understanding of the Hebrew Scriptures, is illustrated at considerable length by the elder Michaelis, in a philological dissertation, originally published in 1756, and reprinted in the first volume of MM. Pott's and Ruperti's "Sylloge Commentationum Theologicarum."[6]

II. Though more remotely allied to the Hebrew than either of the preceding dialects, the ARABIC LANGUAGE possesses sufficient analogy to explain and illustrate the former, and is not, perhaps, inferior in importance to the Chaldee or the Syriac; particularly as it is a living language, in which almost every subject has been discussed, and has received the minutest investigation from native writers and lexicographers. The Arabic language has many roots in common with the Hebrew tongue; and this again contains very many words which are no longer to be found in the Hebrew writings that are extant, but which exist in the Arabic language. The learned Jews, who flourished in Spain from the tenth to the twelfth century under the dominion of the Moors, were the first who applied Arabic to the illustration of the Hebrew language; and subsequent Christian writers, as Bochart, the elder Schultens, Olaus Celsius, and others, have diligently and successfully applied the Arabian historians, geographers, and authors on natural history, to the explanation of the Bible.[7]

The ETHIOPIC language, which is immediately derived from the Arabic, has been applied with great advantage to the illustration of the Scriptures by Bochart, De Dieu, Hottinger, and Ludolph (to whom we are indebted for an Ethiopic grammar and lexicon);[8] and Pfeiffer has explained a few passages in the books of Ezra and Daniel, by the aid of the PERSIAN language.[9]

III. The *Cognate* or *Kindred Languages* are of considerable use in sacred criticism. They may lead us to discover the occasions of such false readings as transcribers unskilled in the Hebrew, but accustomed to some of the other dialects, have made by writing words in the form of that dialect, instead of the Hebrew form. Further, the knowledge of these languages will frequently serve to prevent ill-grounded conjectures that a passage is corrupted, by showing that the common reading is susceptible of the very sense which such passage requires; and when different readings are found in copies of the Bible, these languages may sometimes assist us in determining which of them ought to be preferred.[10]

[1] Such are αγγαρευειν, γαζα, μαγος, αναγαριτης, μυσταιρια, and perhaps γαζα.

[2] Michaelis, vol. i. pp 149—162.

[3] Jahn, Elementa Aramaicæ Linguæ, p. 2. Walton's Prolegomena, c. xii. § 2, 3. (pp. 559—562. edit. Dathii.) Rigge's Manual of the Chaldee Language, pp. 9—12. (Boston, Mass. 1832.) To his excellent Chaldee Grammar Mr. R. has appended a Chrestomathy, containing the biblical Chaldee passages, and select portions of the Targums with very useful notes and a vocabulary, to facilitate the acquisition of this dialect to the biblical student.

[4] Masclef, Gramm. Hebr. vol. ii. p. 114. Wotton's Misna, vol. i. præf. p xviii.

[5] Walton, Prol. c. xiii. § 2, 3, 4, 5. (pp. 594—603.)

[6] D. Christiani Benedicti Michaelis Dissertatio Philologica, quâ Lumina Syriaca pro illustrando Ebraismo Sacro exibentur (Halæ, 1756), in Pott's and Ruperti's Sylloge, tom. i. pp. 170—244. The editors have inserted in the notes some additional observations from Michaelis's own copy.

[7] Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 82, 83. 106, 107. Walton, Prol. c. xiv. § 2—7. 14. (pp. 635—641. 649.) Bishop Marsh's Divinity Lectures, part iii. p. 28.

[8] Bauer, Herm. Sacr. p. 107. Walton, Prol. c. xvi. § 6—8. (pp. 674—678.)

[9] Dubia Vexata, cent. iv. no. 66. (Op. tom. i. pp. 420—422.) and Herm. Sacra, c. vi. § 9. (Ibid. tom. ii p. 648.) Walton, Prol. c. xvi. § 5. (pp. 691 692.)

[10] Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism, p. 63.—For Notices of the principal Grammars and Lexicons of the Cognate Languages, see the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to the second Volume, PART II. CHAP. IV. SECT. IV

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CHAPTER II.

CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

SECTION I.

HISTORY AND CONDITION OF THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 1. HISTORY OF THE HEBREW TEXT.

From the writing of the books of the Old Testament, until the time of Jesus Christ; 1. *History of the Pentateuch;* 2. *Ancient history of the remaining books of the Old Testament.*—II. *From the time of Jesus Christ to the age of the Masorites;* 1. *History of the text in the first century;* 2. *From the second to the fifth century;* 3. *Particularly in the time of Jerome.*—III. *From the age of the Masorites to the invention of the art of printing;* 1. *Object of the Masora,—its object and critical value;* 2. *Oriental and occidental readings;* 3. *Recensions of Aaron ben Asher and Jacob ben Naphtali;* 4. *Standard copies of the Hebrew Scriptures in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.*—IV. *From the invention of the art of printing to our own time.*

THE CRITICAL HISTORY of the Text of the Old Testament has been divided into various periods. Dr. Kennicott has specified *six;* Bauer divides it into *two* principal epochs, each of which is subdivided into two periods; Jahn has *five* periods; and Muntinghe, whose arrangement is here adopted, has disposed it into *four* periods, viz. 1. From the writing of the Hebrew books until the time of Jesus Christ; 2. From the time of Christ to the age of the Masorites; 3. From the age of the Masorites to the invention of the art of printing; and, 4. From the invention of printing to our own time.

I. HISTORY OF THE HEBREW TEXT FROM THE WRITING OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT UNTIL THE TIME OF JESUS CHRIST.

1. We commence with the Pentateuch, concerning the earliest history of which we have more minute information than we have of the other books of the Old Testament. Previously to the building of Solomon's Temple, the Pentateuch was deposited BY[1] *the side of the ark of the covenant* (Deut. xxxi. 24—26.), to be consulted by the Israelites; and after the erection of that sacred edifice, it was deposited in the treasury, together with all the succeeding productions of the inspired writers. On the subsequent destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, the autographs of the sacred books are supposed to have perished: but some learned men have conjectured that they were preserved, because it does not appear that Nebuchadnezzar evinced any particular enmity against the Jewish religion; and in the account of the sacred things carried to Babylon (2 Kings xxv. 2 Chron. xxxvi. Jer. lii.), no mention is made of the sacred books. However this may be, it is a fact, that copies of these autographs were carried to Babylon; for we find the prophet Daniel quoting the law (Dan. ix. 11. 13.), and also expressly mentioning the prophecies of Jeremiah (ix. 2.), which he could not have done, if he had never seen them. We are further informed that, on the finishing of the temple in the sixth year of Darius, the Jewish worship was fully re-established, according *as it is written in the book of Moses* (Ezra vi. 18.); which would have been impracticable, if the Jews had not had copies of the law then among them. But what still more clearly proves that they must have had transcripts of their sacred writings during, as well as subsequent to, the Babylonish captivity, is the fact, that when the people requested Ezra to produce the law of Moses (Nehem. viii. 1.), they did not entreat him to get it dictated *anew* to them; but that he would bring forth *the book of the law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded to Israel.* Further, long before the time of Jesus Christ, another edition of the Pentateuch was in the hands of the Samaritans, which has been preserved to our time; and though it differs in some instances from the text of the Hebrew Pentateuch, yet upon the whole it accurately agrees with the Jewish copies.[2] And in the year 286 or 285 before the Christian æra, the Pentateuch was translated into the Greek language;[3] and this version, whatever errors may now be detected in it, was so executed as to show that the text, from which it was made, agreed with the text which we now have.

2. With regard to the entire Hebrew Bible.—About fifty years after the rebuilding of the temple, and the consequent re-establishment of the Jewish religion, it is generally admitted that the canon of the Old Testament was settled; but by whom this great work was accomplished, is a question on which there is considerable difference of opinion. On the one hand it is contended that it could not have been done by Ezra himself; because, though he has related his zealous efforts in restoring the law and worship of Jehovah, yet on the settlement of the canon he is totally silent; and the silence of Nehemiah, who has recorded the pious labours of Ezra, as well as the silence of Josephus, who is diffuse in his encomiums on him, has further been urged as a presumptive argument why he could not have collected the Jewish writings. But to these hypothetical reasonings we may oppose the constant tradition of the Jewish church, uncontradicted both by their enemies and by Christians, that Ezra with the assistance of the members of the great synagogue (among whom were the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi), did collect as many copies of the sacred writings as he could, and from them set forth a correct edition of the canon of the Old Testament, with the exception of his own writings, the book of Nehemiah, and the prophecy of Malachi; which were subsequently annexed to the canon by Simon the Just, who is said to have been the last of the great synagogue. In this Esdrine text, the errors of the former copyists were corrected; and Ezra (being himself an inspired writer) added in several places, throughout the books of this edition, what appeared necessary to illustrate, connect, or complete them.[4] Whether Ezra's own copy of the Jewish Scriptures perished in the pillage of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, is a question that cannot now be ascertained; nor is it material, since we know that Judas Maccabæus repaired the temple, and replaced every thing requisite for the performance of divine worship (1 Macc. iv. 36—59.), which included a correct, if not Ezra's own, copy of the Scriptures.[5] It is not improbable, that in this latter temple an ark was constructed, in which the sacred books of the Jews were preserved until the destruction of Jerusalem, and the subversion of the Jewish polity by the Romans under Titus, before whom the volume of the law was carried in triumph, among the other spoils which had been taken at Jerusalem.[6]

II. HISTORY OF THE HEBREW TEXT FROM THE TIME OF JESUS CHRIST TO THE AGE OF THE MASORITES.

1. As the Jews were dispersed through various countries, to whose inhabitants Greek was vernacular, they gradually acquired the knowledge of this language, and even cultivated Greek literature: it cannot therefore excite surprise, that the Septuagint version should be so generally used, as to cause the Hebrew original to be almost entirely neglected. Hence the former was read in the synagogues: it appears to have been exclusively followed by the Alexandrian Jew, Philo, and it was most frequently, though not solely, consulted by Josephus, who was well acquainted with Hebrew.[7]

[1] So it should be rendered;—not IN *the side of the ark.* See Dr. Kennicott's Diss. ii. p. 298.

[2] See a fuller account of the Samaritan Pentateuch, *infra,* sect. ii. pp. 43, 44.

[3] See a critical account of the Septuagint version, in chap. iii. sect. iii. § 2. *infra.*

[4] Prideaux's Connection, part i. book v. sub anno 446. vol. i. pp. 329—344. and the authorities there cited. Carpzov. Introd. ad Libros Biblicos Vet. Test. pp. 24. 308, 309.

[5] Bp. Tomline's Elements of Theology, vol. i. p. 11.

[6] Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 3. § 11.

[7] Muntinghe, Expositio Criticea Sacræ, pp. 51, 52. Jahn et Ackermann, Introd. ad Libros Vet. Fœd. § 90.

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9. In the second century, both Jews and Christians applied themselves sedulously to the study of the Hebrew Scriptures. Besides the Peschito or Old Syriac version (if indeed this was not executed at the close of the first century), which was made from the Hebrew for the Syrian Christians, three Greek versions were undertaken and completed; one for the Jews by Aquila, an apostate from Christianity to Judaism, and two for the Ebionites or semi-Christians by Theodotion and Symmachus.[1] The Hebrew text, as it existed in the East from year 200 to the end of the fifth century, is presented to us by Origen in his Hexapla, by Jonathan in his Targum or Paraphrase on the Prophets, and by the rabbins in the Gemaras or Commentaries on the Misna or Traditionary Expositions of the Hebrew Scriptures. The varieties are scarcely more numerous or more important than in the version of the second century. But the discrepancies, which were observed in the Hebrew manuscripts in the second or at least in the third century, excited the attention of the Jews, who began to collate copies, and to collect various readings; which, being distributed into several classes, appear in the Jerusalem Talmud about the year 280. They are as follows:—

(1.) עיטור סופרים (ITTUR SOPHERIM), or the *Rejection of the Scribes*: to this class belong five places, in which the reader is directed to reject the prefix ו vau, which was found in the Hebrew text.[2] As we have no information concerning the "rejection of the scribes," except the slight notice contained in the Talmud, Morin is of opinion, that it is only a fragment of some corrections and a revision of the sacred text made by some Jewish doctors, whose time and circumstances are utterly unknown.[3]

(2.) תקון סופרים (TSIKUN SOPHERIM), or the *Correction of the Scribes*, contains sixteen or eighteen places, which were corrupted in the Hebrew manuscripts, and the correct reading of which was restored by the collation of copies.

(3.) *Extraordinary Points* placed over one, more, or all the letters of some word, which, as appears from the collation of ancient versions and the Samaritan text, denote that those words and letters were not found by the copyists in some manuscripts. Of this description of various readings there are fifteen examples. John ascribes the origin of these points—or at least of many of them—to the unwillingness of a transcriber to erase a letter or word improperly written, which he rather chose to denounce by this extraordinary point, while other subsequent copyists transcribed the points along with the word.[4]

(4.) In many Jewish manuscripts and printed editions of the Old Testament, a word is often found with a small circle annexed to it, or with an asterisk over it, and a word written in the margin of the same line. The former is called the קתיב (KHETIB), that is, *written*, and the latter, קרי (KERI), that is, *read* or reading, as if to intimate, write in this manner, but read in that manner. For instance, when they meet with certain words, they substitute others: thus, instead of the sacred name Jehovah, they substitute Adonai or Elohim; and in lieu of terms not strictly consistent with decency, they pronounce others less indelicate or more agreeable to our ideas of propriety.[5]

(5.) The סביריס (SBIRIM) are *critical conjectures* of the more ancient rabbins, on certain passages of Scripture.[6]

3. The state of the Hebrew text, in the west of Europe, during the fifth century, is exhibited to us in the Latin version made by Jerome from the original Hebrew, and in his commentaries on the Scriptures. From a careful examination of these two sources several important facts have been collected, particularly that

(1.) The Old Testament contained the same books which are at present found in our copies.

(2.) The form of the Hebrew letters was the same which we now have, as is evident from Jerome's frequently taking notice of the similar letters, beth and caph, resh and daleth, mem and samech, &c.

(3.) The modern vowel points, accents, and other diacritic signs were utterly unknown to Jerome. Some words were of doubtful meaning to him, because they were destitute of vowels.

(4.) The divisions of chapters and verses did not exist in any Hebrew MSS.; but it should seem that both the Hebrew original and the Septuagint Greek version were divided into larger sections, which differ from those in our copies, because Jerome, in his commentary on Amos vi. 9., says that what is the beginning of another chapter in the Hebrew, is in the Septuagint the end of the preceding.[7]

(5.) The Hebrew MS. used by Jerome for the most part agrees with the Masoretic text; though there are a few unimportant various readings.[8]

III. HISTORY OF THE HEBREW TEXT FROM THE AGE OF THE MASORITES TO THE INVENTION OF THE ART OF PRINTING.

1. After the destruction of Jerusalem and the consequent dispersion of the Jews into various countries of the Roman empire, some of those who were settled in the East applied themselves to the cultivation of literature, and opened various schools, in which they taught the Scriptures. One of the most distinguished of these academies was that established at Tiberias in Palestine, which Jerome mentions as existing in the fifth century.[9] The doctors of this school, early in the sixth century, agreed to revise the sacred text, and issue an accurate edition of it; for which purpose they collected all the scattered critical and grammatical observations they could obtain, which appeared likely to contribute towards fixing both the reading and interpretation of Scripture, into one book, which they called מסורה (MASORAH), that is, *tradition*, because it consisted of remarks which they had received from others. Some rabbinical authors pretend that, when God gave the law to Moses on Mount Sinai, he taught him, first, its *true reading*, and, secondly, its *true interpretation*: and that both these were handed down by oral tradition, from generation to generation, until at length they were committed to writing. The former of these, viz. the true reading, is the subject of the Masora; the latter or true interpretation is that of the *Mishna* and *Gemara*, of which an account is given in a subsequent chapter of the present volume.

The Masoretic notes and criticisms relate to the books, verses, words, letters, vowel points, and accents. The *Masorites* or Massorets, as the inventors of this system were called, were the first who distinguished the books and sections of books into verses. They marked the number of all the verses of each book and section, and placed the amount at the end of each in numeral letters, or in some symbolical word formed out of them; and they also marked the middle verse of each book. Further, they noted the verses where something was supposed to be forgotten; the words which they believed to be changed; the letters which they deemed to be superfluous; the repetitions of the same verses; the different reading of the words which are redundant or defective; the number of times that the same word is found at the beginning, middle, or end of a verse; the different significations of the same word; the agreement or conjunction of one word with another; what letters are pronounced, and what are inverted, together with such as hang perpendicular, and they took the number of each, for the Jews cherish the sacred books with such reverence, that they make a scruple of changing the situation of a letter which is evidently misplaced; supposing that some mystery has occasioned the alteration. They have likewise reckoned which is the middle letter of the Pentateuch, which is the middle clause of each book, and how many times each letter of the alphabet occurs in all the Hebrew Scriptures. The following table from Bishop Walton will give an idea of their laborious minuteness in these researches:—

		Times.
א Aleph	occurs in the Hebrew Bible	42377
ב Beth		38218
ג Gimel		29537
ד Daleth		32530
ה He		47554
ו Vau		76922
ז Zain		22867
ח Cheth		23447
ט Teth		11052
י Yod		66420
כ Caph		48253
ל Lamed		41517

[1] An account of these versions and of the biblical labours of Origen is given in chap. iii. sect. iii. § 2. *infra*.

[2] Bauer has given the examples at length, in his Critica Sacra, p. 208.

[3] Morini Exercitationes Biblicæ, lib. ii. exercit. 22. cap. i. § 6.

[4] Muntinghe, Expositio Crit. Sacræ, p. 55. Jahn et Ackermann, Introd. § 107. Cappel's Critica Sacra by Vogel and Scharfenberg, tom. i. p. 455.

[5] The Keri and Khetib are copiously discussed by Bishop Walton, Prolegg. viii. §§ 18—26. Cappel, Critica Sacra, lib. iii. c. i.—iii. xiv.—xvi., and by Mr. Whittaker, in his Historical and Critical Inquiry into the Interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures, pp. 114—178.

[6] See a full account of them in Cappel's Critica Sacra, lib. vi. c. 8.

[7] In Hebraicis alterius hoc capituli exordium est; apud LXX vero finis superioris.

[8] Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 212—215.

[9] Praefat. ad Comment. in libros Paralipomenon.

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		Times.
מ Mem	occurs in the Hebrew Bible	77778
נ Nun		41696
ס Samech		13580
ע Ain		20175
פ Pe		22725
צ Tsaddi		21882
ק Koph		22972
ר Resch		22147
ש Shin		32148
ת Tau		59343[1]

Such is the celebrated Masora of the Jews. At first, it did not accompany the text; afterwards the greatest part of it was written in the margin. In order to bring it within the margin, it became necessary to abridge the work itself. This abridgment was called the *little* Masora, *Masora parva;* but, being found too short, a more copious abridgment was inserted, which was distinguished by the appellation of the *great* Masora, *Masora magna.* The omitted parts were added at the end of the text, and called the *final* Masora, *Masora finalis.*[2]

The age when the Masorites lived has been much controverted. Some ascribe the Masoretic notes to Mosés; others attribute them to Ezra and the members of the great synagogue, and their successors after the restoration of the temple worship, on the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. Archbishop Usher places the Masorites before the time of Jerome; Cappel, at the end of the fifth century; Bishop Marsh is of opinion, that they cannot be dated higher than the fourth or fifth century; Bishop Walton, Basnage, Jahn, and others, refer them to the rabbins of Tiberias in the sixth century, and suppose that they commenced the Masora, which was augmented and continued at different times, by various authors; so that it was not the work of one man, or of one age. In proof of this opinion, which we think the most probable, we may remark, that the notes which relate to the variations in the pointing of particular words, must have been made *after* the introduction of the points, and consequently after the Talmud; other notes must have been made before the Talmud was finished, because it is from these notes that it speaks of the points *over* the letters, and of the variations in their size and position. Hence it is evident, that the *whole* was not the work of the Masorites of Tiberias; further, no good reason can be assigned to prove the Masora the work of Ezra, or his contemporaries; much appears to show it was not: for, in the *first* place, most of the notes relate to the vowel points, which, we have seen,[3] were not introduced until upwards of fifteen hundred years after his time, and the remarks made about the shape and position of the letters are unworthy of an inspired writer, being more adapted to the superstition of the rabbins, than to the gravity of a divine teacher. *Secondly*, No one can suppose that the prophets collected various readings of their own prophecies, though we find this has been done, and makes part of what is called the Masora. *Thirdly*, The rabbins have never scrupled to abridge, alter, or reject any part of these notes, and to intermix their own observations, or those of others, which is a proof that they did not believe them to be the work of the prophets; for in that case they would possess equal authority with the text, and should be treated with the same regard. *Lastly*, Since all that is useful in the Masora appears to have been written since Ezra's time, it is impossible to ascribe to him what is useless and trifling; and from these different reasons it may be concluded that no part of the Masora was written by Ezra. And even though we were to admit that he began it, that would not lead us to receive the present system in the manner the Jews do, because, since we cannot now distinguish what he wrote, and since we find many things in it plainly unworthy of an inspired writer, we may justly refuse it the credit due to inspiration, unless his part were actually separated from what is the work of others. On the whole, then, it appears, that what is called the Masora is entitled to no greater reverence or attention than may be claimed by any other human compilation.[4]

Concerning the *value* of the Masoretic system of notation, the learned are greatly divided in opinion. Some have highly commended the undertaking, and have considered the work of the Masorites as a monument of stupendous labour and unwearied assiduity, and as an admirable invention for delivering the sacred text from a multitude of equivocations and perplexities to which it was liable, and for putting a stop to the unbounded licentiousness and rashness of transcribers and critics, who often made alterations in the text on their own private authority. Others, however, have altogether censured the design, suspecting that the Masorites corrupted the purity of the text by substituting, for the ancient and true reading of their forefathers, another reading more favourable to their prejudices, and more opposite to Christianity, whose testimonies and proofs they were desirous of weakening as much as possible.

Without adopting either of these extremes, Bishop Marsh observes, that "the text itself, as regulated by the learned Jews of Tiberias, was probably the result of a collation of manuscripts. But as those Hebrew critics were cautious of introducing *too many* corrections into the text, they noted in the margins of their manuscripts, or in their critical collections, such various readings, derived from other manuscripts, either by themselves or by their predecessors, as appeared to be worthy of attention. This is the *real* origin of those marginal or Masoretic readings which we find in many editions of the Hebrew Bible. But the propensity of the later Jews to seek mystical meanings in the plainest facts gradually induced the belief that both textual and marginal readings proceeded from the sacred writers themselves; and that the latter were transmitted to posterity by *oral* tradition, as conveying some mysterious application of the *written* words. They were regarded therefore as materials, not of *criticism*, but of *interpretation*."[5] The same eminent critic elsewhere remarks, that notwithstanding all the care of the Masorites to preserve the sacred text without variations, "if their success has not been complete, either in *establishing* or *preserving* the Hebrew text, they have been guilty of the only fault which is common to every human effort."[6]

2. In the period between the sixth and the tenth centuries, the Jews had two celebrated academies, one at Babylon in the east, and another at Tiberias in the west; where their literature was cultivated, and the Scriptures were very frequently transcribed. Hence arose two *recensions* or editions of the Hebrew Scriptures, which were collated in the eighth or ninth century. The differences or various readings observed in them were noted, and have been transmitted to our time under the appellation of the ORIENTAL and OCCIDENTAL or EASTERN and WESTERN READINGS. They are variously computed at 210, 216, and 220, and are printed by Bishop Walton in the Appendix to his splendid edition of the Polyglott Bible. It is worthy of remark, that not one of these various readings is found in the Septuagint: they do not relate to vowel points or accents, nor do any of them affect the sense. Our printed editions vary from the eastern readings in fifty-five places.[7]

[1] Bishop Walton's Prolegom. c. viii. §8. p. 275. edit. Dathii. In the last century, an anonymous writer published the following calculation similar to that of the Masorites, for the ENGLISH VERSION of the Bible, under the title of the *Old and New Testament Dissected.* It is said to have occupied three years of the compiler's life, and is a singular instance of the trifling employments to which superstition has led mankind.

THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT DISSECTED.

Books in the Old	39	In the New	27	Total	66
Chapters	929		260		1,189
Verses	23,214		7,959		31,173
Words	592,439		181,253		773,692
Letters	2,728,800		838,380		3,567 150

Apocrypha

Chapters	183
Verses	6,081
Words	252,185

The middle chapter, and the least in the Bible, is Psalm 117.
The middle verse is the eighth of the 118th Psalm.
The middle line 2d of Chronicles, 4th chapter, 16th verse.
The word *and* occurs in the Old Testament, 35,543 times.
The same word occurs in the New Testament, 10,684 times.
The word Jehovah occurs 6855 times.

Old Testament.

The middle book is Proverbs.
The middle chapter is Job 29th.
The middle verse is 2d Chronicles, 20th chapter, between the 17th and 18th verses.
The least verse is 1st Chronicles, 1st chapter and 25th verse.

New Testament.

The middle book is Thessalonians 2d.
The middle chapter is between the 13th and 14th Romans.
The middle verse is chapter 17th of Acts, 17th verse.
The least verse is 11th chapter of John, verse 35.

The 21st verse of the 7th chapter of Ezra has all the Letters in the Alphabet except j.
The 19th chapter of the 2d of Kings and the 37th of Isaiah are alike.

[2] Butler's Horæ Biblicæ, vol. i. p. 61.
[3] See pp. 191, 192. of the present volume.
[4] Wachner's Antiquitates Hebræorum, vol. i. pp. 93—137. Walton, Prol viii. §§ 1—16.
[5] Lectures in Divinity, part ii. p. 84.
[6] Ibid. p. 98.
[7] Walton, Proleg. viii. §§ 27, 28. Cappel, Critica Sacra, lib. iii. c. 17. Bauer Critica Sacra. pp. 223, 224.

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3. The attention paid by the Jews to the study of the Scriptures, during this period, is further evinced by several Chaldee paraphrases which were made about this time, and by the Arabic version of the Scriptures executed by rabbi SAADIAS GAON, an Egyptian Jew, who died A. D. 942, of which an account is given in chap. iii. sect. iii. § 3. *infra*.

To the tenth century may be referred the completion and establishment of the modern system of vowel points. At length, in the early part of the eleventh century, AARON BEN ASHER, president of the academy at Tiberias, and JACOB BEN NAPHTALI, president of the academy at Babylon, collated the manuscripts of the oriental and occidental Jews. The discrepancies observed by these eminent Jewish scholars amount to upwards of 864; with one single exception, they relate to the vowel points, and consequently are of little value; they are also printed by Bishop Walton. The western Jews, and our printed editions of the Hebrew Scriptures, almost wholly follow the recension of Aaron ben Asher.[1]

4. The learned Jews, who removed to Europe in the middle of the eleventh century, brought with them pointed manuscripts; and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries copies were transcribed with greater care than was exercised in succeeding ages. In making these transcripts the copyists adopted certain exemplars, which were highly esteemed for their correctness, as the standard texts. These standard copies bear the names of the Codex of Hillel, of Ben Asher, which is also called the Palestine, Jerusalem, or Egyptian Codex, of Ben Naphtali, or the Babylonian Codex, the Pentateuch of Jericho, and the Codex Sinai.

(1.) The CODEX OF HILLEL was a celebrated manuscript which rabbi Kimchi (who lived in the twelfth century) says that he saw at Toledo, though rabbi Zacuti, who flourished towards the close of the fifteenth century, states that part of it had been sold and sent into Africa. Who this Hillel was, the learned are by no means agreed; some have supposed that he was the very eminent rabbi Hillel, who lived about sixty years before the birth of Christ; others imagine that he was the grandson of the illustrious rabbi Jehudah Hakkadosh, who wrote the Misna, and that he flourished about the middle of the fourth century. Others, again, suppose that he was a Spanish Jew, named Hillel; but Bauer, with greater probability, supposes the manuscript to have been of more recent date, and written in Spain, because it contains the vowel points, and all the other grammatical minutiæ; and that the feigned name of Hillel was inscribed on its title in order to enhance in value.

(2.) (3.) The Codices of BEN ASHER and BEN NAPHTALI have already been noticed. We may, however, state, on the authority of Maimonides, that the first of these was held in most repute in Egypt, as having been revised and corrected in very many places by Ben Asher himself, and that it was the exemplar which he (Maimonides) followed in copying the law, in conformity with the custom of the Jews.

(4.) The CODEX OF JERICHO is highly commended by rabbi Elias Levita, as being the most correct copy of the law of Moses, and exhibiting the defective and full words.

(5.) The CODEX SINAI was a very correct copy of the Pentateuch, characterized by some variation in the accents, in which respect it differed from the preceding exemplar.[2]

Lastly, to this period may be referred the division of the text of the Old Testament into chapters by cardinal Hugo de Sancto Victore, who died in 1260, of which an account is given in sect. iii. § 1. of this chapter.

IV. HISTORY OF THE HEBREW TEXT FROM THE INVENTION OF THE ART OF PRINTING TO OUR OWN TIME.

Shortly after the invention of the art of printing, the Hebrew Scriptures were committed to the press; at first in detached portions, and afterwards the entire Bible.

The earliest printed portion was the book of Psalms, with the commentary of rabbi Kimchi: it appeared in 1477, without any indication of the place where it was printed. In 1482 the Pentateuch was published at Bologna: at Soncino, the former and latter prophets were accurately printed in 1485–86, in two volumes folio, with the commentary of Kimchi; in 1487, the Book of Psalms, with the commentary of Kimchi, and the remainder of the Hagiographa, appeared at Naples in two volumes *folio* according to Jahn, but in two volumes *quarto* according to De Rossi, with the commentaries of rabbi Immanuel on the Proverbs, of Ben Gershom on the book of Job, and of Kimchi on the remaining books.

[1] Walton, Proleg. viii. § 29. Cappel, Critica Sacra, lib. iii. c. 18. Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 124—126.

[2] Walton, Proleg. viii. §§ 8—11. Kennicott, Diss. Gen. §§ 55, 56. Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 224—226.

The most ancient edition of the entire Hebrew Scriptures was printed at Soncino, in 1488: it was followed in that printed at Brescia in 1494. In 1502—1517 the Complutensian Polyglott was printed at Alcala or Complutum in Spain. The Hebrew text is printed after manuscripts, with the vowel points, but without accents. The Hebrew text of this Polyglott is followed, 1. In the Antwerp Polyglott printed in 1569—1572; 2. In the Paris Polyglott printed in 1629—1645 at the expense of M. Le Jay; and, 3. In the London Polyglott edited by Bishop Walton in 1657.[3] Two celebrated editions were executed by Cornelius and Daniel Bomberg, with the Targums and Rabbinical Commentaries;—the first in 1518, under the care of Felix Pratensis, a converted Jew; and the second in 1525–26, under the care of Jacob Ben Chaim.

The Brescian edition of 1494, the Complutensian, finished in 1517, and the second Bomberg edition of 1525–26, are the three standard texts, after which all subsequent impressions have been printed.[4] A bibliographical and critical account of the principal editions of the Hebrew Scriptures is given in the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to the second volume, Part I. Chap. I. Sect. I.

§ 2. HISTORY AND CONDITION OF THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

I. *Origin of the Samaritans.*—II. *Account of the Samaritan Pentateuch.*—III. *Variations of the Samaritan Pentateuch from the Hebrew.*—IV. *Versions of the Samaritan Pentateuch.*

I. ORIGIN OF THE SAMARITANS.

The Samaritans being generally considered as a Jewish sect, the specification of their tenets properly belongs to the second volume of this work. At present, it will be sufficient to remark that they were descended from an intermixture of the ten tribes with the Gentile nations. This origin rendered them odious to the Jews, who refused to acknowledge them as Jewish citizens, or to permit them to assist in rebuilding the Temple, after their return from the Babylonish captivity. In consequence of this rejection, as well as of other causes of dissension, the Samaritans erected a temple on Mount Gerizim, and instituted sacrifices according to the prescriptions of the Mosaic law. Hence arose that inveterate schism and enmity between the two nations, so frequently mentioned or alluded to in the New Testament. The Samaritans (who still exist, but are greatly reduced in numbers) reject all the sacred books of the Jews except the PENTATEUCH, or five books of Moses. Of this they preserve copies in the ancient Hebrew characters; which, as there has been no friendly intercourse between them and the Jews since the Babylonish captivity, there can be no doubt were the same that were in use before that event, though subject to such variations as will always be occasioned by frequent transcribing. And so inconsiderable are the variations from our present copies (which were those of the Jews), that by this means we have a proof that those important books have been preserved uncorrupted for the space of nearly three thousand years, so as to leave no room to doubt that they are the same which were actually written by Moses.

II. ACCOUNT OF THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

Although the Samaritan Pentateuch was known to and cited by Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria, Procopius of Gaza, Diodorus of Tarsus, Jerome, Syncellus, and other ancient fathers, yet it afterwards fell into oblivion for upwards of a thousand years, so that its very existence began to be questioned. Joseph Scaliger was the first who excited the attention of learned men to this valuable relic of antiquity; and M. Peiresc procured a copy from Egypt, which, together with the ship that brought it, was unfortunately captured by pirates. More successful was the venerable Archbishop Usher, who procured six copies from the East; and from another copy, purchased by Pietro della Valle for M. de Sancy (then ambassador from France to Constantinople, and afterwards Archbishop of St. Maloes), Father Morinus printed the Samaritan Pentateuch, for the first time, in the Paris Polyglott. This was afterwards reprinted in the London Polyglott by Bishop Walton, who corrected it from three manuscripts which had formerly belonged to Archbishop Usher. A neat edition of this Pentateuch, in Hebrew characters, was edited by Dr. Blayney, in octavo, Oxford, 1790.

[3] See a bibliographical account of the Polyglott editions of the Bible in the Appendix to the second volume, part i. chap. i. sect. iv.

[4] Jahn et Ackermann, Introductio ad Libros Vet. Fœd. § 112. Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 229—231.

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III. VARIATIONS OF THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH FROM THE HEBREW.

The celebrated critic, Le Clerc,[1] has instituted a minute comparison of the Samaritan Pentateuch with the Hebrew ext; and has, with much accuracy and labour, collected hose passages in which he is of opinion that the former is more or less correct than the latter. For instance,—

1. *The Samaritan text appears to be more correct than the Hebrew*, in Gen. ii. 4. vii. 2. xix. 19. xx. 2. xxiii. 16. xxiv. 14. xlix. 10, 11. l. 26. Exod. i. 2. iv. 2.

2. *It is expressed more conformably to analogy*, in Gen. xxxi. 39. xxxv. 26. xxxvii. 17. xli. 34. 43. xlvii. 3. Deut. xxxii. 5.

3. *It has glosses and additions* in Gen. xxix. 15. xxx. 36. xli. 16. Exod. vii. 18. viii. 23. ix. 5. xxi. 20. xxii. 5. xxiii. 10. xxxii. 9. Lev. i. 10. xvii. 4. Deut. v. 21.

4. *It appears to have been altered by a critical hand*, in Gen. ii. 2. iv. 10. ix. 5. x. 19. xi. 21. xviii. 3. xix. 12. xx. 16. xxiv. 38. 55. xxxv. 7. xxxvi. 6. xli. 50. Exod. i. 5. xiii. 6. xv. 5. Num. xxii. 32.

5. *It is more full than the Hebrew text*, in Gen. v. 8. xi. 31. xix. 9. xxvii. 34. xxxix. 4. xliii. 25. Exod. xii. 40. xl. 17. Num. iv. 14. Deut. xx. 16.

6. *It is defective* in Gen. xx. 16. and xxv. 14.

It agrees with the Septuagint version in Gen. iv. 8. xix. 12. xx 16. xxiii. 2. xxiv. 55. 62. xxvi. 18. xxix. 27. xxxv. 29. xxxix. 8. xli. 16. 43. xliii. 26. xlix. 26. Exod. viii. 3. and in many other passages. Though,

7. *It sometimes varies from the Septuagint*, as in Gen. i. 7. v. 29. viii. 3. 7. xlix. 22. Num. xxii. 4.

The differences between the Samaritan and Hebrew Pentateuchs may be accounted for, by the usual sources of various readings, viz. the negligence of copyists, introduction of glosses from the margin into the text, the confounding of similar letters, the transposition of letters, the addition of explanatory words, &c. The Samaritan Pentateuch, however, is of great use and authority in establishing correct readings: in many instances it agrees remarkably with the Greek Septuagint, and it contains numerous and excellent various lections, which are in every respect preferable to the received Masoretic readings, and are further confirmed by the agreement of other ancient versions.

The most material variations between the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Hebrew, which affect the authority of the former, occur, first, in the prolongation of the patriarchal generations; and, secondly, in the alteration of Ebal into Gerizim (Deut. xxvii.), in order to support their separation from the Jews. The chronology of the Samaritan Pentateuch has been satisfactorily vindicated by the Rev. Dr. Hales, whose arguments, however, will not admit of abridgment;[2] and with regard to the charge of altering the Pentateuch, it has been shown by Dr. Kennicott, from a consideration of the character of the Samaritans, their known reverence for the law, our Lord's silence on the subject in his memorable conversation with the woman of Samaria, and from various other topics; that what almost all biblical critics have hitherto considered as a wilful corruption by the Samaritans, is in all probability the *true* reading, and that the corruption is to be charged on the Jews themselves. In judging therefore of the genuineness of a reading, we are not to declare absolutely for one of these Pentateuchs against the other, but to prefer the true readings in both. "One ancient copy," Dr. Kennicott remarks, with equal truth and justice, "has been received from the Jews, and we are truly thankful for it: another ancient copy is offered by the Samaritans; let us thankfully accept that likewise. Both have been often transcribed; both therefore may contain errors. They differ in many instances, therefore the errors must be many. Let the two parties be heard without prejudice; let their evidences be weighed with impartiality; and let the genuine words of Moses be ascertained by their joint assistance. Let the variations of all the manuscripts on each side be carefully collected; and then critically examined by the context and the ancient versions. If the Samaritan copy should be found in some places to correct the Hebrew, yet will the Hebrew copy in other places correct the Samaritan. *Each* copy therefore is invaluable; each copy therefore demands our pious veneration, and attentive study. The Pentateuch will never be understood perfectly, till we admit the authority of BOTH."[3]

IV. VERSIONS OF THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

Of the Samaritan Pentateuch two versions are extant; one in the proper Samaritan dialect, which is usually termed the Samaritan Version, and another in Arabic.

1. The Samaritan version was made in Samaritan characters, from the Hebræo-Samaritan text into the Samaritan dialect, which is intermediate between the Hebrew and the Aramæan languages. This version is of great antiquity, having been made at least before the time of Origen, that is, early in the second century. The author of the Samaritan version is unknown, but he has in general adhered very closely and faithfully to the original text; so that this version is almost exactly the counterpart of the original Hebrew-Samaritan codex, with all its various readings. This shows, in a degree really surprising, how very carefully and accurately the Hebrew Pentateuch has been copied and preserved by the Samaritans, from the ancient times in which their version was made.[4]

2. The Arabic version of the Samaritan Pentateuch is also extant in Samaritan characters, and was executed by Abu Said, A. D. 1070, in order to supplant the Arabic translation of the Jewish rabbi, Saadia Gaon, which had till that time been in use among the Samaritans. Abu Said has very closely followed the Samaritan Pentateuch, whose readings he expresses, even where the latter differs from the Hebrew text: in some instances, however, both Bishop Walton and Bauer have remarked, that he has borrowed from the Arabic version of Saadia. On account of the paucity of manuscripts of the original Samaritan Pentateuch, Bauer thinks this version will be found of great use in correcting its text. Some specimens of it have been published by Dr. Durell in the "Hebrew Text of the Parallel Prophecies of Jacob relating to the Twelve Tribes," &c. (Oxford, 1763, 4to.) and before him by Castell in the fourth volume of the London Polyglott; also by Hwiid, at Rome, in 1780, in 8vo., and by Paulus, at Jena, in 1789, in 8vo.[5]

SECTION II.

HISTORY AND CONDITION OF THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Account of the different families, recensions, or editions of manuscripts of the New Testament; and of the systems. I. *Of Bengel.*—II. *Of Griesbach.*—III. *Of Michaelis.*—IV. *Of Matthæi.*—V. *Of Nolan.*—VI. *Of Hug.*—VII. *Of Eichhorn.*—VIII. *Of Scholz;—Analysis of it, with remarks.*—IX. *On the Fœdus cum Græcis, or coincidence between many Greek manuscripts and the Latin version.*

THE total number of manuscripts of the New Testament (whether they have been transmitted to us entire or in fragments), which are known to have been hitherto wholly or partially collated, amounts, according to Professor Scholz's enumeration, to six hundred and seventy-four. The result of the collation of these manuscripts and of the ancient versions, together with the quotations of the New Testament, occurring in the writing of the early Christian fathers and ecclesiastical writers, has led many eminent critics to conclude that certain manuscripts have an affinity to each other, and that their text is distinguished from that of others by characteristic marks; and, after diligently comparing the quotations from the New Testament in the writings of Clement of Alexandria and of Origen[6] with those made by Tertullian and Cyprian, they have deduced the inference, that, so early as the third century, there were in existence two *families, recensions, or editions* of manuscripts,[7] or, in other

[1] Comment. in Pentateuch, Index, ii. See also some additional observations on the differences between the Samaritan and Hebrew Pentateuchs, in Dr. Kennicott's Remarks on Select Passages in the Old Testament, pp. 43—47.

[2] Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. pp. 80. *et seq.* 4to. edition.

[3] Kennicott, Diss. ii. pp. 20—165.

[4] North American Review, New Series, vol. xxi. p. 313.

[5] Bp. Walton, Proleg. c. xi. §§ 10—21. pp. 527—553. Carpzov. Critica Sacra, pp. 585—620. Leusden, Philologus Hebræus, pp. 59—67. Bauer. Critica Sacra, pp. 325—335. Muntinghe, Expositio Critices Veteris Fœderis pp. 148, 149.

[6] In the second volume of Griesbach's Symbolæ Criticæ (pp. 229—620.) there is a laborious collation of the quotations from the New Testament, made by Origen and Clement of Alexandria, with the Vulgate or common Greek text.

[7] Bengel expressed this relationship or affinity between manuscripts by the term *family*. (Introd. ad Crisin N. T. §§ 27—30.) Semler (Apparatus ad Liberalem Novi Testamenti Interpretationem, p 45.) and Griesbach (Symbolæ Criticæ, tom. i. p. cxviii.) use the term *recensio, recension*, that is *edition*, which last term is adopted by Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 173.

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words, two entirely different texts of the New Testament. A similar arrangement of texts is now known to exist in the manuscripts of profane authors. Professor Heyne, for instance, detected two distinct families of manuscripts of Virgil's works, at least in the Æneid, viz. one, the Apronian, which is found in the Codex Mediceus; and another, differing from this, which is found in the celebrated Codex Vaticanus, No. 3867.[1] In like manner, M. Gerhard discovered, in thirteen manuscripts of Apollonius, very numerous various readings of such a different character, as leave no doubt of there having been two recensions of the text of that writer.[2]

Michaelis has observed that, as different countries had different versions according to their respective languages, their manuscripts naturally resembled their respective versions, as these versions, generally speaking, were made from such manuscripts as were in common use. EIGHT different systems of recensions or editions have been proposed by Bengel, Griesbach, Michaelis, Matthæi, Nolan, Hug, Eichhorn, and Scholz.

I. As the result of his researches concerning the Greek text of the New Testament, BENGEL established two recensions or (as he termed them) families, viz. the African and the Asiatic. Of the African family he considers the Alexandrian manuscript, which is described in a subsequent section, as almost the sole representative, nearly all the African MSS. having been entirely destroyed. With this agree the Ethiopic, Coptic, and ancient Latin versions. The other manuscripts he regards as witnesses of the Asiatic family. According to Bengel, a reading of the African family is always ancient, though not always genuine: while the Asiatic family, though numerous, are of very little weight, especially when they are not supported by any ancient version, though sometimes a manuscript of the Asiatic family supplies an hiatus in a manuscript of the African family. And he was of opinion, that the agreement of several, or certainly of the principal, witnesses of each family, is a strong criterion of the genuineness of a reading.[3]

II. The basis of Dr. GRIESBACH's system is, the division of the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament into three classes, each of which is considered as an independent witness for the various readings which it contains. The value of a reading, so far as manuscript authority is regarded, is decided by Griesbach, not according to the individual manuscript in which it is found, but according to the number of classes by which it is supported. The classes under which he arranges all the Greek manuscripts are the following; viz. 1. The Alexandrine; 2. The Occidental or Western; and, 3. The Byzantine or Oriental. To each of these is given the appellation of *recension* or *edition*, as we commonly say of printed books.

1. The first class, or ALEXANDRINE RECENSION, which is also called the EGYPTIAN Recension, comprises those manuscripts, which, in remarkable and characteristic readings, agree with the quotations of the early Alexandrine writers, particularly Origen and Clement of Alexandria. After them, this recension was adopted by the Egyptian Greeks: with it also coincides the Coptic version.

2. The OCCIDENTAL or WESTERN RECENSION is that which was adopted by the Christians of Africa (especially by Tertullian and Cyprian), Italy, Gaul, and the west of Europe generally. With this recension sometimes coincide the Sahidic version, made in the fourth century, the Syriac version of Jerusalem, and the readings in the margin of the Syro-Philoxenian version; as also the Ante-Hieronymian or old Latin versions, which were in use before the Vulgate version.

3. The BYZANTINE or ORIENTAL RECENSION or edition, which was in general use at Constantinople, after that city became the capital and metropolitan see of the eastern empire.

With this edition are closely allied those of the neighbouring provinces, whose inhabitants were subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople.[4] The readings of the Byzantine recension are those which are most commonly found in the Κοινὴ Ἔκδοσις, or printed Vulgate Greek text, and are also most numerous in the existing manuscripts which correspond to it. Griesbach reckons upwards of one hundred manuscripts of this class, which minutely harmonize with each other. On account of the many alterations, that were unavoidably made in the long interval between the fourth and fifteenth centuries, Michaelis proposes to divide the Byzantine edition into ancient and modern; but he does not specify any criteria by which we can determine the boundaries between these two classes. The Byzantine text is found in the four Gospels of the Alexandrian manuscript: it was the original of the Sclavonic or old Russian version, and was cited by Chrysostom and Theophylact bishop of Bulgaria.

Most of the manuscripts now extant exhibit one of the texts above described; some are composed of two or three recensions. No individual manuscript preserves any recension in a pure state; but manuscripts are said to be of the Alexandrian or Western recension, as the appropriate readings of each preponderate. The margins of these manuscripts, as well as those of the Ethiopic, Armenian, Sahidic, and Syro-Philoxenian versions, and the Syriac version of Jerusalem, contain the Alexandrian variations for the Western readings, or vice versâ; and some Byzantine manuscripts have the Alexandrian or Western various lections in their margins. Each of these recensions has characteristics peculiar to itself. The Occidental or Western preserves harsh readings, Hebraisms, and solecisms, which the Alexandrine has exchanged for readings more conformable to classic usage. The Western is characterized by readings calculated to relieve the text from difficulties, and to clear the sense: it frequently adds supplements to the passages adduced from the Old Testament; and omits words that appear to be either repugnant to the context or to other passages, or to render the meaning obscure. The Alexandrine is free from the interpretations and transpositions of the Western recensions. An explanatory reading is therefore suspicious in the Western recension, and a classical one in the Alexandrine. The Byzantine or Constantinopolitan recension (according to Griesbach's system) preserves the Greek idiom still purer than the Alexandrine, and resembles the Western in its use of copious and explanatory readings. It is likewise mixed, throughout, with the readings of the other recensions.[5]

Although Dr. Griesbach has defended his classification of the documents of the text of the New Testament with great ingenuity and learning, yet it is liable to doubts which are not to be despised, independently of the attacks which have been made on his theory of recensions by the authors of other recensions, of which an account is given in the following pages.

1. In the first place, what he has urged concerning the origin of each recension is destitute of foundation, and the existence of three texts has never been proved analytically.[6]

2. The peculiar character of the text of the New Testament, which is followed by the Peschito or old Syriac version, cannot be well accounted for according to Griesbach's doctrine.

For this version (which was most probably executed early in the second century if not at the close of the first,—certainly before the middle of the third century) often exhibits readings of such a nature as, according to Griesbach's theory, belonged to the Western text, although at that time there was no intercourse between the Syriac and the Western churches. He therefore concludes that the original text of this version underwent not a few alterations at various times: although at that time there was no twofold recension extant of the text which was

[1] Heyne, having adverted to some orthographical peculiarities, which clearly distinguish the two families of Virgilian manuscripts, thus states his deliberate opinion:—"Deduxit nos sedula observatio tandem eo, ut omnino duas codicum familias, saltem in Æneide deprehenderemus, alteram Apronianam, Mediceo auctore; alteram ab eo diversam, in qua princeps est Romanus sive Vaticanus." Virgilii Opera, à C. G. Heyne. vol. v. p. 399. Editio tertia, Lipsiæ, 1800.

[2] Lectiones Apollonianæ. Scripsit Edvardus Gerhard. p. 40. Lipsiæ, 1816.

[3] Bengelii Apparatus Criticus ad Novum Testamentum, p. 426. Tubingæ, 1763.

[4] Michaelis remarks, that the greatest number of manuscripts written on Mount Athos are evidently of the Byzantine edition; and he thinks it probable that almost all the Moscow manuscripts, of which M. Matthæi has given extracts, belong to this edition. As the valuable manuscripts collected by the late Professor Carlyle were obtained in Syria, Constantinople, and the islands of the Levant, it is probable, whenever they shall be collated, that they will be found to coincide with the Byzantine recension. These manuscripts are preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, and are described in a subsequent section.

[5] Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 163—177. Griesbach's Symbolæ Criticæ, tom. i. pp. cxvii.—cxxii. cxxxvii. clvii.—clxiv. tom. ii. pp. 132—148. Griesbach's edit. of the New Test. vol. i. Proleg. pp. lxxiii.—lxxxi. edit. Halæ, 1796.

[6] This fact has been shown at length, after a very minute examination of Griesbach's data, by the Rev. Dr. Laurence (now archbishop of Cashel) in his Remarks on the Classification of Manuscripts adopted by Griesbach in his edition of the New Testament. (8vo. Oxford, 1814.) For learned and elaborate analyses of Dr. Laurence's work see the Eclectic Review for 1815, vol. iv. N. S. pp. 1—22. 173—189., and particularly the British Critic 1814, vol. i. N. S. pp. 173—192. 296—315. 401—428

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followed by the Syriac version, and by the old italic version, by the aid of which the text of the New Testament was published in the west. A similar difficulty attends the Coptico-Sahidic version, which Griesbach refers to the Western recension; there being no union between the Christian congregations of Upper Egypt who used that version, and the Western church.

3. Lastly, those who have been desirous of arranging manuscripts, versions, and the writings of the fathers, accurately, according to various recensions, are pressed with this difficulty, viz.: That not one of those documents for the text of the New Testament, which are really ancient, exhibits any such pure and entire recension.[1]

But though Dr. Griesbach's theory of recensions has been thus shaken—not to say subverted—yet his critical labours will not cease to possess high claims to the grateful attention of every student of sacred literature.

As a general and correct index to the great body of Greek manuscripts, so far as they had then been collated, they are an invaluable treasure to the scholar, and a necessary acquisition to the divine, but especially to those who may not be able to procure the more copious critical Edition of the New Testament edited by Dr. Scholz: at the same time, his collection of various readings is admirably calculated to satisfy our minds on a point of the highest moment,—the integrity of the Christian Records. Through the long interval of seventeen hundred years,—amidst the collision of parties,—the opposition of enemies,—and the desolations of time,—they remain the same as holy men read them in the primitive ages of Christianity. A very minute examination of manuscripts, versions, and fathers, proves the *inviolability* of the Christian Scriptures. "They all coincide in exhibiting the same Gospels, Acts, and Epistles; and, among all the copies of them which have been preserved, there is not one which dissents from the rest either in the doctrines or precepts, which constitute Christianity. They ALL contain the same doctrines and precepts. For the knowledge of this fact, we are indebted to such men as Griesbach, whose zealous and persevering labours to put us in possession of it entitle them to our grateful remembrance. To the superficial, and to the novice in theology, the long periods of life, and the patient investigation, which have been applied to critical investigation, may appear as mere waste, or, at the best, as only amusing employment: but to the serious inquirer, who, from his own conviction, can declare that he is not following cunningly devised fables, the time, the talents, and the learning which have been devoted to critical collation will be accounted as well expended, for the result which they have accomplished. The *real* theologian is satisfied, from his own examination, that the accumulation of many thousands of various readings, obtained at the expense of immense critical labour, does not affect a single sentiment in the whole New Testament. And thus is criticism—which some despise and others neglect—found to be one of those undecaying columns, by which the imperishable structure of Christian truth is supported."[2]

III. According to MICHAELIS, there have existed four principal recensions, viz. 1. The Alexandrine; 2. The Occidental; and, 3. The Byzantine as proposed by Griesbach; in addition to which, as the old Syriac version differs from them, Michaelis has instituted a fourth, which he terms the EDESSENE EDITION: it comprehends the special Asiatic instruments, as they were termed by Griesbach, or those Manuscripts from which that version was made. Of this edition no manuscripts are extant; a circumstance for which Michaelis accounts, by the early prejudice of the Syrian literati in favour of whatever was Grecian, and also by the wars that devastated the East for many ages subsequent to the fifth century. But, by some accident, which is difficult to be explained, manuscripts are found in the west of Europe, accompanied even with a Latin translation, such as the Codex Bezæ, which so eminently coincide with the Old Syriac version, that their affinity is indisputable. Although, according to this theory, the readings of the Occidental, Alexandrine, and Edessene editions sometimes differ, yet they very frequently harmonize with each other. This coincidence Michaelis ascribes to their high antiquity, as the oldest manuscripts extant belong to one of these editions, and the translations themselves are ancient. A reading confirmed by three of them is supposed to be of the very highest authority; yet the true reading may sometimes be found only in the fourth.[3]

IV. Totally disregarding Griesbach's system of recensions, Professor MATTHÆI altogether denied the existence of any anciently executed recensions of the Greek Testament. In order to judge accurately of its text, he proposed to divide the existing manuscripts into, 1. *Codices Textûs Perpetui*, that is, those which are not accompanied by Scholia or Commentaries: these he considered to be preferable to all others, because they exhibit a purer text. 2. *Lectionaries*, or manuscripts containing the sections of the New Testament read in the service of the church, which exhibit, more frequently than the first class, a text interpolated from commentaries. 3. *Manuscripts of a mixed description*, having scholia and interpretations written in the margin, and which are for the most part interpolated. Matthæi was of opinion that the manuscripts of the New Testament which he found at Moscow, and which were very diligently collated by him, are preferable to all others. As these manuscripts came originally from Mount Athos, and other parts of the Greek empire, and as the Russian church is a daughter of the Greek church, those manuscripts consequently contain what Griesbach has called the *Byzantine Text;* which Matthæi admits to be the only authentic text, excluding the Alexandrine and Western recensions, and also rejecting all quotations from the fathers of the Greek church. To the class of manuscripts to which the Codex Bezæ, the Codex Claromontanus, and others of high antiquity, belong, he gave, in the preface to his edition of Saint John's Gospel, the appellation of *Editio Scurrilis*, nor did he apply softer epithets to those critics who ventured to defend such manuscripts.

V. The Rev. Dr. NOLAN's system of recension is developed in his "*Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate or received Text of the New Testament.*" (London, 1815, 8vo.)[4] That integrity he has confessedly established by a series of proofs and connected arguments, the most decisive that can be reasonably desired or expected; but as these occupy nearly six hundred closely printed pages, the limits of this section necessarily restrict us to the following concise notice of his elaborate system, of the existence of which the continental critics appear to be entirely ignorant.

It has been an opinion as early as the times of Bishop Walton, that the purest text of the Scripture canon had been preserved at Alexandria; the libraries of that city having been celebrated from an early period for their correct and splendid copies. From the identity of any MS. in its peculiar readings, with the Scripture quotations of Origen, who presided in the catechetical school of Alexandria, a strong presumption arises that it contains the Alexandrine recension: the supposition being natural, that Origen drew his quotations from the copies generally prevalent in his native country. This, as we have seen, was the basis of Dr. Griesbach's system of recensions: accordingly, he ascribes the highest rank to the manuscripts of the Alexandrine class, the authority of a *few* of which in his estimation outweighs that of a multitude of the Byzantine. The peculiar readings, which he selects from the manuscripts of this class, he confirms by a variety of collateral testimony, principally drawn from the quotations of the ancient fathers and the versions made in the primitive ages. To the authority of Origen, however, he ascribes a paramount weight, taking it as the standard by which his collateral testimony is to be estimated; and using their evidence merely to support his testimony, or to supply it when it is deficient. The readings which he supports by this weight of testimony, he considers genuine; and, introducing a number of them into the sacred page, he has thus formed his corrected text of the New Testament. The necessary result of this process, as obviously proving the existence of a great number of spurious readings, has been that of shaking the authority of the authorized English version, together with the foundation on which it rests.

In combating the conclusions of Griesbach, Dr. Nolan argues, from the inconstancy of Origen's quotations, that no certain conclusion can be deduced from his testimony: he infers from the history of Origen, who principally wrote and

[1] Schott, Isagoge in Novum Fœdus, pp. 563—565. Some weighty objections against Griesbach's theory of recensions will be found in Dr. Schulz's prolegomena to his third edition of Griesbach's Greek Testament, vol. i. pp. xxxii.—xxxv. and in Dr. Gabler's preface to the second volume of Griesbach's Opuscula Academica, pp. iv.—ix.

[2] Eclectic Review, vol. v. part i. p. 189

[3] Shoell, Hist. de la Littérature Grècque, tom. ii. p. 136. Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part ii. p. 30. Schott, Isagoge in Novum Fœdus, p. 570.

[4] There is a copious analysis of this work in the British Critic (N. S.), vol. v. pp. 1—24., from which, and from the work itself, the present notice of Dr. Nolan's system of recensions is derived.

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published in Palestine, that the text, quoted by that ancient father, was rather the Palestine than the Alexandrine; and he proves, from the express testimony of Saint Jerome, that the text of Origen was really adopted in Palestine, while that of Hesychius was adopted at Alexandria.

Having thus opened the question, and set it upon the broader ground assumed by those critics, who confirm the readings of the Alexandrine text, by the coincidence of the ancient versions of the Oriental and Western churches; Dr. Nolan combats this method, proposed for investigating the genuine texts, in two modes. He first shows that a coincidence between the Western and Oriental churches does not necessarily prove the antiquity of the text which they mutually support; as the versions of the former church were corrected, after the texts of the latter, by Jerome and Cassiodorus, who may have thus created the coincidence, which is taken as a proof of the genuine reading. In the next place, he infers, from the prevalence of a text published by Eusebius of Cæsarea, and from the comparatively late period at which the Oriental versions were formed, that their general coincidence may be traced to the influence of Eusebius's edition. This position he establishes, by a proof deduced from the general prevalence of Eusebius's sections and canons in the Greek MSS. and ancient versions, and by a presumption derived from the agreements of those texts and versions with each other, in omitting several passages contained in the Vulgate Greek, which were at variance with Eusebius's peculiar opinions.[1] And having thus established the general influence of Eusebius's text, he concludes against the stability of the critical principles on which the German critics have undertaken the correction of the Greek Vulgate.

The material obstacles being thus removed to the establishment of his plan, Dr. Nolan next proceeds to investigate the different classes of text which exist in the Greek manuscripts. Having briefly considered the Scripture quotations of the fathers, and shown that they afford no adequate criterion for reducing the text into classes, he proceeds to the consideration of the ancient translations, and after an examination of the Oriental versions, more particularly of the Sahidic, he comes to the conclusion, that no version but the Latin can be taken as a safe guide in ascertaining the genuine text of Scripture. This point being premised, the author lays the foundation of his scheme of classification, in the following observations:—

"In proceeding to estimate the testimony which the Latin translation bears to the state of the Greek text, it is necessary to premise, that this translation exhibits three varieties:—as corrected by Saint Jerome, at the desire of Pope Damasus, and preserved in the Vulgate; as corrected by Eusebius of Verceli, at the desire of Pope Julius, and preserved in the Codex Vercellensis; and as existing previously to the corrections of both, and preserved, as I conceive, in the Codex Brixianus. The first of these three editions of the Italic translation is too well known to need any description; both the last are contained in beautiful manuscripts, preserved at Verceli, and at Brescia, in Italy. The curious and expensive manner in which at least the latter of these manuscripts is executed, as written on purple vellum in silver characters, would of itself contain no inconclusive proof of its great antiquity; such having been the form in which the most esteemed works were executed in the times of Eusebius, Chrysostom, and Jerome. The former is ascribed, by immemorial tradition, to Eusebius Vercellensis, the friend of Pope Julius and Saint Athanasius, and, as supposed to have been written with his own hand, is deposited among the relics, which are preserved, with a degree of superstitious reverence, in the author's church at Verceli in Piedmont. By these three editions of the translation, we might naturally expect to acquire some insight into the varieties of the original; and this expectation is fully justified on experiment. The latter, not less than the former, is capable of being distributed into three kinds; each of which possesses an extraordinary coincidence with one of a correspondent kind, in the translation. In a word, the Greek manuscripts are capable of being divided into three principal classes, one of which agrees with the Italic translation contained in the Brescia manuscript; another with that contained in the Verceli manuscript; and a third with that contained in the Vulgate."[2]

[1] In the course of this discussion, Dr. Nolan assigns various reasons for the omission of the following remarkable passages, Mark xvi. 9—20. John viii 1—11.; and for the peculiar readings of the following celebrated texts, Acts xx. 28. 1 Tim. iii. 16. 1 John v. 7. See his Inquiry, pp. 35—41.

[2] Nolan's Inquiry, pp 58—61

Specimens of the nature and closeness of the coincidence of these three classes are annexed by Dr. Nolan, in separate columns, from which the four following examples are selected. He has prefixed the readings of the received text and authorized English version (from Matt. v. 38. 41. and 44.), in order to evince their coincidence with that text, to which the preference appears to be due, on account of its conformity to the Italic translation contained in the Codex Brixianus.

38. και οδοντα αντι οδοντος. *Rec.*
—*and* a tooth for a tooth. *Auth.*

οδοντα αντι οδοντος. *Cant.*	dentem pro dentem. *Verc.*
και οδοντα αντι οδοντος. *Vat.*	*et* dentem pro dente. *Vulg.*
και οδοντα αντι οδοντος. *Mosc.*	*et* dentem pro dente. *Brix.*

41. ὑπαγε μετ' αυτου δυο. *Rec.*
—go with him twain. *Auth.*

ὑπαγε μετ' αυτου ετι αλλα δυο. *Cant.*	vade cum illo *adhuc alia* duo. *Verc.*
ὑπαγε μετ' αυτου δυο. *Vat.*	vade cum illo *et alia* duo. *Vulg*
ὑπαγε μετ' αυτου δυο. *Mosc.*	vade cum illo duo. *Brix.*

44. ευλογειτε τους καταρωμενους ὑμας. *Rec.*
—bless them that curse you. *Auth.*

ευλογειτε τους καταρωμενους ὑμας. *Cant.*	. . . . . desunt. *Verc.*
	. . . . . desunt. *Vulg.*
ευλογειτε τους καταρωμενους ὑμας. *Mosc.*	benedicite maledicentibus vos *Brix.*

44. προσευχεσθε ὑπερ των επηρεαζοντων ὑμας, και διωκοντων ὑμας. *Rec.*
—pray for them who despitefully use you and persecute you. *Auth.*

προσευχεσθε ὑπερ των επηρεαζοντων και διωκοντων ὑμας. *Cant.*	orate pro calumniantibus et persequentibus vos. *Verc.*
προσευχεσθε ὑπερ των διωκοντων ὑμας. *Vat.*	orate pro persequentibus et calumniantibus vos. *Vulg.*
προσευχεσθε ὑπερ των επηρεαζοντων ὑμας, και διωκοντων ὑμας. *Mosc.*	orate pro calumniantibus *vobis* et persequentibus vos. *Brix*

The preceding short specimen will sufficiently evince the affinity subsisting between the Latin and Greek manuscripts, throughout the different classes into which they may be divided: at the same time it will illustrate the dissimilarity which those classes exhibit among themselves, in either language, regarded separately. Still further to evince the affinity which in other respects they possess among themselves, Dr. Nolan exhibits a connected portion, comprising the first twelve verses of the fifth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, in the original and the translation: from which we select the six following examples:—

CLASS I.

Codex Cantabrigiensis.	*Codex Vercellensis.*
1. Ιδων δε τους οχλους, ανεβη εις το ορος· και καθισαντος αυτου, προσηλθον αυτῳ οι μαθηται αυτου·	1. Videns autem Jesus turbam, ascendit in montem, et cum sedisset, accesserunt ad eum discipuli ejus;
2. Και ανοιξας το στομα αυτου, εδιδασκεν αυτους λεγων·	2. Et aperuit os suum, et docebat eos dicens:
3. Μακαριοι οι πτωχοι τῳ πνευματι· ὁτι αυτων εστιν ἡ βασιλεια των ουρανων.	3. Beati pauperes spiritu: quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum.
5. Μακαριοι οι πραεις· ὁτι αυτοι κληρονομησουσι την γην.	5. Beati mites: quoniam ipsi hereditate possedebunt terram.
4. Μακαριοι οι παθουντες· ὁτι αυτοι παρακληθησονται.	4. Beati qui lugent: quoniam ipsi consolabuntur.
6. Μακαριοι οι πεινοντες και διψωντες την δικαιοσυνην· ὁτι αυτοι χορτασθησονται.	6. Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt justitiam: quoniam ipsi saturabuntur.

CLASS II.

Codex Vaticanus.	*Versio Vulgata.*
1. Ιδων δε τους οχλους, ανεβη εις το ορος· και καθισαν τις αυτου, προσηλθον [αυτῳ] οι μαθηται αυτου.	1. Videns autem turbas ascendit in montem, et cum sedisset accesserunt ad eum discipuli ejus:
2. Και ανοιξας το στομα αυτου, εδιδασκεν αυτους λεγων·	2. Et aperiens os suum, docebat eos dicens:
3. Μακαριοι οι πτωχοι τῳ πνευματι· ὁτι αυτων εστιν ἡ βασιλεια των ουρανων.	3. Beati pauperes spiritu: quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum.
4. Μακαριοι οι πενθουντες· ὁτι αυτοι παρακληθησονται.	4. Beati mites: quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram.
5. Μακαριοι οι πραεις· ὁτι αυτοι κληρονομησουσι την γην.	5. Beati qui lugent: quoniam ipsi consolabuntur.

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6. Μακαριοι οἱ πεινοντες και διψοντες την δικαιοσυνην· ὁτι αυτοι χορταασθησονται.	6. Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt justitiam: quoniam ipsi saturabuntur.

CLASS III.

Codex Moscuensis.	*Codex Brixiensis.*
1. Ιδων δε τους οχλους, ανεβη εις το ορος· και καθισαντος αυτου, προσηλθον αυτῳ οἱ μαθηται αυτου·	1. Videns autem turbas ascendit in montem, et cum sedisset accesserunt ad eum discipuli ejus;
2. Και ανοιξας το στομα αὐτου, ἐδιδασκεν αυτους λεγων·	2. Et aperiens os suum docebat eos dicens:
3. Μακαριοι οἱ πτωχοι πνευματι· ὁτι αυτων ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεια των ουρανων.	3. Beati pauperes spiritu: quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum.
4. Μακαριοι οἱ πενθουντες· ὁτι αυτοι παρακληθησονται.	4. Beati qui lugent: quoniam ipsi consolabuntur.
5. Μακαριοι οἱ πραεις· ὁτι αυτοι κληρονομησουσι την γην.	5. Beati mansueti: quoniam ipsi hereditabunt terram.
6. Μακαριοι οἱ πεινοντες και διψοντες την δικαιοσυνην· ὁτι αυτοι χορταασθησονται.	6. Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt justitiam: quoniam ipsi saturabuntur.

On these different classes of manuscripts in the Greek and Latin, Dr. Nolan remarks, that it must be evident, on the most casual inspection, that the manuscripts in both languages possess the same text, though manifestly of different classes. "They respectively possess that identity in the choice of terms and arrangement of the language, which is irreconcileable with the notion of their having descended from different archetypes. And though these classes, in either language, vary among themselves, yet, as the translation follows the varieties of the original, the Greek and Latin consequently afford each other mutual confirmation. The different classes of text in the Greek and Latin translation, as thus coinciding, may be regarded as the conspiring testimony of those churches, which were appointed the witnesses and keepers of Holy Writ, to the existence of three species of text in the original and in the translation."[1]

Having thus produced the testimony of the eastern and western churches to the existence of these classes, the learned inquirer proceeds to ascertain the *antiquity* of the classes: which he effects by the Latin translation.

"As the existence of a translation necessarily implies the priority of the original from which it was formed; this testimony may be directly referred to the close of the fourth century. The Vulgate must be clearly referred to that period, as it was then formed by St. Jerome: in its bare existence, of course, the correspondent antiquity of the Greek text, with which it agrees, is directly established. This version is, however, obviously less ancient than that of the Verceli or Brescia manuscript; as they are of the old Italic translation, while it properly constitutes the new. In the existence of the ancient version, the antiquity of the original text with which it corresponds is consequently established. The three classes of text, which correspond with the Vulgate and Old Italic version, must be consequently referred to a period not less remote than the close of the fourth century."[2]

The system of classification being thus carried up as high as the fourth century, Dr. Nolan justifies it by the testimony of Jerome; for this learned father, who lived at that period, asserts the existence of three classes of text in the same age, which respectively prevailed in Egypt, Palestine, and Constantinople. The identity of these classes with the different classes of text which still exist in the Greek original and in the Latin version,[3] our author then proceeds to establish. And this he effects by means of the manuscripts which have been written, the versions which have been published, and the collations which have been made, in the different countries to which St. Jerome refers his classes; founding every part of his proofs on the testimony of Adler, Birch, Woide, Munter, and other critics who have analyzed the text and versions of the New Testament.

The result of this investigation is, that the three classes of text, which are discoverable in the Greek manuscripts, are nearly identical with the three editions, which existed in the age of Jerome; with which they are identified by their coincidence with the Latin translation which existed in the age of that Christian father. Of the *first class*, the *Codex Bezæ*, or Cambridge manuscript, is an exemplar: it contains the text which Jerome refers to Egypt, and ascribes to Hesychius. Of the *second class*, the *Codex Vaticanus*, or Vatican manuscript, forms the exemplar, and contains the text which Jerome refers to Palestine, and ascribes to Eusebius; and of the *third class*, the Moscow manuscript, collated by Matthæi, and by him noted with the letter V. and the Harleian manuscript in the British Museum, No. 5684., noted G. by Griesbach, are the exemplars, and contain the text which Jerome attributes to Lucian, and refers to Constantinople. The result of Dr. Nolan's long and eloborate discussion is, that, as the Occidental or Western, Alexandrine, and Byzantine texts (according to Griesbach's system of recensions) respectively coincide with the Egyptian, Palestine, and Byzantine texts of Dr. Nolan, we have only to substitute the term Egyptian for Western, and Palestine for Alexandrine, in order to ascertain the particular text of any manuscript which is to be referred to a peculiar class or edition. "The artifice of this substitution admits of this simple solution: the Egyptian text was imported by Eusebius of Verceli into the West, and the Palestine text republished by Euthalius at Alexandria, the Byzantine text having retained the place in which it was originally published by Lucianus. In a word, a manuscript which harmonizes with the Codex Cantabrigiensis must be referred to the first class, and will contain the text of Egypt. One which harmonizes with the Vatican manuscript must be referred to the second class, and will contain the text of Palestine. And one which harmonizes with the Moscow manuscript must be referred to the third class, and will contain the text of Constantinople."[4]

The advantages stated by Dr. Nolan as resulting from the system of recensions just developed are twofold:—In the first place, it leads not only to a more adequate method of classification, but also to the discovery of a more ancient text, by means of the priority of the old Italic version to the New or Vulgate Latin of Jerome. And, secondly, it coincides with the respective schemes of Dr. Griesbach and of M. Matthæi, and derives support from their different systems. It adopts the three classes of the former, with a slight variation merely in the name of the classes; and, in ascertaining the genuine text, it attaches the same authority to the old Italic translation, which the same distinguished critic has ascribed to that version. It likewise agrees with the scheme of Matthæi, in giving the preference to the Κοινη Εκδοσις, the Greek Vulgate or Byzantine text, over the Palestine and Egyptian; but it supports the authority of this text on firmer grounds than the concurrence of the Greek manuscripts. "Hence," it is observed, that "while it differs from the scheme of M. Matthæi, in building on the old Italic version, it differs from that of Dr. Griesbach, in distinguishing the copies of this translation, which are free from the influence of the Vulgate, from those which have been corrected since the times of Eusebius of Verceli, of Jerome, and Cassiodorus. And it affords a more satisfactory mode of disposing of the multitude of various readings, than that suggested by the latter, who refers them to the intentional or accidental corruptions of transcribers; or by that of the former, who ascribes them to the correction of the original Greek by the Latin translation: as it traces them to the influence of the text which was published by Eusebius, at the command of Constantine."

VI. Widely different from all the preceding theories is the system of recensions proposed by the learned Romanist Professor Hug, of Fribourg, who affirms the existence of three recensions or editions, and divides the history of the sacred text of the New Testament into three periods, viz:—

1. The *First Period* comprises the text of the New Testament, from the time when its several books were written to the third century. That text, according to the testimony of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Irenæus, and other fathers, was early the object of imprudent or rash alterations: although their statements were greatly exaggerated, yet the fact is certain, that such alterations were actually made; and the text, thus altered, was, according to Hug, what is commonly termed ΚΟΙΝΗ ΕΚΔΟΣΙΣ, or the *common edition*, which, he thinks, is in a great measure represented in the Codex Bezæ or Cambridge Manuscript. Though almost every where the same, this edition had two forms, a little different, one of which corresponds with Griesbach's Western Recension, and the other with his special Asiatic Instruments, and particularly with the Peschito or old Syriac version.

2. *Second Period.*—The defects of the *common edition* having been perceived about the middle of the third century, three learned men, severally and independently, though

[1] Nolan's Inquiry, p. 70. [2] Ibid. pp. 70, 71.
[3] To which is now to be added the Peschito or Old Syriac version.
[4] Nolan's Inquiry, pp. 105 106.

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nearly simultaneously, undertook the arduous task of purifying the text, and of restoring it to its first form, by the aid of manuscripts, viz. Origen in Palestine, Hesychius in Egypt, where he was a bishop, and Lucian, a presbyter at Antioch, in Syria. The work of *Hesychius* was generally received in Egypt, and became the source of the Alexandrine family: that of *Lucian*, which was better known, and has sometimes been termed the *Editio Vulgata*, or *Lucianus*, was introduced into divine worship in Syria, in Asia Minor, in Thrace, and at Constantinople; and that of Origen, having been made in his old age, and left for publication by his pupils, was confined within Palestine, where it was soon superseded by the edition of Lucian, and in no long time was entirely lost.

3. The *Third Period* of the history of the text of the New Testament embraces the variations made therein, from the threefold recension in the third century, to our own time.[1]

VII. Professor EICHHORN approaches nearer to the opinion of Hug than to that of Griesbach, on the subject of ancient recensions. He considers the existence of a twofold text in the second century as fully proved, viz. the African and Asiatic; though neither of these texts was regulated by any certain critical laws. He denies that Origen was the author of a peculiar recension: but he is of opinion that Hesychius and Lucian in the third century did severally undertake and complete a revision of the text; and that ever since that period there has been a *threefold* recension of the text of the New Testament, viz. 1. The African (or Alexandrine); 2. The Asiatic (or Constantinopolitan); and, 3. A mixed text formed out of these two, because there were some, who, notwithstanding the recensions of Hesychius and Lucian, had acquired ecclesiastical authority in the African and Asiatic churches, yet frequently preferred to follow the authority of more ancient manuscripts.[2] The text thus formed continued the same until the seventh century; after which time, until the New Testament was issued from the press, no learned men applied themselves to the collation of the text with MSS.[3]

VIII. The last and most important (as it is the most probable) of the various systems of recensions, which have been proposed, is that announced by Dr. J. Martin Augustin SCHOLZ,[4] one of the professors at Bonn upon the Rhine. From the differences, which are sufficiently perceptible in the manuscripts and editions of the Greek text of the New Testament, Dr. Scholz concludes that these instruments naturally divide themselves into TWO great classes, which are the same throughout the books of the New Testament. To the first of these classes belong all the editions and those numerous manuscripts, which were written within the limits of the patriarchate of Constantinople, that is, in Asia or in the eastern parts of Europe, and which were destined for liturgical use: the second class comprises certain manuscripts written in Egypt, and the western part of Europe. Transcribed, unquestionably, from copies which were valuable on account of their age and beauty, they were intended only to preserve the contents of those copies; but, as they presented a different text from that which was generally received, they could not be employed in divine service: hence they were for the most part negligently written, with an incorrect orthography, and on leaves of vellum of different sizes and qualities. To this class, Professor Scholz gives the appellation of *Alexandrine*, because its text originated at Alexandria: it is followed by several Latin and Coptic versions, by the Ethiopic version, and by the ecclesiastical writers who lived in Egypt and in the west of Europe. The other class he terms the *Constantinopolitan*, because its text was written within the precincts of the patriarchate of Constantinople: to this class Dr. Scholz refers the Syriac versions (Peschito and Philoxenian), the Gothic, Georgian, and Sclavonic versions, and the quotations from the New Testament which occur in the works of the ecclesiastical writers, who flourished in Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and the eastern part of Europe, especially Greece and Constantinople. There are, moreover, extant other manuscripts, which belong sometimes to one class, and sometimes to the other, and which also exhibit some peculiar varieties; but, after repeated examinations of them, he is of opinion that they do not possess sufficient characters to constitute them distinct classes. The conclusion to which Dr. Scholz has arrived, is, that the Constantinopolitan text is almost always faithful to the text now actually received, while the Alexandrine text varies from it in innumerable instances; and this conclusion he founds, not only upon the actual collation of six hundred and seventy-four manuscripts, but also upon an induction of historical particulars, of which the following is an abstract.

The separation of the MSS. of the New Testament into two classes, in the manner just stated (Dr. Scholz argues), is so conformable to the real state of the text, that it is secure from every attack: there would, indeed, be very little ground for the objection, in order to combat this classification, that the text of the greatest number of manuscripts is not yet known, and consequently uncertain. This objection can only be repelled *à posteriori*. For this purpose, after having determined the text of a great number of manuscripts by actually collating a few chapters, Dr. Scholz proceeded to collate them nearly at length. When, therefore, eighty manuscripts exhibited, almost constantly, the same additions, the same omissions, and the same various readings, with the exception of a few obvious mistakes of the transcribers and some unimportant modifications;—when, further, after taking here and there fifteen or twenty chapters, he uniformly found in three or four hundred other manuscripts the same various readings as in the first eighty;—he considered himself authorized to conclude, that the remainder of the uncollated manuscripts would present the same results as in these fifteen or twenty chapters; and that like results would be presented by all the manuscripts written in the same place and under the same circumstances as these four hundred manuscripts were written: that is to say, that all the manuscripts which were written within the patriarchate of Constantinople, and were destined to be used in divine service, followed the text of the Constantinopolitan class.

It is by no means surprising that this classification should be thus clearly connected with ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The history of the propagation of Christianity shows us with what strictness, especially within the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, missionaries enjoined on their converts the minutest rites of the principal church, and also to what warm disputes the least deviation from them gave rise. These discussions always terminated in reducing them to the most entire conformity with the metropolis.

Further, from the fifth to the middle of the fifteenth century, a greater number of copies of the sacred books was made at Constantinople than in all the rest of the patriarchate. Transcribed and collated in the same convents under the eyes of the superiors, then sold and resold by the monks and priests to distant churches, all these copies presented the same text, as well as the same characters and the same menologies (or calendars of Greek saints for every day in the month throughout the year), in all the provinces which were subject to the influence of the metropolitan church, of its literature, booksellers, and monks.

When Islamism was diffused from India to the Atlantic Ocean;—when thousands of Christians were imprisoned, driven to apostacy, or sold as slaves;—when the flames had devoured a prodigious number of Greek manuscripts;—when the use of the Greek language was interdicted, and the capital of Greek literature was overthrown,—THEN the influence of Constantinople extended, without a rival, over almost every thing that remained to the Christians who spoke Greek. The text of the Constantinopolitan church, and the manu-

[1] Cellérier, Introd. au Nouv. Test. pp. 84—103. Hug's Introd. to the New Test. vol. i. pp. 134—231.

[2] Euthalius, for instance, who was an Egyptian bishop in the sixth century, previously to publishing a peculiar stichometrical arrangement of the hallowed Pauline Epistles, went to Cæsarea in Palestine, and there collated the Egyptian or Alexandrine text, which he used with the more ancient MSS. in the celebrated Library of Pamphilus which was deposited in that city. (Zacagni, Collectanea Monumentorum Veteris Ecclesiæ Græcæ, p. 563. Rome, 1698.)

[3] Eichhorn Einleit. in das N. T. vol. iv. pp. 275—332.

[4] Dr. Scholz has, in fact, proposed *two* systems of recensions. The *first* was developed in his "*Curæ Criticæ in Historiam Textus Evangeliorum commentationibus duabus exhibita*," published at Heidelberg in 1820: it was the result of his examination of *forty-eight* manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris; seventeen of which he collated entirely, and nine of which had never before been examined by any person. As the extensive and laborious researches, unremittingly prosecuted during ten years, induced Professor Scholz to abandon this system of recensions, and to adopt the *second*, of which an abstract is given in the text, it may suffice here briefly to state, that, according to his *first* theory, he thought that he had discovered, among the various manuscripts collated by him, vestiges of five distinct families; viz. two *African* or rather *Egyptian*, one of which corresponded with the Alexandrine recension of Griesbach, and the other, with his Occidental recension; and two *Asiatic*, one of which was particularly deserving of that name, and corresponded with the special Asiatic instrument of Griesbach, and the other was the *Byzantine* or *Constantinopolitan* recension. To these he added a fifth recension, which he denominated the *Cyprian*, because it contained that text which is exhibited in the *Codex Cyprius*, a manuscript of the eighth century brought from the Isle of Cyprus, which is described in a subsequent page.

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scripts which contained it, were generally adopted. The text of the other class, on the contrary, which had till then been used for divine service within the limits of the patriarchate of Alexandria, and the manuscripts belonging to that class, disappeared almost entirely. The copyists ceased to transcribe them: the most ancient and valuable perished; and their text was preserved only in a few libraries, or by a few lovers of literature, as curiosities, or as venerable relics of ancient and lost documents.

Although the Alexandrine text is sometimes found in liturgical books or in lectionaries, Dr. Scholz cannot believe that the manuscripts, which contained it, were ever destined for divine service: they have, in fact, been written with so much haste and incorrectness, that such could never have been their destination. The manuscripts of both families ordinarily have few corrections and no various readings in the margins: every thing, on the contrary, indicates that they are not exact copies of ancient exemplars.

That so few very ancient manuscripts of the Constantinopolitan text are now extant, is a circumstance which ought not to excite surprise. They must necessarily have been worn out, and have perished, in consequence of the* daily use made of them for divine service. In the fourth century the text may be regarded as equally fixed with the canon of the New Testament; after which time the veneration of believers for the sacred books would not allow the introduction of any change. *Before* that period, therefore, the alterations must have taken place, which gave rise to the division of manuscripts into two classes. *Since* that period manuscripts have been collated and even corrected, but never arbitrarily and always after ancient documents: besides, the corrections so made were of little importance, and had only a limited influence. Although different manuscripts may be of the same country, it does not necessarily result that their text exhibits an absolute identity, but only a general conformity in the greatest number of cases.

What then, it may be asked, was the origin of the Constantinopolitan text? Dr. Scholz is of opinion that it was the original text, nearly in all its purity, and derived directly from autographs. This he regards as certain as any critical fact can be: history leads us to admit it; external evidence confirms it; and it is completely demonstrated by internal proofs.

The greater part of the writings of the New Testament were destined for the churches in Greece and in Asia Minor, where the idea of forming a collection of them would originate, as is evident from Saint John's approbation of the collection of the first three Gospels. These writings were, from the beginning, read in the religious assemblies of the Christians; and when the originals were worn out or lost by use or by the calamities which befell many of the churches, apographs or correct transcripts from them were preserved in private libraries as well as in the libraries attached to the churches. These holy writings were further multiplied by numerous copyists for the use of private individuals. In transcribing the text, the Constantinopolitan scribes certainly did not imitate the audacity of the grammarians of Alexandria:[1] this would be in the highest degree improbable, if the question related to profane authors; but it becomes utterly incredible as it regards the New Testament. On the contrary, these writings were cherished with increasing religious veneration. The long series of venerable bishops, who presided over the numerous churches in Asia, the Archipelago, and in Greece, transmitted to the faithful the instructions which they had received from the apostles. Far from altering in *any* degree that sacred deposit, they laboured with pious vigilance to preserve it pure and unmutilated. In this state they left it to their successors and to new churches; and, with the exception of a few errors of the copyists, the text remained without alteration until the reigns of Constantine and of Constans. At that time, however, some Alexandrine MSS. were dispersed at Constantinople, whence alterations were introduced into many Byzantine manuscripts. This circumstance accounts for a tendency in the Constantinopolitan family to approximate nearer to the Alexandrine text than we should otherwise expect.

Let us now examine the complaints of the ancients relative to the alterations made in the text of all literary productions, generally, and particularly in the text of the New Testament. These complaints have no relation to those countries, in which Christianity existed during the first three centuries with the greatest purity. The fathers, who lived and wrote in those countries, did not participate in these accusations.[2] If they did not bring to the study of the New Testament the critical acumen of Origen, the greater part of them were not destitute of a truly classical education; and such important diversities of readings, as are sometimes discernible in the Egyptian or Alexandrine copies, could not have escaped them. Consequently, they were unknown to them; and the manuscripts which were made use of for public worship must have been transcribed with sufficient exactness, so as to give no cause for discontent.

We should have a further proof of the authenticity of the Constantinopolitan text, if we could find it agree with that of other countries equally distinguished by the contiguity of their churches, and by the number and learning of their pastors. These two texts, however, must have continued independent of each other; and the monuments of both must present vestiges of a higher antiquity, apparently ascending (at least since the third century) to distinct sources. In such case we should evidently be authorized to conclude that this twofold text is really conformable to the original text.

We have extant critical documents, some of which were written in Palestine, and others in Syria, which agree with those of Greece and Asia Minor, even in readings that are utterly insignificant. This is the case with six Palestine manuscripts (and particularly with the Codex Regius Parisiensis 53.),[3] which were copied in a convent at Jerusalem after very ancient manuscripts. Consequently, they make known to us the text of that country for a long period of time. The text of these six exemplars is not absolutely identical, which circumstance still further corroborates the argument, and shows that they faithfully represent to us the ancient witnesses for the text of the New Testament.

We do not here appeal to the testimony of Justin Martyr, as he frequently cites from memory or alludes to apocryphal gospels: but the writers of Palestine, who are less ancient than he was, exactly follow a text conformable to that of Constantinople. In Syria, besides some Greek manuscripts already referred to, and which appear to have been written in that country, we find the Peschito and the Philoxenian Syriac versions; the first, executed in the third[4] and the second in the sixth century: both these versions follow the Constantinopolitan text; no doubt therefore can now remain on this subject. The text which prevailed in Asia and in Greece during the first ages of Christianity also prevailed in Syria. It is the same text which somewhat later prevailed at Constantinople, whence it was diffused throughout the eastern empire, and which has been preserved to us with a greater degree of purity than any other text, and without any important alterations.

As the sacred books were, from the beginning of Christianity, destined to liturgical use, it would become necessary sometimes to write in the margin, for the direction of the public reader, certain initial or final words or phrases, with which he was to commence or terminate the portion appointed to be read in the church, in order that the whole passage might be the better understood. From the margin it became impossible, in later times, to prevent these words or phrases from passing occasionally into the text. In many manuscripts, however, they have remained in their original place; but, as might naturally be expected, there was only a small number of copyists sufficiently exact to leave them there.[5] From all these facts and arguments Dr. Scholz concludes that the Constantinopolitan text, as it is actually found either in manuscripts, or in the Evangelisteria, Lectionaria, and other ascetic books, must be regarded as the purest text: especially as it is that which has in every age received the sanction of the church, and has always been employed in divine service.

It would now remain to prove by internal arguments, derived from the very variations from the Constantinopolitan text, which are discoverable in the Alexandrine text, that the former is indeed THE authentic text. But for this purpose

* On this subject see the note in p. 211. *infra*

[2] Dr. Scholz, in his Prolegomena to the New Testament, pp. v.—vii. has treated this subject at length, and has given numerous references to the fathers and early ecclesiastical writers, who attest the care of the ancient Christians in preserving the sacred text from being corrupted.

[3] No. 262. of Dr. Scholz's Catalogue of MSS. It is described in his Prolegomena, p. lxxxviii.

[4] Though Prof. Scholz refers the Peschito Syriac version to the third century, many eminent biblical critics refer it to the second century, if indeed it were not executed at the close of the first century. This circumstance imparts additional weight to Dr. Scholz's argument.

[5] This subject is treated at length by Dr. Scholz, in the Prolegomena to his edition of the New Testament, pp. CLXIV.—CLXVI.

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it will be sufficient to appeal to competent judges, and particularly to the profoundly learned Dr. Griesbach,[1] who very rarely followed the Alexandrine text, notwithstanding his predilection in favour of the ancient manuscripts in which it is preserved. Further, the remarkable agreement which exists among the Constantinopolitan manuscripts, and the scrupulous delicacy of the copyists who transcribed them, are almost a proof of the legitimacy of this text; for, on a comparison of them with the Egyptian exemplars, the traces of corruption every where observable in the latter will readily be perceived. Every one of these exemplars has so many peculiar variations, as to place the mutual relationship of that class of manuscripts beyond all doubt.[2]

There exists no difference between the manuscripts of the Alexandrine family and those of what may be called the Occidental or Western family. Both, in Dr. Scholz's judgment, form but one class: they vary, however, from each other in so many instances, that, if we do not confine ourselves to one single family, and to its general character, we must institute as many classes as there are manuscripts. Instead, therefore, of dividing the Egyptian documents into two classes as he had formerly done,[3] on the authority of the distinguished critics who had preceded him, Dr. Scholz now reunites them together under the name of the Alexandrine family, because they exhibit the corrupted text of Alexandria, whence they have originally issued.

Egypt, then, is the country whence the alterations of the text of the New Testament principally originated. They commenced in the very first century. This is demonstrated by the most ancient monuments of the text; for instance, the Codices Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, and Ephremi, which unquestionably are copies of very ancient exemplars, and exhibit Egyptian interpolations. Witness, also, the Egyptian and Latin translations made in the second and third centuries after exemplars of the same description; and, finally, the quotations of the fathers and ecclesiastical writers of the same country. Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and Dionysius Alexandrinus all made use of this text. The complaints of the ancient doctors of the church, and of Origen in particular, relate to these manuscripts, and to the conduct of the Alexandrian copyists. The ecclesiastical writers who indicate or discuss various readings made use of manuscripts of the same description, of which only they consequently spoke. Jerome, who certainly employed manuscripts of both families, seems to have had but a very obscure apprehension of the difference subsisting between them. His notice of them, therefore, is sufficiently vague. To this obscure apprehension it should seem that we must refer the passage of his letter to Damascus bishop of Rome, in which he condemns upon hearsay the exemplars of Lucian and Hesychius. He speaks of their labours in an uncertain and unsatisfactory manner: he mentions neither the city nor the country where their text was adopted; and the expressions "*asserit perversa contentio,*.... *nec in Novo*" [*Testamento*] "*profuit emendasse,*"[4] show in what horror Jerome and his contemporaries held such corrections; and, consequently, what little chance they had of being adopted, even if they had been preferable to the Egyptian text.

Enough has been said concerning the origin of this text. At Alexandria, where it is well known that great numbers of manuscripts were transcribed, the grammarians were accustomed to correct in the margins whatever displeased them in the authors whose productions they copied,[5] which alterations were subsequently introduced into the text. Most of the Egyptian alterations were made in the first two centuries, and consequently they are found in all the manuscripts of that family. A sufficiently large number of new interpolations, some of them very considerable ones, had a later origin. Such is the source of the principal differences observable in the Alexandrine family. This corrupt text was diffused more or less in the West, either in Greek manuscripts or in the Latin versions; and this circumstance accounts for its being constantly used by the Italian and African doctors, as well as by Irenæus in the south of France. When, however, Jerome does cite the writings of any of his Asiatic fellow-countrymen, he gives the purest text which they used, that is, the Constantinopolitan text.[6]

Although Prof. Scholz's system of classing manuscripts seems, at first view, to contradict those of his predecessors in this department of sacred criticism (except Bengel), yet this contradiction is only apparent—not real; for he actually recognises the same facts as other critics; he only denies the importance of some, and explains others in a different way. With respect to the results, however, there is no difference. The grand—the final—result of the principle of families, viz. the certainty, and (in any thing material) the inviolability of the sacred text, is expressed more distinctly by Scholz than by any of his predecessors. His system, moreover, appears generally to offer—more than any other theory or system of recensions—a remarkable character of simplicity and universality. It is less complicated, and it also possesses a greater degree of probability (probability approximating to certainty) than either of the theories noticed in the present section; and it is supported by profoundly learned and laborious researches, the result of which (it must be candidly admitted) shows the great pre-eminence of the Asiatic or Constantinopolitan text over the African or Alexandrine text, and, consequently, the real VALUE, GENUINENESS, AND INTEGRITY OF THE PRESENT RECEIVED TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Having thus given a summary, and, it is hoped, an impartial, view of Professor Scholz's system of classification of manuscripts, it only remains that we offer some specimens in illustration of it.

1. The first vestige of a twofold class of manuscripts is furnished by Jerome, who, in his epistle to Minerius and Alexander, states that he found *three different readings* in 1 Cor. xv. 51.

(1.) The Asiatic writers, as Theodorus of Heraclea, Diodorus of Tarsus, and Apollonaris, follow the reading given by Theodoret and Chrysostom: *Παντες μεν οὐ κοιμηθησομεθα, παντες δε ἀλλαγησομεθα; We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed.*

(2.) The African writers, as Origen, Didymus, and Acacius, even Jerome himself (in his explanation of Psalm xliv. addressed to Principia), read, with the Greek manuscripts quoted by Rufinus, Pelagius, Augustine, and Œcumenius,—*Παντες μεν κοιμηθησομεθα, οὐ παντες δε ἀλλαγησομεθα; We shall all sleep, but we shall* NOT *all be changed.* From this lection,

(3.) The Latin manuscripts differed, in reading *παντες μεν ἀναστησομεθα, οὐ παντες δε ἀλλαγησομεθα; We shall all rise again, but we shall not all be changed.*

This variety of reading discovered by Jerome is also evident in manuscripts which are now extant. The Codices B. (Alexandrinus), which, however, omits the word *μεν*, D. (Cantabrigiensis) E. (Basileensis B. VI.) and others, which are followed by the received text, agree with the Asiatic writers. The Codices C. (Ephremi), 17 (Regius 55), and other manuscripts and writers of the Alexandrine family, agree with the African writers.

2. The following examples, selected from the fifth chapter

[1] "Ipse etiam Griesbachius aliique ingenue fatentur, lectiones Alexandrinas longe plerasque PLANE RESPUENDAS ESSE." Scholz, Proleg. pp. cxvii. clxviii.

[2] The Sahidic version (which was in the dialect spoken in Upper Egypt) may be adduced as an example of the variations above referred to. In the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles it agrees with D. or the Codex Bezæ very nearly 130 times; with D. and A. (the Codex Alexandrinus), 16 times; with D. A. and other Egyptian exemplars, 112 times; with D. A. and the Vulgate, 65 times; with D. and the Vulgate, 52 times; with A. very nearly 11 times: with A. and several other Egyptian exemplars, 51 times; with A. and several Latin versions, 44 times. In the Epistles of Saint Paul it agrees with A. and B. 83 times; with A. alone, 3 times; with A. D. and other Egyptian exemplars, 14 times; with A. and others, 5 times; with A. and the Vulgate, 16 times; with D. alone, twice; with D. and other exemplars, 7 times; with D. and the Vulgate, 7 times. In the Catholic Epistles it agrees with A. 5 times; with A. and others, 14 times; with A. and the Vulgate, 36 times; with other Egyptian exemplars (A. excepted), 50 times; and in more than one hundred instances it has its own peculiar readings. Scholz, Biblische-Kritische Reise, p. 178.

[3] See p. 209. *supra*, note.

[4] The entire passage of Jerome alluded to is as follows:—"De Novo nunc loquor Testamento. . . . Hoc certe cum in nostro sermone discordat, et in diversos rivulorum tramites ducit, uno de fonte quærendum. Prætermitto eos codices, quos à Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos paucorum hominum, asserit *perversa contentio*, quibus utique nec in toto veteri instrumento post Septuaginta interpretes emendare quid licuit, *nec in Novo profuit emendasse*, cum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata doceat, falsa esse quæ addita sunt."

[5] A striking confirmation of Dr. Scholz's remark on the inaccuracy of the Alexandrian copyists is incidentally given by the geographer Strabo, who died A. D. 25. Relating the migrations of Aristotle's library (whose works had suffered greatly from the errors which had crept into the copies made of them), Strabo says, that Rome contributed to multiply these errors; and that Sylla, on the capture of Athens, took possession of Aristotle's library, which he ordered to be transported to Rome. There the grammarian Tyrannion, who was a follower of the Aristotelian philosophy, having gained over the keeper of the library took copies of the philosopher's writings. Some booksellers also had copies made by incompetent transcribers and not by the collators [ἀντιβαλλοντες, those whose province it was to compare the copies with the original exemplar]. The same thing also happens to books which are copied for sale, both here [that is, at Rome] and at ALEXANDRIA:—Ὅπερ και ἐπι των ἄλλων των εἰς πρᾶσιν γραφομενων βιβλιων, και ἐνθαδε και ἐν ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ. Strabonis Geographia, lib. xiii tom. ii. pp. 875, 876. Oxon. 1807; or p. 609. Paris, 1620. Edit. Casauboni.

[6] Scholz, Biblische-Kritische Reise, pp. 163—167.

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of Saint Mark's Gospel, exhibit a specimen of the variations between the Constantinopolitan and Alexandrine Recensions.

CONSTANTINOPOLITAN RECENSION.	ALEXANDRINE RECENSION.
1. ἦλθεν	ἦλθεν
2. ἐξελθοντι αὐτῶ	ἐξελθοντος αὐτοῦ.
ἀπαντησαν	ὑπαντησαι.
5. ἐρησι καὶ ἐν τοῖς μνημασι	μνημασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι.
6. ἀπο	ὑπο
αὐτε	λεγω.
9. σοι ὄνομα	ὄνομα σοι.
ἀπεκριθη λεγων	λεγει αὐτῶ.
λεγων	λεγων.
12. πασης οἱ δεκμονες	omitted.
13. εὐθεως	omitted.
ὁ Ἰησους	omitted.
14. οἱ δε	καὶ οἱ.
τους χωρας	αὐτοῦς.
ἀπηγγειλαν	ἀπηγγειλαν.
ἐξελθον	ἦλθον.
15. καὶ ἱματισμενον	ἱματισμενοι.
18. ἐμβαντος	ἐμβαινοντος.
ἢ μετ' αὐτοῦ	μετ' αὐτοῦ ἦ.
19. ὁ δε Ἰησους	καὶ.
25. γυνη τις	γυνη.
33. ἐπ' αὐτῆ	αὐτη.
34. ὁ δε	ὁ δε Ἰησους.
36. εὐθεως	omitted.
38. ἔρχεται	ἔρχονται.
δορυβον, κλαιοντας	δορυβον καὶ κλαιοντας.
40. ὁ δε	αὐτος δε.
ἅπαντας	παντας.
ἀναπαυομενον	omitted.
41. κουμι	κουμ.

The attentive reader will doubtless observe that, different as these two recensions are, not one of the various readings above given affects the *sense* of the evangelist's narrative, and that most of them are *incapable of being exhibited in a translation*.[1]

IX. From the coincidence observed between many Greek manuscripts and the Vulgate, or some other Latin version, a suspicion arose in the minds of several eminent critics, that the Greek text had been altered throughout to the Latin; and it has been asserted that at the council of Florence (held in 1439 with the view of establishing an union between the Greek and Latin churches), a resolution was formed, that the Greeks should alter their manuscripts from the Latin. This has been termed by the learned, FŒDUS CUM GRÆCIS. The suspicion, concerning the altering of the Greek text, seems to have been first suggested by Erasmus, but it does not appear that he supposed the alterations were made before the fifteenth century: so that the charge of *Latinizing* the manuscripts did not (at least in his notion of it) extend to the original writers of the manuscript, or, as they are called, the writers *a primâ manu*; since it affected only the writers *a secundâ manu*, or subsequent interpolators. The accusation was adopted and extended by Father Simon and Dr. Mill, and especially by Wetstein. Bengel expressed some doubts concerning it; and it was formally questioned by Semler, Griesbach, and Woide. The reasonings of the two last-mentioned critics convinced Michaelis (who had formerly agreed with Erasmus) that the charge of Latinizing was unfounded; and in the fourth edition of his Introduction to the New Testament (the edition translated by Bishop Marsh), with a candour of which there are too few examples, Michaelis totally abandoned his first opinion, and expressed his opinion that the pretended agreement in the *Fœdus cum Græcis* is a mere conjecture of Erasmus, to which he had recourse as a refuge in a matter of controversy. Carrying the proof to its utmost length, it only shows that the Latin translations and the Greek copies were made from the same exemplars; which rather proves the antiquity of the Latin translations, than the corruption of the Greek copies. It is further worthy of remark, that Jerome corrected the Latin from the Greek; a circumstance which is known in every part of the Western Church. Now, as Michaelis justly observes, when it was known that the learned father had made the Greek text the basis of his alterations in the Latin translation, it is scarcely to be imagined that the transcribers of the Western Church would alter the Greek by the Latin; and it is still less probable that those of the Eastern Church would act in this manner.[2]

[1] Scholz, Biblische-Kritische Reise, &c. *i. e.* Biblico-Critical Travels in France, Switzerland, Italy, Palestine and the Archipelago, in 1819, 1820, and 1821; accompanied with a History of the Text of the New Testament, pp. 163—182. (Leipzig, 1823. 8vo.) Nov. Test. Græc. tom. i. Prolegom. pp. i.—viii. xv.—xix. cxlvi.—clxviii.

SECTION III.

ON THE DIVISIONS AND MARKS OF DISTINCTION OCCURRING IN MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES.

§ 1. ON THE DIVISIONS AND MARKS OF DISTINCTION OCCURRING IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. *Different appellations given to the Scriptures.*—II. *General divisions of the canonical books; particularly of the Old Testament.*—1. *The Law.*—2. *The Prophets.*—3. *The Cetubim, or Hagiographa.*—III. *Modern divisions of the books of the Old Testament.*—*Chapters and verses.*

I. THE collection of writings, which is regarded by Christians as the sole standard of their faith and practice, has been distinguished, at various periods, by different appellations. Thus, it is frequently termed the Scriptures, the Sacred or Holy Scriptures, and sometimes the Canonical Scriptures. This collection is called *The Scriptures*, as being the most important of all *writings*; the *Holy* or *Sacred Scriptures*, because they were composed by persons divinely inspired; and the *Canonical Scriptures*, either because they are a rule of faith and practice to those who receive them; or because, when the number and authenticity of these books were ascertained, lists of them were inserted in the ecclesiastical *canons* or catalogues, in order to distinguish them from such books as were *apocryphal* or of uncertain authority, and unquestionably not of divine origin. But the most usual appellation is that of the BIBLE—a word which in its primary import simply denotes a book, but which is given to the writings of the prophets and apostles, by way of eminence, as being the Book of Books, infinitely superior in excellence to every unassisted production of the human mind.[3]

II. The most common and general division of the canonical books is that of the Old and New Testament;[4] the former containing those revelations of the divine will which were communicated to the Hebrews, Israelites, or Jews, before the birth of Christ, and the latter comprising the inspired writings of the evangelists and apostles.

The arrangement of the books containing the Old Testament, which is adopted in our Bibles, is not always regulated by the exact time when the books were respectively written; although the book of Genesis is universally allowed to be the first, and the prophecy of Malachi to be the latest of the inspired writings. The various books contained in the Old Testament were divided by the Jews into three parts or classes—the *Law*—the *Prophets*—and the *Cetubim*, or *Hagiographa*, that is, the Holy Writings: which division obtained in the time of our Saviour,[5] and is noticed by Josephus,[6] though he does not enumerate the several books.

1. The LAW (so called, because it contains precepts for the regulation of life and manners) comprised the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses, which were originally written in one volume, as all the manuscripts are to this day, which are read in the synagogues. It is not known when the writings of the Jewish legislator were divided into *five* books: but as the titles of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, are evidently of Greek origin (for the tradition related by Philo, and adopted by some writers of the Roman Church, that they were given by Moses himself, is too idle to deserve refutation), it is not improbable that these titles were prefixed to the several books by the authors of the Alexandrian or Septuagint Greek version.

[2] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. ii. part i. pp. 163—173. Butler's Horæ Biblicæ, vol. i. p. 125.

[3] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 1—8. 4to. vol. iii. pp. 137—140. Jahn Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. p. 7.

[4] Concerning the import of the word "Testament," see p. 28. *supra*.

[5] *These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things might be fulfilled which are written in the* LAW, *and in the* PROPHETS, *and in the* PSALMS, *concerning me.* (Luke xxiv. 44.) In which passage by the *Psalms* is intended the Hagiographa; which division beginning with the Psalms, the whole of it (agreeably to the Jewish manner of quoting) is there called by the name of the book with which it commences. Saint Peter also, when appealing to prophecies in proof of the Gospel, says, "All the prophets from Samuel, and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days." (Acts iii. 24.) In which passage the apostle plainly includes the books of Samuel in the class of prophets.

[6] Contr. Apion. lib. i. § 8.

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2. The PROPHETS, which were thus designated because these books were written by inspired prophetical men, were divided into the *former* and *latter*,[1] with regard to the time when they respectively flourished: the former prophets contained the books of Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings, the two last being each considered as one book; the latter prophets comprised the writings of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and of the twelve minor prophets, whose books were reckoned as one. The reason why Moses is not included among the prophets, is, because he so far surpassed all those who came after him, in eminence and dignity, that they were not accounted worthy to be placed on a level with him: and the books of Joshua and Judges are reckoned among the prophetical books, because they are generally supposed to have been written by the prophet Samuel.

3. The CETUBIM or HAGIOGRAPHA, that is, the Holy Writings, comprehended the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations of Jeremiah, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah (reckoned as one), and the two books of Chronicles, also reckoned as one book.[2] This third class or division of the Sacred Books has received its appellation of *Cetubim* or *Holy Writings*, because they were not orally delivered, as the law of Moses was; but the Jews affirm that they were composed by men divinely inspired, who, however, had no public mission as prophets: and the Jews conceive that they were dictated not by dreams, visions, or voice, or in other ways, as the oracles of the prophets were, but that they were more immediately revealed to the minds of their authors. It is remarkable that Daniel is excluded from the number of prophets, and that his writings, with the rest of the Hagiographa, were not publicly read in the synagogues as the Law and the Prophets were: this is ascribed to the singular minuteness with which he foretold the coming of the Messiah before the destruction of the city and sanctuary (Dan. ix.), and the apprehension of the Jews, lest the public reading of his predictions should lead any to embrace the doctrines of Jesus Christ.[3]

The Pentateuch is divided into fifty or fifty-four *Paraschioth*, or larger sections, according as the Jewish lunar year is simple or intercalary; one of which sections was read in the synagogue every Sabbath-day: this division many of the Jews suppose to have been appointed by Moses, but it is by others attributed, and with greater probability, to Ezra. These paraschioth were further subdivided into smaller sections termed *Siderim*, or orders. Until the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Jews read only the law; but the reading of it being then prohibited, they substituted for it fifty-four *Haphtoroth*, or sections from the Prophets. Subsequently, however, when the reading of the Law was restored by the Maccabees, the section which had been read from the Law was used for the first, and that from the Prophets, for the second lesson.[4] These sections were also divided into *Pesukim*, or verses, which have likewise been ascribed to Ezra; but if not contrived by him, it appears that this subdivision was introduced shortly after his death; it was probably intended for the use of the Targumists or Chaldee interpreters. After the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, when the Hebrew language had ceased to be spoken, and the Chaldee became the vernacular tongue, it was (as we have already remarked)[5] usual to read the law, first in the original Hebrew, and afterwards to interpret it to the people in the Chaldee dialect. For the purpose of exposition, therefore, these shorter periods were very convenient.[6]

III. The divisions of the Old Testament, which now generally obtain, are four in number: namely, 1. The *Pentateuch*, or five books of Moses;—2. The *Historical Books*, comprising Joshua to Esther inclusive;—3. The *Doctrinal* or *Poetical Books* of Job, Psalms, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon;—and, 4. The *Prophetical Books* of Isaiah, Jeremiah with his Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the twelve minor Prophets. These are severally divided into CHAPTERS and VERSES, to facilitate reference, and not primarily with a view to any natural division of the multifarious subjects which they embrace: but by whom these divisions were originally made is a question, concerning which there exists a considerable difference of opinion.

That they are comparatively a modern invention is evident from its being utterly unknown to the ancient Christians, whose Greek Bibles, indeed, then had Τιτλοι and Κεφαλαια (*Titles* and *Heads*); but the intent of these was, rather to point out the *sum* or contents of the text, than to divide the various books. They also differed greatly from the present chapters, many of them containing only a few verses, and some of them not more than one. The invention of chapters has by some been ascribed to Lanfranc, who was archbishop of Canterbury in the reigns of William the Conqueror and William II.; while others attribute it to Stephen Langton, who was archbishop of the same see in the reigns of John and Henry III. But the real author of this very useful division was cardinal Hugo de Sancto Caro, who flourished about the middle of the thirteenth century, and wrote a celebrated commentary on the Scriptures. Having projected concordance to the Latin Vulgate version, by which any passage might be found, he divided both the Old and New Testaments into chapters, which are the same we now have: these chapters he subdivided into smaller portions, which he distinguished by the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, and G, which are placed in the margin at equal distances from each other, according to the length of the chapters.[7] The facility of reference thus afforded by Hugo's divisions, having become known to Rabbi Mordecai Nathan (or Isaac Nathan, as he is sometimes called), a celebrated Jewish teacher in the fifteenth century, he undertook a similar concordance for the Hebrew Scriptures; but instead of adopting the marginal letters of Hugo, he marked every fifth verse with a Hebrew numeral, thus, א 1. ה 5, &c., retaining, however, the cardinal's divisions into chapters. This concordance of Rabbi Nathan was commenced A. D. 1438, and finished in 1445. The introduction of verses into the Hebrew Bible was made by Athias, a Jew of Amsterdam, in his celebrated edition of the Hebrew Bible, printed in 1661, and reprinted in 1667. He marked every verse with the figures in common use, except those which had been previously marked by Nathan with Hebrew letters, in the manner in which they at present appear in Hebrew Bibles. By rejecting these Hebrew numerals, and substituting for them the corresponding figures, all the copies of the Bible in other languages have since been marked.[8] As, however, the modern divisions and subdivisions are not always made with the strictest regard to the connexion of parts, it is greatly to be wished that all future editions of the Scriptures might be printed after the judicious manner adopted by Mr. Reeves in his equally beautiful and correct editions of the entire Bible; in which the numbers of the verses and chapters are thrown into the margin, and the metrical parts of Scripture are distinguished from the rest by being printed in verses in the usual manner

§ 2. ON THE DIVISIONS AND MARKS OF DISTINCTION OCCURRING IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. *Ancient divisions of* Τιτλοι *and* Κεφαλαια.—*Ammonian, Eusebian, and Euthalian sections.*—*Modern division of chapters.*—II. *Account of the ancient and modern punctuation of the New Testament.*—*Ancient* Στιχοι *and modern verses.*—III. *Of the titles to each book.*—IV. *Subscriptions to the different books.*

IT is evident on inspecting the most ancient manuscripts of the New Testament, that the several books were originally

[1] This distinction, Carpzov thinks, was borrowed from Zech. i. 4.—"Be ye not as your fathers, unto whom the *former* prophets have cried."—Introd. ad Lib. Bibl. Vet. Test. p. 146.

[2] The Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther are, in the modern copies of the Jewish Scriptures, placed immediately after the Pentateuch; under the name of the five *Megilloth* or volumes. The book of Ruth holds sometimes the first or second, and sometimes the fifth place.

[3] Hottinger's Thesaurus, p. 510. Leusden's Philologus Hebræus, Diss. ii. pp. 12—22. Bishop Cosin's Scholastical Hist. of the Canon, c. ii. p. 10. *et seq.*

[4] Of these divisions we have evident traces in the New Testament; thus, the section (περικοπη) of the prophet Isaiah, which the Ethiopian eunuch was reading, was, in all probability, that which related to the sufferings of the Messiah. (Acts viii. 32.) When Saint Paul entered into the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia, he stood up to preach, *after the reading of the Law and the Prophets* (Acts xiii. 15); that is, after reading the first lesson out of the Law, and the second lesson out of the Prophets. And in the very discourse which he then delivered, he tells the Jews that *the Prophets were read at Jerusalem on every Sabbath-day*, that is, in those lessons which were taken out of the Prophets. (Acts xiii. 27.)

[5] See p. 190. *supra*, of this volume.

[6] In vol. II. part iii. chap. i. sect. iv. we have given a table of the *Paraschioth* or Sections of the Law, together with the *Haphtoroth* or Sections of the Prophets, as they are read in the different Jewish synagogues for every Sabbath of the year, and also showing the portions corresponding with our modern divisions of chapters and verses

[7] These divisions of cardinal Hugo may be seen in any of the older editions of the Vulgate, and in the earlier English translations of the Bible which were made from that version, particularly in that usually called *Taverner's Bible*, folio, London, 1539. The *precise year*, in which Hugo divided the text of the Latin Vulgate into its present chapters, is not known. But as it appears from the preface to the Cologne edition of his works, that he composed his Concordance about the year 1248, and as his division of the Vulgate into its present chapters was connected with that Concordance, it could not have been done many years before the *middle* of the thirteenth century. Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part v. p. 25, note 15.

[8] Buxtorf. Præf. ad Concordant. Bibliorum Hebræorum. Prideaux's Connexion, vol. i. pp. 332—342. Carpzov. Introd. ad Libros Biblicos Vet. Test. pp. 27, 28. Leusden, Philol. Hebr. Diss. iii. pp. 23—31. Ackermann, Introd. in Libros Sacros Vet. Fœd. pp. 100—104.

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written in one continued series without any blank spaces between the words;[1] but in progress of time, when Christianity was established, and frequent appeals were made to the sacred writers, in consequence of the heresies that disturbed the peace of the church, it became necessary to contrive some mode by which to facilitate references to their productions.

I. The Jews, we have already seen,[2] divided their law into paraschioth and siderim, or larger and smaller sections, and the prophets into haphtoroth or sections; and this division most probably suggested to the early Christians the idea of dividing the books of the New Testament into similar sections. The early Christian teachers gave the name of PERICOPÆ to the sections read as lessons by the Jews:[3] and Clement of Alexandria applies the same appellation to larger sections of the Gospels and St. Paul's epistles. These pericopæ then were church-lessons or sections of the New Testament, which were read in the assemblies for divine worship after Moses and the prophets. The commencement of each pericope was usually designated by the letter α (αρχη, *the beginning*), and its close by the letter τ (τελος, *the end*).[4]

Subsequently the ancients divided the New Testament into two kinds of chapters, some longer and others shorter; the former were called in Greek τιτλοι, and in Latin *breves;* and the table of contents of each brevis, which was prefixed to the copies of the New Testament, was called *breviarium.* The shorter chapters were called κεφαλαια, *capitula*, and the list of them, *capitulatio.*

This method of dividing is of very great antiquity, certainly prior to the fourth century: for Jerome, who flourished towards the close of that century, expunged a passage from Saint Matthew's Gospel which forms an entire chapter, as being an interpolation.[5] These divisions were formerly very numerous; but, not being established by any ecclesiastical authority, none of them were ever received by the whole church. Saint Matthew's Gospel, for instance, according to the old breviaria, contained twenty-eight breves; but, according to Jerome, sixty-eight. The same author divides his Gospel into 355 capitula; others, into 74; others, into 88; others, into 117; the Syriac version, into 76; and Erpenius's edition of the Arabic, into 101. The most ancient, and, it appears, the most approved of these divisions, was that of TATIAN (A. D. 172), in his Harmony of the four Gospels, for the τιτλοι or breves; and that of AMMONIUS, a learned Christian of Alexandria in the third century, in his Harmony of the Gospels, for the κεφαλαια or capitula. From him they were termed the *Ammonian Sections.* As these divisions were subsequently adopted, and the use of them was recommended, by EUSEBIUS the celebrated ecclesiastical historian, they are frequently called by his name. According to this division, Saint Matthew contains 68 breves, and 355 capitula; Saint Mark, 48 breves, and 234 capitula; Saint Luke, 83 breves, and 342 capitula; and Saint John, 18 breves, and 231 capitula. All the evangelists together form 216 breves and 1126 capitula. In ancient Greek manuscripts the τιτλοι or larger portions are written on the upper or lower margin, and the κεφαλαια or smaller portions are numbered on the side of the margin. They are clearly represented in Erasmus's editions of the Greek Testament, and in Robert Stephens's edition of 1550.

The division of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Catholic Epistles, into κεφαλαια or capitula, was made by EUTHALIUS, bishop of Sulca, in Egypt, in the fifth century; who published an edition of St. Paul's Epistles, that had been divided into capitula, in one continued series, by some unknown person in the fourth century, who had considered them as *one* book. This arrangement of the Pauline Epistles is to be found in the Vatican manuscript, and in some others; but it by no means prevails uniformly, for there are many manuscripts extant, in which a fresh enumeration commences with each epistle.[6]

Besides the divisions into chapters and sections above mentioned, the Codex Bezæ and other manuscripts were further divided into lessons, called Αναγνωσματα or Αναγνωσεις. Euthalius is said to have divided Saint Paul's Epistles in this manner, as Andrew Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia divided the Apocalypse, at the beginning of the sixth century, into twenty-four lessons, which he termed λογοι (according to the number of elders before the throne of God, Rev. iv. 4.), and seventy-two titles, according to the number of parts, viz. body, soul, and spirit, of which the elders were composed!

The division of τιτλοι and κεφαλαια continued to be general both in the eastern and western churches, until cardinal Hugo de Sancto Caro in the thirteenth century introduced the chapters now in use, throughout the western church, for the New Testament as well as the Old: of which an account has already been given.[7] The Greek or eastern church, however, continued to follow the ancient divisions; nor are any Greek manuscripts known to be extant, in which chapters are found, prior to the fifteenth century, when the Greek fugitives, after the taking of Constantinople, fled into the West of Europe, became transcribers for members of the Latin church, and of course adopted the Latin divisions.

II. Whether any points for marking the sense were used by the apostles, is a question that has been greatly agitated; Pritius, Pfaff, Leusden, and many other eminent critics, maintaining that they were in use *before* the time of the apostles, while Dr. Grabe, Fabricius, Montfoucon, Hoffmann, John Henry Michaelis, Rogall, John David Michaelis, Moldenhawer, Ernesti, and a host of other critics, maintain that the use of points is *posterior* to the time of the apostles.[8] The numerous mistakes of the fathers,[9] or their uncertainty how particular passages were to be read and understood, clearly prove that there was no regular or accustomed system of punctuation in use, in the fourth century. The *majority* of the points or stops now in use are unquestionably of modern date: for although some full points are to be found in the Codex Alexandrinus, the Codex Vaticanus, and the Codex Bezæ (as they also are in inscriptions four hundred years before the Christian æra), yet it cannot be shown that our present system of punctuation was *generally* adopted earlier than the ninth century. In fact, it seems to have been a gradual improvement, commenced by Jerome, and continued by succeeding biblical critics. The punctuation of the manuscripts of the Septuagint, Ernesti observes from Cyril of Jerusalem,[10] was unknown in the early part of the fourth century, and consequently (he infers) the punctuation of the New Testament was also unknown. About fifty years afterwards Jerome began to add the comma and colon; and they were then inserted in many more ancient manuscripts. About the middle of the fifth century, Euthalius (then a deacon of the church at Alexandria) published an edition of the four Gospels, and afterwards (when he was bishop of Sulca in Egypt) an edition of the Acts of the Apostles and of all the Apostolical Epistles, in which he divided the New Testament into στιχοι (*stichoi*), or lines regulated by the sense, so that each terminated where some pause was to be made in reading. Of this method of division (which Euthalius de-

[1] This is manifest from the strange manner in which the early fathers of the Christian church have sometimes separated and united words in the passages which they have quoted. Thus instead of δοξασατε δη αρα τε τον Θεον, *therefore glorify God* (1 Cor. vi. 20.), Chrysostom read δοξασατε δη αραντε τον Θεον, *glorify and carry God;* and in this erroneous reading he has been followed by the Latin translator, who has *glorificate et portate Deum.* In like manner, in Phil. ii. 4., instead of εκαστος σκοπουντες, *looking every man*, the Codex Boernerianus reads εκαστοις κοπιωντες, *toiling for every one.* Cellérier, Essai d'une Introduction Critique au Nouveau Testament, p. 112. Génève, 1823. 8vo. Hug's Introduction, vol. i. p. 235.

[2] See p. 213. *supra*

[3] Justin. Dialog. cum Tryphone, cc. 65, 66. 72. cited in Hug's Introd. vol. i. p. 253. Some vestiges of the same mode of division occur in Tertullian. ad ux. lib. ii. c. 2. p. 187. D. De Pudicitiâ, c. 16. *sub finem.* De Monogam. c. 11. p. 683. The passages are given at length by Dr. Lardner, Works, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 283.; 4to. vol. i. p. 433.

[4] Schott, Isagogue ad Nov. Test. p. 685.

[5] The paragraph in question is to be found in the Codex Bezæ, immediately after the twenty-eighth verse of the twenty-eighth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. Michaelis has printed it, together with two Latin translations of it, in his Introduction to the New Test. vol. i. pp. 293—295.

[6] Millii Prolegomena, §§ 354—360. 662—664. 739. *et seq.* An edition of the Divisions of Euthalius was for the first time printed in Greek with a Latin version after several manuscripts in the Vatican Library, by Lorenzo Alessandro Zacagni, in pp. 403—708. of his Collectanea Monumentorum Ecclesiæ Græcæ et Latinæ. Romæ, 1698. 4to.

[7] See p. 213. *supra*, of this volume.

[8] Rumpæus has given twelve closely printed quarto pages to the enumeration of these opinions. Com. Crit. in Nov. Test. pp. 165—176.

[9] Some of these mistakes and uncertainties of interpretation are sufficiently curious. Thus Jerome on Eph. i. 5. says: "Dupliciter legendum, ut caritas vel cum superioribus vel inferioribus copuletur." And on Philemon 4, 5. he says: "Ambiguè verò dictum, utrûm grates agat Deo suo *semper*, an memoriam ejus faciat in orationibus suis *semper*. Et utrumque intelligi potest. (Jerome, Homil. iv. in Joh. pp. 42, 43. edit. Francofurti.) Epiphanius mentions a mark of punctuation used in the Old Testament, which he calls υποδιαστολη; but he takes notice of nothing of the kind in the New Testament, though he was warmly discussing the manner in which the sense ought to be divided in John i. 3. The disputes which arose concerning this passage, prove to demonstration that there was no fixed punctuation at the period referred to. Chrysostom, for instance, branded as heretics those who placed a pause after the words ουδε εν and before γεγονεν, yet this mode of pointing was adopted by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and even by Athanasius. Cellérier, Introduction au Nouv. Test. p. 114., where other additional examples are given

[10] Cyrilli Catechesis, xiii. p. 301. Ernesti, Inst. Interp. Nov. Test. p. 159

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vised in order to assist the clergy when reading the Word in public worship, and obviate the inconveniences and mistakes just noticed) the following extract from Tit. ii. 2, 3., according to the Codex H., Coislinianus 202., will give an idea to the reader:—

ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΑΣ ΝΗΦΑΛΙΟΥΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ
ΣΕΜΝΟΥΣ
ΣΩΦΡΟΝΑΣ
ΥΓΙΑΙΝΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΗι ΠΙΣΤΕΙ
ΤΗι ΑΓΑΠΗι
ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΙΔΑΣ ΩΣΑΥΤΩΣ
ΕΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΜΑΤΙ ΙΕΡΟΠΡΕΠΕΙΣ
ΜΗ ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΥΣ
ΜΗ ΟΙΝΩι ΠΟΛΛΩι ΔΕΔΟΥΛΩΜΕΝΑΣ
ΚΑΛΟΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΥΣ.

In English, thus:

THAT THE AGED MEN BE SOBER
GRAVE
TEMPERATE
SOUND IN FAITH
IN LOVE
THE AGED WOMEN LIKEWISE
IN BEHAVIOUR AS BECOMETH HOLINESS
NOT FALSE ACCUSERS
NOT GIVEN TO MUCH WINE
TEACHERS OF GOOD THINGS.[1]

This mode of dividing the sacred text was called Στιχομετρια; and this method of writing στιχηδον γραφειν. At the end of each manuscript it was usual to specify the number of stichoi which it contained. When a copyist was disposed to contract his space, and therefore crowded the lines into each other, he placed a point where Euthalius had terminated the line. In the eighth century the stroke which we call a comma was invented. In the Latin manuscripts, Jerome's points were introduced by Paul Warnefrid, and Alcuin, at the command of the emperor Charlemagne; and in the ninth century the Greek note of interrogation (;) was first used. At the invention of printing, the editors placed the points arbitrarily, probably (Michaelis thinks) without bestowing the necessary attention; and Stephens in particular, it is well known, varied his points in every edition. The fac-similes given in a subsequent section of this volume will give the reader an idea of the marks of distinction found in the more ancient manuscripts.

The stichoi, however, not only assisted the public reader of the New Testament to determine its sense; they also served to measure the size of books; thus, Josephus's twenty books of Jewish Antiquities contained 60,000 stichoi, though in Ittigius's edition there are only 40,000 broken lines. And according to an ancient written list preserved by Simon, and transcribed by Michaelis, the New Testament contained 18,612 stichoi.[2]

The verses into which the New Testament is now divided, are much more modern, and are an imitation of those invented for the Old Testament by Rabbi Nathan in the fifteenth century.[3] Robert Stephens was their first inventor,[4] and introduced them in his edition of the New Testament, published in the year 1551. This invention of the learned printer was soon introduced into all the editions of the New Testament; and the very great advantage it affords, for facilitating references to particular passages, has caused it to be retained in the majority of editions and versions of the New Testament, though much to the injury of its interpretation, as many passages are now severed that ought to be united, and *vice versâ*.[5] From this arrangement, however, Wetstein, Bengel, Boyer, Griesbach, Drs. Burton, and Bloomfield, and other editors of the Greek Testament, have wisely departed, and have printed the text in continued paragraphs, throwing the numbers of Stephens's verses into the margin. Mr. Reeves also has pursued the same method in his beautiful and correct editions of the authorized English version, and of the Greek Testament in 12mo., 1803.

Besides the text in the different books of the New Testament, we meet with titles or inscriptions to each of them, and also with subscriptions at the end, specifying the writer of each *book*, the time and place, when and where it was written, and the person to whom it was written.

III. It is not known by whom the INSCRIPTIONS or TITLES of the various books of the New Testament were prefixed. In consequence of the very great diversity of titles occurring in manuscripts it is generally admitted that they were not originally written by the apostles, but were subsequently added, in order to distinguish one book from another, when the canon of the New Testament was formed. It is however certain, that these titles are of very great antiquity; for we find them mentioned by Tertullian in the latter part of the second century,[6] and Justin Martyr, in the early part of the same century, expressly states, that the writings of the four evangelists were in his day termed *Gospels*.[7]

IV. But the SUBSCRIPTIONS annexed to the epistles are manifestly spurious: for, in the *first* place, some of them are, beyond all doubt, false, as those of the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, which purport to be written at Athens, whereas they were written from Corinth. In like manner, the subscription to the first epistle to the Corinthians states, that it was written from Philippi, notwithstanding St. Paul in forms them (xvi. 8.) that he will *tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost;* and notwithstanding he begins his salutations in that epistle, by telling the Corinthian Christians (xvi. 19.) *the Churches of Asia salute you;* a pretty evident indication that he himself was in Asia at that very time. Again, according to the subscription, the epistle to the Galatians was written from Rome; yet, in the epistle itself, the apostle expresses his surprise (i. 6.) that they were so soon *removed from him that called them;* whereas his journey to Rome was *ten years* posterior to the conversion of the Galatians. And what still more conclusively proves the falsehood of this subscription is, the total absence in this epistle of all allusions to his bonds or to his being a prisoner; which Saint Paul has not failed to notice in every one of the four epistles, written from that city and during his imprisonment.[8] *Secondly*, The subscriptions are altogether wanting in some ancient manuscripts of the best note, while in others they are greatly varied. And, *thirdly*, The subscription annexed to the first epistle to Timothy is evidently the production of a writer of the age of Constantine the Great, and could not have been written by the apostle Paul: for it states that epistle to have been written to Timothy from Laodicea, the chief city of Phrygia Pacatiana; whereas the country of Phrygia was not divided into the two provinces of *Phrygia Prima*, or *Pacatiana*, and *Phrygia Secunda*, until the fourth century. According to Dr. Mill, the subscriptions were added by Euthalius bishop of Sulca in Egypt, about the middle of the fifth century. But, whoever was the author of the subscriptions, it is evident that he was either grossly ignorant, or grossly inattentive.

The various subscriptions and titles to the different books are exhibited in Griesbach's and Scholz's Critical Editions of the New Testament.

[1] Hug's Introduction, vol. i. p. 241.

[2] Introd. to the New Test. vol. ii. pp. 526, 527. Michaelis, after Simon, uses the word *remata;* but this is evidently a mistake. On the subjects discussed in this section, Scholz's Prolegomena (pp. 31—33.), and Pritius's Introductio in Nov. Test. (pp. 333—346. 362—375.) may be consulted.

[3] See p. 213. *supra*, of this volume.

[4] He made this division when on a journey from Lyons to Paris, and, as his son Henry tells us (in his preface to the Concordance of the New Testament), he made it *inter equitandum*, literally, while riding on horseback; but Michaelis rather thinks that the phrase means only, that when he was weary of riding, he amused himself with this work at his inn. Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 527.

[5] Thus Col. iv. 1. ought to have been united to the third chapter.

[6] Adversus Marcionem, lib. iv. c. 2.

[7] Apol. i. p. 98. Jardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 121.; 4to. vol. i. p. 344: Pritii Introd. in Nov. Test. pp. 331—333.

[8] Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, pp. 372, 379.

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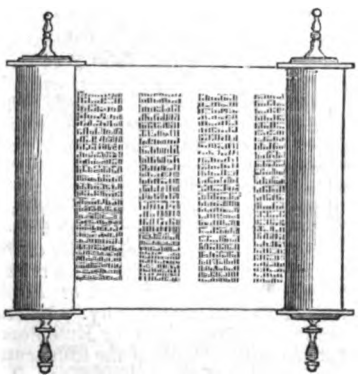
CHAPTER III.

ON THE CRITICISM OF THE TEXT OF SCRIPTURE.

Necessity of the Criticism of the Text.

SINCE the editions of the Sacred Text very often differ from each other, and many also contain spurious readings, besides which great numbers of other readings are extant; the exhibition of a correct text becomes a very important object of attention with those who are desirous of understanding the Holy Scriptures:—in other words, the interpreter and the divine stand equally in need of the art of criticism, by the aid of which a proper judgment may be formed of various readings, the spurious may be discerned, and the genuine, or at least the most probable, may be restored. This subject, which involves an inquiry respecting the fact, what the author wrote, has not inaptly been compared by Dr. Jahn to a judicial procedure, in which the critic sits upon the bench, and the charge of corruption in the reading is brought against the text. The witnesses from whom evidence is to be obtained respecting what the author wrote,—or, in other words, the SOURCES of the text Scripture,—are, MANUSCRIPT COPIES, ANCIENT VERSIONS, THE EDITIONES PRINCIPES AND OTHER EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS, and other BOOKS OF ANTIQUITY, THE AUTHORS OF WHICH QUOTED THE TEXT FROM MANUSCRIPTS. But since these witnesses are often at variance with one another, and very frequently it is impossible to ascertain the truth from their evidence, it further becomes necessary to call in the aid of *internal* arguments, or those which are drawn from the very nature of the case. Such are,—the facility or the difficulty of a more modern origin, the absence of any sense, or at least of one that is suitable, the agreement or disagreement of a reading, with the series and scope of the discourse, the probability or improbability of any particular word or expression having arisen from the author, and the correspondence or discrepancy of parallel places; lastly, the laws by which, on such evidence, the critic is guided in pronouncing sentence, are the rules of criticism.[1] These topics it is proposed severally to discuss in the following sections.



Form of a SYNAGOGUE ROLL of the Pentateuch.

SECTION I.

ON THE HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. *Different classes of Hebrew manuscripts.*—II. *The rolled manuscripts of the Synagogues.*—III. *The square manuscripts used by the Jews in private life.*—IV. *Age of Hebrew manuscripts.*—V. *Of the order in which the Sacred Books are arranged in manuscripts.*—*Number of books contained in different manuscripts.*—VI. *Modern families or recensions of Hebrew manuscripts.*—VII. *Notice of the most ancient manuscripts.*—VIII. *Brief notice of the manuscripts of the Indian Jews.*—IX. *Manuscripts of the Samaritan Pentateuch.*

ALTHOUGH, as we have already seen,[2] the Hebrew text of the Old Testament has descended to our times uncorrupted, yet, with all the care which the ancient copyists could bestow, it was impossible to preserve it free from mistakes, arising from the interchanging of the similar letters of the Hebrew Alphabet, and other circumstances incident to the transcription of ancient manuscripts. The rabbins boldly asserted, and, through a credulity rarely to be paralleled, it was implicitly believed, that the Hebrew text was absolutely free from error, and that in all the manuscripts of the Old Testament not a single various reading of importance could be produced. Father Morin was the first person who ventured to impugn this notion in his *Exercitationes in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum*, published at Paris in 1631 and he grounded his opinion of the incorrectness of the Hebrew manuscripts on the differences between the Hebrew and the Samaritan texts in the Pentateuch, and on the differences between the Hebrew and the Septuagint in other parts of the Bible. Morinus was soon after followed by Louis Cappel (whose *Critica Sacra* was published in 1650), who pointed out a great number of errors in the printed Hebrew, and showed how they might be corrected by the ancient versions and the common rules of criticism. He did not, however, advert to the most obvious and effectual means of emendation, namely, a collation of Hebrew manuscripts; and, valuable as his labours unquestionably are, it is certain that he neither used them himself, nor invited others to have recourse to them, in order to correct the sacred text. Cappel was assailed by various opponents, but chiefly by the younger Buxtorf in his *Anticritica*, published at Basil in 1653, who attempted, but in vain, to refute the principles he had established. In 1657 Bishop Walton, in his Prolegomena to the London Polyglott Bible, declared in favour of the principles asserted by Cappel, acknowledged the necessity of forming a critical apparatus for the purpose of obtaining a more correct text of the Hebrew Bible, and materially contributed to the formation of one by his own exertions. Subsequent biblical critics acceded to the propriety of their arguments, and since the middle of the seventeenth century, the importance and necessity of collating Hebrew manuscripts have been generally acknowledged.[3]

I. HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS are divided into two CLASSES, viz. *Autographs*, or those written by the inspired penmen themselves, which have long since perished; and *apographs*, or copies made from the originals, and multiplied by repeated transcription. These apographs are also divided into the *more ancient*, which formerly enjoyed the highest authority among the Jews, but have in like manner perished long ago; and into the *more modern*, which are found dispersed in various public and private libraries. The manuscripts which are still extant, are subdivided into the *rolled* manuscripts used in the synagogues and into the *square* manuscripts which are used by private individuals among the Jews.

II. The Pentateuch was read in the Jewish Synagogues from the earliest times; and, though the public reading of it was intermitted during the Babylonish captivity, it was resumed shortly after the return of the Jews. Hence numerous copies were made from time to time; and as they held the books of Moses in the most superstitious veneration, various regulations were made for the guidance of the transcribers, who were obliged to conform to them in copying the ROLLS destined for the use of the synagogue. The date of these regulations is not known, but they are long posterior to the Talmud; and though many of them are the most ridiculous and useless that can be well conceived, yet the religious observance of them which has continued for many centuries, has certainly contributed in a great degree to preserve the purity of the Pentateuch. The following are a few of the principal of these regulations.

The copies of the law must be transcribed from ancient manuscripts of approved character only, with pure ink, on parchment prepared from the hide of a clean animal, for this express purpose, by a Jew, and fastened together by the strings of clean animals; every skin must contain a certain

[1] Jahn, Introductio ad Libros Canonicos Veteris Fœderis, § 116.
[2] Pp. 53—57. *supra.*
[3] Jahn, et Ackermann, Introductio ad Libros Canonicos Veteris Fœderis part i. ch. vi. § 104. Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part ii. p. 99

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number of columns of prescribed length and breadth, each column comprising a given number of lines and words; no word must be written by heart or with points, or without being first orally pronounced by the copyist; the name of God is not to be written but with the utmost devotion and attention, and previously to writing it, he must wash his pen. The want of a single letter, or the redundance of a single letter, the writing of prose as verse, or verse as prose, respectively vitiates a manuscript; and when a copy has been completed, it must be examined and corrected within thirty days after the writing has been finished, in order to determine whether it is to be approved or rejected. These rules, it is said, are observed to the present day by the persons who transcribe the sacred writings for the use of the synagogue.[1] The form of one of these rolled manuscripts (from the original among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, No. 7619.) is given in the vignette at the head of this section. It is a large double roll, containing the Hebrew Pentateuch; written with very great care on forty brown African skins. These skins are of different breadths, some containing more columns than others. The columns are one hundred and fifty-three in number, each of which contains about sixty-three lines, is about twenty-two inches deep, and generally more than five inches broad. The letters have no points, apices, or flourishes about them. The initial words are not larger than the rest; and a space, equal to about four lines, is left between every two books. Altogether, this is one of the finest specimens of the synagogue-rolls that has been preserved to the present time.

III. The Square Manuscripts, which are in private use, are written with black ink, either on vellum or on parchment, or on paper, and of various sizes, folio, quarto, octavo, and duodecimo. Those which are copied on paper are considered as being the most modern; and they frequently have some one of the Targums or Chaldee paraphrases, either subjoined to the text in alternate verses, or placed in parallel columns with the text, or written in the margin of the manuscript. The characters are, for the most part, those which are called the square Chaldee; though a few manuscripts are written with rabbinical characters, but these are invariably of recent date. Biblical critics, who are conversant with the Hebrew manuscripts, have distinguished three sorts of characters, each differing in the beauty of their form. The *Spanish* character is perfectly square, simple, and elegant: the types of the quarto Hebrew Bibles, printed by Robert Stephen and by Plantin, approach the nearest to this character. The *German*, on the contrary, is crooked, intricate, and inelegant in every respect; and the *Italian* character holds a middle place between these two. The pages are usually divided into three columns of various lengths; and the initial letters of the manuscripts are frequently illuminated and ornamented with gold. In many manuscripts the Masora[2] is added; what is called the *larger Masora* being placed above and below the columns of the text, and the *smaller Masora* being inserted in the blank spaces between the columns.

IV. As the authority of manuscripts depends greatly on their antiquity, it becomes a point of considerable importance to ascertain their age as exactly as possible. Now this may be effected either by *external* testimony or by *internal* marks.

1. *External* testimony is sometimes afforded by the subscriptions annexed by the transcribers, specifying the time when they copied the manuscripts. But this criterion cannot always be depended upon: for instances have occurred, in which *modern* copyists have added ancient and false dates in order to enhance the value of their labours. As, however, by far the greater number of manuscripts have no subscriptions or other criteria by which to ascertain their date, it becomes necessary to resort to the evidence of

2. *Internal Marks*. Of these the following are stated by Dr. Kennicott and M. De Rossi to be the principal:—1. The inelegance or rudeness of the character (Jablonski lays down the *simplicity* and *elegance* of the character as a criterion of antiquity);—2. The yellow colour of the vellum;—3. The total absence, or at least the very rare occurrence, of the Masora, and of the Keri and Ketib;—4. The writing of the Pentateuch throughout in one book, without any greater mark of distinction appearing at the beginning of books than at the beginning of sections;—5. The absence of critical emendations and corrections;—6. The absence of the vowel points;—7. Obliterated letters, being written and re-written with ink;—8. The frequent occurrence of the name Jehovah in lieu of Adonai;—9. The infrequency of capital and little letters;—10. The insertion of points to fill up blank spaces;—11. The non-division of some books and psalms;—12. The poetical books not being distinguished from those in prose by dividing them into hemistichs;—13. Readings frequently differing from the Masoretic copies, but agreeing with the Samaritan text, with ancient versions, and with the quotations of the fathers. The conjunction of all, or of several, of these internal marks, is said to afford certain criteria of the antiquity of Hebrew manuscripts. But the opinions of the eminent critics above named have been questioned by Professors Bauer and Tychsen, who have advanced strong reasons to prove that they are uncertain guides in determining the age of manuscripts. The most ancient Hebrew manuscripts are *all* written without any divisions of words, as is evident not only from ancient Hebrew coins and Palmyrene inscriptions, but also from various passages in the most ancient translations, the authors of which frequently adopted a division of words, altogether different from that of the Masorites. This circumstance is also corroborated by the rabbinical tradition, that the law was formerly one verse and one word. It is impossible to determine the time, when the Hebrews began to divide words in manuscripts: we only know, from the researches of Dr. Kennicott and other eminent Hebrew critics, that all the ancient interpreters used manuscripts written in one continued series; that MSS. of more recent date (the thirteenth century) are still extant in which the same mode of writing appears,—for instance, the MSS. numbered 290. and 293. by Dr. Kennicott; and that some vestiges of the division of words are to be found in the Talmudical writings, and in Jerome.[4]

V. A twofold Order of Arrangement of the sacred books is observable in Hebrew manuscripts, viz. the *Talmudical* and the *Masoretic*. Originally, the different books of the Old Testament were not joined together; according to Rabbi Elias Levita (the most learned Jewish writer on the subject), they were first joined together by the members of the great synagogue, who divided them into three parts,—the law, the prophets, and hagiographa, and who placed the prophets and hagiographa in a different order from that assigned by the Talmudists in the book entitled *Baba Bathra*.

The following is the Talmudical arrangement of the Old Testament: Of the *Prophets*, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings (1 and 2), Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor Prophets (in one book). Of the *Hagiographa*, Ruth, Psalms, Job, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Lamentations, Esther, Chronicles. By the Masorites, the Prophets are placed in the same order, with the exception of Isaiah, who precedes Jeremiah and Ezekiel, because he flourished before them. This arrangement is adopted in the manuscripts of the Spanish Jews, while the Talmudical order is preserved in those of the German and French Jews. In the Hagiographa the Masorites have departed from the arrangement of the Talmudists, and place the books comprised in that division thus:—Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ruth, the Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations of Jeremiah, Esther, Daniel, and Ezra. This mode of arrangement obtains in the Spanish manuscripts. But in the German MSS. they are thus disposed: Psalms, Proverbs, Job, the Five Megilloth (or books), Daniel, Ezra, and Chronicles; and the Five Megilloth (or books) are placed in the order in which they are usually read in their synagogues, viz. the Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations of Jeremiah, Ecclesiastes, and Esther.

There are, however, several manuscripts extant, which depart both from the Talmudical and from the Masoretical order, and have an arrangement peculiar to themselves. Thus, in the Codex Norimbergensis 1. (No. 198. of Dr. Kennicott's catalogue), which was written A. D. 1291, the books are thus placed: the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the twelve minor Prophets, Ruth, Esther, Psalms, Job, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Lamentations, Proverbs, Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah (in one book), and Chronicles. In the Codex, No. 94., written A. D. 1285 (in the university library at Cam-

[1] Carpzov. Critica Sacra Vet. Test. pp. 371, 372 Dr. Henderson (Biblical Researches, pp. 208—211.) has given an account of the laborious minutiæ, in many respects coinciding with those above stated, to which the modern Jews are subjected.

[2] See an account of the Masora in pp. 201, 202. *supra*.

[3] For an account of these, see p. 201. *supra*.

[4] Muntinghe, Expositio Crit. Vet. Fœd. pp. 40, 41.

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bridge), and also in No. 102., a manuscript in the British Museum, written early in the fourteenth century, the books of Chronicles precede the Psalms; Job is placed before the Proverbs; Ruth before the Song of Solomon; and Ecclesiastes before the Lamentations. In the Codex, No. 130., a manuscript of the same date (formerly in the library of the Royal Society of London, but now in the British Museum), Chronicles and Ruth precede the Psalms; and in the Codex, No. 96. (in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge), written towards the close of the fourteenth century, and also in many other MSS., Jeremiah takes precedence of Isaiah. In the Codex Regiomontanus 2. (No. 224.), written early in the twelfth century, Jeremiah is placed before Ezekiel, whose book is followed by that of Isaiah: then succeed the twelve minor Prophets. The Hagiographa are thus disposed: Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah (in one book), and the books of Chronicles (also in one book). The order pursued in the Codex Ebnerianus 2. is altogether different from the preceding. Samuel follows Jeremiah, who is succeeded by the two books of Kings, and by part of the prophecy of Ezekiel: then comes part of Isaiah. The twelve minor Prophets are written in one continued discourse; and are followed by Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs with Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles.

Of the various Hebrew manuscripts which have been preserved, few contain the Old Testament entire: the greater part comprise only particular portions of it, as the Pentateuch, five Megilloth, and Haphtaroth or sections of the prophets which are read on the Sabbath-days; the Prophets or the Hagiographa. Some, indeed, are confined to single books, as the Psalms, the book of Esther, the Song of Solomon, and the Haphtaroth. This diversity in the contents of manuscripts is occasioned, partly by the design of the copyist, who transcribed the whole or part of the sacred writings for particular purposes; and partly by the mutilations caused by the consuming hand of time. Several instances of such mutilations are given in the account of the principal Hebrew MSS. now extant, in p. 219. *infra*.

VI. As the Hebrew manuscripts which have been in use since the eleventh century have all been corrected according to some particular *recension* or edition, they have from this circumstance been classed into FAMILIES, according to the country where such recension has obtained. These *Families* or Recensions are three or four in number, viz.

1. The SPANISH MANUSCRIPTS, which were corrected after the Codex of Hillel, described in page 203. *supra*.

They follow the Masoretic system with great accuracy, and are on this account highly valued by the Jews, though some Hebrew critics hold them in little estimation. The characters are written with great elegance, and are perfectly square: the ink is pale; the pages are seldom divided into three columns: the Psalms are divided into hemistichs; and the Chaldee paraphrases are not interlined, but written in separate columns, or are inserted in the margin in smaller letters. Professor Tychsen speaks in high terms of the caligraphy of the Spanish manuscripts. As the Spanish monks excelled in that art, he thinks the Jews, who abounded in Spain in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, acquired it from them, and he appeals to manuscripts which he had seen, where the letters are throughout so equal, that the whole has the appearance of print.[1]

2. The ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS are nearly the same as the Spanish manuscripts, and may be referred to the same class.

3. The GERMAN MANUSCRIPTS are written with less elegance than the Spanish codices: their characters are more rudely formed; the initial letters are generally larger than the rest, and ornamented; the ink is very black. They do not follow the Masoretic notation, and frequently vary from the Masoretic manuscripts, exhibiting important readings that are not to be found in the Spanish manuscripts, but which agree with the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch, and with the ancient versions. The Chaldee paraphrases are inserted in alternate verses. This class of manuscripts is little esteemed by the Jews, but most highly valued by biblical critics.

4. The ITALIAN MANUSCRIPTS hold a middle place between the Spanish and German codices, and sometimes have a nearer affinity to one class than to the other, both in the shape of the Hebrew characters, and also as it respects their adherence to or neglect of the Masoretic system. M. Bruns, the able assistant of Dr. Kennicott in collating Hebrew manuscripts, has given engraved specimens of the Spanish, German, and Italian manuscripts, in his edition of Dr. K.'s Dissertatio Generalis (8vo. Brunswick, 1783); and Professor Tychsen has given *fourteen* Hebrew alphabets, of various ages and countries, at the end of his Tentamen de variis Codicum Hebræorum Vet. Test. MSS. Generibus. Ancient and unpointed Hebrew manuscripts, written for the use of the synagogues, and those Masoretic Spanish exemplars, which have been transcribed by a learned person, and for a learned person, from some famous and correct copy, are preferred by M. De Rossi to the copies written for private use, or even for the synagogue, from Masoretic exemplars, of which last the number is very great. But M. Bauer pronounces those manuscripts to be the best, whose various lections are most frequently confirmed by the ancient versions, especially by the Alexandrian and Syriac, and also by the Samaritan Pentateuch and version.[2]

VII. M. De Rossi has divided Hebrew manuscripts into three classes, viz. 1. *More Ancient*, or those written before the twelfth century;—2. *Ancient*, or those written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries;—3. *More recent*, or those written at the end of the fourteenth, or at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The most recent, or those written since the fifteenth century, which are very numerous, and are those found in the synagogues, he pronounces to be of little or no use, unless it can be proved that they have been transcribed from ancient apographs. The total number of Hebrew manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott for his critical edition of the Hebrew Bible is about six hundred and thirty. The total number collated by M. De Rossi for his Collection of Various Readings, is four hundred and seventy-nine manuscripts, besides two hundred and eighty-eight printed editions. The following are the most ancient manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott.

The CODEX LAUDIANUS, A. 172. and 162. and numbered 1. in Dr. Kennicott's list of Hebrew manuscripts. Though now in two folio parts, it is evident that they originally formed only one volume: each part consists of quinquernions, or gatherings of five sheets or ten leaves, and at the bottom of every tenth leaf is a catch-word beginning the next leaf, which is the first of the succeeding gathering of ten leaves. But at the end of the first part or volume, there is pasted on, one leaf of the next quinquernion, completing the book of Deuteronomy; so that this volume concludes with five sheets and one leaf over. And the first gathering in the second volume consists of only four sheets and one leaf, which last is likewise pasted on, for want of its fellow-leaf. This manuscript is written on vellum, according to Dr. Kennicott, in the Spanish character, but in the opinion of Dr. Bruns it is in the Italic character, to which M. De Rossi assents. The letters, which are moderately large, are plain, simple, and elegant, but universally unadorned; and they were originally written without points, as is evident from the different colour of the ink in the letters and in the points. Some of the letters, having become obliterated by the lapse of ages, have been written over a second time; and though such places were rewritten in the same strong character, yet many of the words were becoming a second time invisible, when collated by Dr. K. This eminent critic assigns it to the tenth century, but De Rossi refers it to the eleventh. The Laudian manuscript begins with Gen. xxvii. 31.: it contains *fourteen thousand* variations from Vander Hooght's edition of the Hebrew Bible. More than two thousand are found in the Pentateuch, which confirm the Septuagint Greek version in one hundred and nine various readings; the Syriac, in ninety-eight; the Arabic, in eighty-two; the Vulgate or Latin version, in eighty-eight; and the Chaldee Paraphrase, in forty-two: it also agrees with the Samaritan Pentateuch against the printed Hebrew, in seven hundred instances. What renders this manuscript the more valuable is, that it preserves a word of great importance for understanding 2 Sam. xxiii. 3—7., which word is confirmed by the Greek version, and thus recovers to us a prophecy of the Messiah.[3]

2. The CODEX CARLSRUHENSIS 1. (No. 154. of Dr. Kennicott's list of manuscripts) formerly belonged to the celebrated

[1] Tychsen, Tentamen de variis Cod. Heb. MSS. pp. 302—308.

[2] Walton, Prolegom. c. iv. §1—12. pp. 171—184. cc. vii. viii. pp. 225—331 edit. Dathii Carpzov. Critica Sacra, pp. 283—387. Dr. Kennicott, Diss. I. pp. 313—317.; also his Dissertatio Generalis, *passim*. Jahn, Introd. ad Vet Fœdus, pp. 153—170. Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 215—226. 343—407. De Rossi, Var. Lect. tom. i. Prolegom. § xi—xix. pp. xi—xxii.

[3] Kennicott, Dissert. I. pp. 315—319. Dissert. II. pp 533, 534. Biblia Hebraica, tom. ii. Dissert. Generalis, pp. 70, 71. De Rossi, Varias Lectiones, tom. i. Proleg. p. LIX.

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and learned Reuchlin, whose efforts contributed so much towards the revival of literature in the fifteenth century. This manuscript is now preserved in the public library at Carlsruhe, and is the oldest that has a *certain* date. It is in square folio, and was written in the year of the world 4866, corresponding with 1106 of our æra. It contains the Prophets with the Targum.

3. The CODEX VIENNÆ (No. 590. of Kennicott) contains the Prophets and Hagiographa. It is written on vellum in folio, and, if the date in its subscription be correct (A. D. 1018 or 1019), it is more ancient than the preceding. Bruns collected two hundred important various readings from this manuscript. The points have been added by a later hand. According to Adler's enumeration, it consists of four hundred and seventy-one leaves, and two columns, each column containing twenty-one lines.

4. The CODEX CÆSENÆ, in the Malatesta Library at Bologna, (No. 536. of Kennicott), is a folio manuscript written on vellum, in the German character, towards the end of the eleventh century. It contains the Pentateuch, the Haphtaroth or sections of the Prophetical Books, and the Megilloth or five Books of Canticles, or the Song of Solomon, Ruth, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. De Rossi pronounces it to be a most ancient and valuable manuscript, and states that in its margin are inserted some various readings of still more ancient manuscripts.[1]

5. The CODEX FLORENTINUS 2. (No. 162. of Kennicott) is written on vellum, in quarto, in a square Spanish character, with points, towards the end of the eleventh, or, at the latest, in the beginning of the twelfth century. It contains the books of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel. Very many of the letters, which were obliterated by time, have been renewed by a later hand.

6. The CODEX MEDIOLANENSIS 9. (193. of Kennicott) is written on vellum, in octavo, in the German character, towards the close of the twelfth century. It has neither the points nor the Masora. This manuscript comprises the Pentateuch; the beginning of the book of Genesis, and the end of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, have been written by a later hand. Both erasures and alterations occur in this manuscript, and sometimes a worse reading is substituted in place of one that is preferable. Nevertheless it contains many good various readings.

7. The CODEX NORIMBERGENSIS 4. (201. of Kennicott) is a folio manuscript, written on thin vellum, in the German character, and containing the Prophets and Hagiographa. It is mutilated in various parts. It is of great antiquity, and, from the similarity of its character to that of the Codex Carlsruhensis, both Dr. Kennicott and M. De Rossi assign it to the beginning of the twelfth century.

8. The CODEX PARISIENSIS 27. (Regius 29. 210. of Kennicott) is a quarto manuscript of the entire Bible, written on vellum, in an elegant Italic character. The initial words are, with few exceptions, of the same size as the rest. The Masora and Keri are both wanting; and the Megilloth precede the books of Chronicles. It is highly valued by Kennicott and De Rossi, who refer it also to the beginning of the twelfth century.

9. Coeval with the preceding is the CODEX REGIOMONTANUS 2. (224. of Kennicott), written in the Italic character, in small folio. This manuscript contains the Prophets and the Hagiographa, but it is mutilated in various places. The initial letters are larger than the others, and three of the poetical books are written in hemistichs.

10. To the beginning of the twelfth century likewise is to be referred the CODEX PARISIENSIS 24. (San-Germanensis 2. No. 266. of Kennicott): it is written on vellum, in large quarto. It is imperfect from Jer. xxix. 19. to xxxviii. 2.; and from Hosea iv. 4. to Amos vi. 12. Isaiah follows Ezekiel according to the Talmudical Canon.[2]

The following are among the most ancient of the manuscripts in the possession of the late M. De Rossi, and collated by him, viz.

1. The Codex, by him numbered 634., which is in quarto. It contains a fragment of the books of Leviticus and Numbers—from Levit. xxi. 19. to Num. i. 50.; and exhibits every mark of the remotest antiquity. The vellum on which it is written is decayed by age; the character is intermediate, or Italic—approaching that of the German manuscripts. The letters are all of an uniform size; there is no trace of the Masora, or of any Masoretic notes, nor is any space left before the larger sections; there is sometimes, as in other very ancient manuscripts, a few points are inserted between the words. M. De Rossi assigns his manuscript to the *eighth* century.

[1] De Rossi, tom. i. Proleg. p. LXXXVII.
[2] Kennicott, Dissertatio Generalis, pp. 85. 87, 88, 89. 98. 104.

2. A manuscript of the Pentateuch (No. 503.), in quarto, and on vellum, containing from Gen. xii. 41. to Deut. xv. 12. It is composed of leaves of various ages, the most ancient of which are of the *ninth* or tenth century. The character is semi-rabbinical, rude, and confessedly very ancient. Points occur, in some of the more ancient leaves, in the writing of the original copyist, but sometimes they are wanting. There are no traces of the Masora or of the Masoretic notes, and sometimes no space at all before the larger sections. It frequently agrees with the Samaritan text and ancient versions.

3. A manuscript of the Pentateuch (No. 10.), with the Targum and Megilloth. It is written in the German character, on vellum, and in quarto, towards the end of the eleventh or in the beginning of the twelfth century. The Masora is absent. The character, which is defaced by time, is rudely formed, and the initial letters are larger than the rest. Coeval with this manuscript is,

4. A manuscript of the book of Job, in quarto, also on vellum, and in the German character. It is one of the most valuable manuscripts of that book. The pages are divided into two columns, the lines being of unequal length.

5. A manuscript of the Hagiographa (No. 379.), the size, character, and date of which correspond with the preceding. It begins with Psal. xlix. 15. and ends with Neh. xl. 4. The Masora and Keri are absent; and the poetical books are divided into hemistichs.

6. A manuscript of the Pentateuch (No. 611.), on vellum, in octavo, and written in the German character, approaching somewhat to the Spanish, towards the close of the eleventh, or in the commencement of the twelfth century. The ink is frequently faded by age; there are no traces of the Masora; the Keri are very rarely to be seen, and the initial letters are larger than the others. There are frequent omissions in the text, which are supplied in the margin.[3]

Dr. Kennicott states that almost all the Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament, at present known to be extant, were written between the years 1000 and 1457, whence he infers that all the manuscripts written before the years 700 or 800 were destroyed by some decree of the Jewish senate, on account of their many differences from the copies then declared genuine. This circumstance is also alleged by Bishop Walton, as the reason why we have so few exemplars of the age of 600 years, and why even the copies of 700 or 800 years are very rare.

VIII. It was long a desideratum with biblical scholars to obtain the Hebrew Scriptures from the Jews who are settled in India and other parts of the east. It was reasonably supposed, that, as these Jews had been for so many ages separated from their brethren in the west, their manuscripts might contain a text derived from the autographs of the sacred writers, by a channel independent of that through which the text of our printed Bibles has been transmitted to us. Dr. Kennicott was very anxious to obtain a copy, or at least a collation of a manuscript from India or China, for his edition of the Hebrew Bible, in the expectation that it would exhibit important variations from the Masoretic editions; but he was unsuccessful in his endeavours to procure it,[4] and the honour of first bringing an Indian manuscript of the Hebrew Scriptures into Europe was reserved for the late Rev. Dr. Buchanan.

Among the biblical manuscripts brought from India by this learned and pious divine, and which are now deposited in the public library at Cambridge, there is a roll of the Pentateuch, which he procured from the black Jews in Malabar,[5] who (there is strong reason to believe) are a part of the remains of the first dispersion of that nation by Nebuchadnezzar. The date of this manuscript cannot now be ascertained; but its text is supposed to be derived from those copies which their ancestors brought with them into India. Those Jews, on being interrogated, could give no precise account of it: some replied, that it came originally from

[3] De Rossi, Var. Lect. tom. i. Proleg. pp. CXVI. CXII. XCVIII. CVII. CVIII.
[4] According to the information collected from various sources, by Professor Bauer, it does not appear that the manuscripts of the Chinese Jews are of any remote antiquity, or are calculated to afford any assistance to biblical critics. Although Jews have resided in China for many centuries, yet they have no ancient manuscripts, those now in use being subsequent to the fifteenth century. Critica Sacra, pp. 405—407. See an account of Hebræo-Chinese manuscripts in Koegler's Notitia S. S. Bibliorum Judæorum in Imperio Sinensi. Edit. 2. 8vo. Halæ ad Salam, 1805. Brotier, in his edition of Tacitus (vol. iii. p. 567. et seq.), has given the best account that is extant of the Jews in China, a colony of whom settled in that country in the first century of the Christian æra. The reader will find an abridgement of it in Dr. Townley's Illustrations of Biblical Literature, vol i. pp. 83—89.
[5] See an account of these Jews in Dr. Buchanan's "Christian Researches," pp. 224. et seq. 4th edit.

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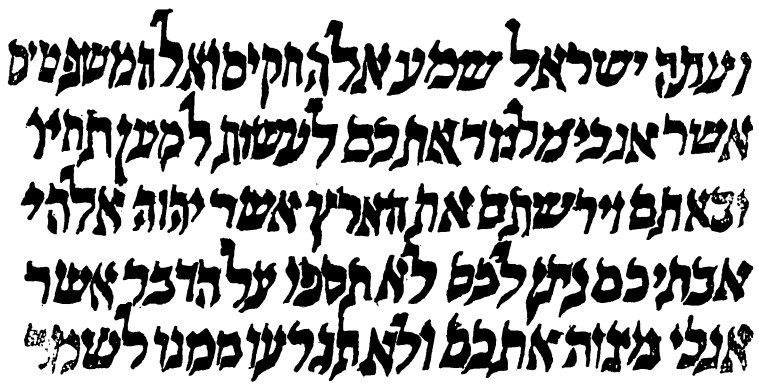
Senna in Arabia; others of them said, it was brought from Cashmir The Cabul Jews, who travel annually into the interior of China, remarked, that in some synagogues the Law is still found written on a roll of leather; not on vellum, but on a soft flexible leather, made of goat-skins, and dyed red. It is evident that the Jews, in the time of Moses, had the art of preparing and dyeing skins; for rams' skins, dyed red, made a part of the covering for the tabernacle (Exod. xxvi. 14.); and it is not improbable, that the very autograph of the Law, written by the hand of Moses, was written on skins so prepared. The ancient rules prescribed to the Jewish scribes direct, that the Law be so written, provided it be done on the skins of clean animals, such as sheep, goat, or calf-skins: therefore this MS., and many others in the hands of the Jews, agree in the same as an ancient practice. The Cabul Jews, above noticed, show that copies of the Law, written on leather skins, are to be found among their people in India and China; and hence we have no doubt, that such are copies of very ancient MSS.[1] The Cambridge roll, or Indian copy of the Pentateuch, which may also be denominated *Malabaric*, is written on a roll of goat-skins dyed *red*, and was discovered by Dr. Buchanan in the record-chest of a synagogue of the black Jews, in the interior of Malayala, in the year 1806. It measures forty-eight feet in length, and in breadth about twenty-two inches, or a Jewish cubit. The book of Leviticus and the greater part of the book of Deuteronomy are wanting. It appears, from calculation, that the original length of the roll was not less than ninety English feet. In its present condition it consists of thirty-seven skins; contains one hundred and seventeen columns of writing perfectly clear and legible; and exhibits (as the subjoined fac-simile of Deut. iv. 1, 2. will show) a noble specimen of the manner and form of the most ancient Hebrew manuscripts among the Jews



The columns are a palm of four inches in breadth, and contain from forty to fifty lines each, which are written without vowel points, and in all other respects according to the rules prescribed to the Jewish scribes or copyists. As some of the skins appear more decayed than others, and the text is evidently not all written by the same hand, Mr. Yeates (from whose collation of this MS. the present account is abridged, and to whom the author is indebted for the preceding fac-simile) is of opinion, that the roll itself comprises the fragments of at least *three* different rolls, of one common material, viz. dyed goat-skin, and exhibits three different specimens of writing. The old skins have been strengthened by patches of parchment on the back; and in one place four words have been renewed by the same supply. The text is written in the square character, and without the vowel points and accents; and the margin of the columns is every where plain, and free from writing of any sort. He has diligently examined and collated this manuscript with the printed text of Vander Hooght's edition of the Hebrew Bible; and the result of his investigation is, that the amount of variations in the whole does not exceed *forty*, and that none of them are found to differ from the common reading as to the sense and interpretation of the text, but are merely additions or omissions of a jod or vau letter, expressing such words to be *full* or deficient, according to the known usage of the Hebrew tongue. But even this small number of readings was considerably reduced, when compared with the text or Athias's edition, printed at Amsterdam in 1661; so that the integrity of the Hebrew text is confirmed by this valuable manuscript so far as it goes, and its testimony on this account is unquestionably important.[2]

"With respect to the several sorts of skins and handwriting, the answer of some Indian Jews, when interrogated concerning this MS., is worthy of remark. By one account, it was brought from Senna in Arabia; and by another account, it came from Cashmir: which two accounts are cleared up on an examination of the MS., since part of it being composed of brown skins, and the writing very similar to that seen in rolls of Arabian and African extraction, there is a possibility that such part is the fragment of an Arabian or African MS., as those Jews relate: and the other account, viz. that it was brought from Cashmir, may also be equally true; since that part consisting of red skins so well corresponds with their own description of copies found in the synagogues of the eastern Jews. The consideration of this point attaches still greater consequences to the roll itself, which, as it is found to consist of fragments of copies purely oriental, and seemingly unconnected with the Western Jewish copies, we may now conclude the same to be ample specimens of copies in those parts of the world. It is true, indeed, that a great part of the text is wanting, and the whole book of Leviticus; yet, notwithstanding the large deficiencies of the MS., it ought to be a satisfaction to know, that herein are ample specimens of at least three ancient copies of the Pentateuch, whose testimony is found to unite in the integrity and pure conservation of the sacred text, acknowledged by Christians and Jews in these parts of the world."[3]

The following testimony of Bishop Marsh to the value of the Codex Malabaricus is too valuable to be omitted:—"A manuscript roll of the Hebrew Pentateuch, apparently of some antiquity, and found among the black Jews in the interior of India, must be regarded at least as a literary curiosity, deserving the attention of the learned in general. And as this manuscript appears, on comparison, to have no important deviation from our common printed Hebrew text, it is of still greater value to a theologian, as it affords an additional argument for the integrity of the Pentateuch. The Hebrew manuscripts of the Pentateuch, preserved in the West of Europe, though equally derived, with the Hebrew manuscripts preserved in India, from the autograph of Moses, must have descended from it through very different channels; and therefore the close agreement of the former with the latter is a proof, that they have preserved the original text in great purity, since the circumstances, under which the MS. was found, forbid the explanation of that agreement on the principle of any immediate connection. It is true that, as this manuscript (or rather the three fragments of which this manuscript is composed) was probably written

[1] Dr. Kennicott quotes from Wolfius, that a certain Jew, named Moses Pereyra, affirmed, he had found MS. copies of the Hebrew text in Malabar; for that the Jews, having escaped from Titus, betook themselves through Persia to the Malabar coast, and arrived there safe in number about eighty persons. Whence Wolfius concludes, that great fidelity is to be attached to the Malabar MSS. The Buchanan MS. may fairly be denominated a Malabar copy, as having been brought from those parts. "Refert Moses Pereyra, se invenisse Manuscripta Exemplaria (Hebræi Textus) Malabarica. Tradit Judæos, a Tito fugientes, per Persiam se ad oras Malabaricas contulisse, ibique cum octoginta animis salvos advenisse. Unde constat, MSdis Malabaricis multum fidei tribuendum esse." Wolf. 4. 97. See Dr. Kennicott's Dissertation the Second, p. 532. Oxford, 1759.

[2] See Mr. Yeates's Collation of an Indian Copy of the Pentateuch, pp. 2, 3. 6 7.

[3] See Mr. Yeates's Collation of an Indian Copy of the Pentateuch, p. 8.

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much later than the time when the Masoretic text was established by the learned Jews of Tiberias, it may have been wholly derived from the Masoretic text; and in this case it would afford only an argument, that the Masoretic text had preserved its integrity, and would not affect the question, whether the Masoretic text itself were an accurate representative of the Mosaic autograph. But, on the other hand, as the very peculiar circumstances under which the manuscript was found render it at least possible that the influence of the Masora, which was extended to the African and European Hebrew manuscripts by the settlement of the most distinguished Oriental Jews in Africa and Spain, never reached the mountainous district in the south of India; as it is possible that the text of the manuscript in question was derived from manuscripts anterior to the establishment of the Masora, manuscripts even which might have regulated the learned Jews of Tiberias in the formation of their own text, the manuscript appears for these reasons to merit particular attention."[1] Professor Lee, however, states that Bishop Marsh is mistaken in his judgment of this manuscript, which Mr. L. pronounces to be an European Masoretic roll, the errors in which show that it was written by an ignorant scribe, so that its text is of little value.[2]

IX. Seventeen manuscripts of the SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH are known to be extant, of which Dr. Kennicott has given a minute description. Six of these manuscripts are in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and one in the Cotton Library in the British Museum: concerning a few of the most valuable of these, the following particulars may not be unacceptable. They are numbered according to Dr. Kennicott's notation.

1. Cod. 127. is preserved in the British Museum. (Bibl. Cotton. Claudius, B. 8.) It is one of the six MSS. procured by Archbishop Usher, by whom it was presented to Sir Robert Cotton. This very valuable manuscript is complete, and was transcribed entirely by one hand, on two hundred and fifty-four pages of vellum. It is in an excellent state of preservation, a leaf of fine paper having been carefully placed between every two leaves of the vellum. This MS. was written A. D. 1362.

2. Cod. 62. is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; and was also purchased by Archbishop Usher, from whose heirs the curators of that library bought it, with many other MSS. This manuscript is in large quarto, and contains an Arabic version in Samaritan letters, placed in a column parallel to the Samaritan text. Unhappily there are many chasms in it. Dr. Kennicott attributes a high value to this manuscript, which was written about the middle of the thirteenth century.

Cod. 197. is a most valuable manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, which was collated for Dr. Kennicott by Dr. Branca, who is of opinion that it is certainly not later than the tenth century. It is imperfect in many places; and is very beautifully written on extremely thin vellum, in red characters.

Cod. 363. (No. 1. of the MSS. in the Library of the Oratory at Paris) is the celebrated manuscript bought by Pietro della Valle of the Samaritans, in 1616, and printed by Morinus in 1631–33. It is written throughout by one hand; and though no date is assigned to it, Dr. Kennicott thinks it was written towards the close of the eleventh century. It was collated for Dr. Kennicott by Dr. Bruns, in some select passages.[3]

SECTION II.

OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE GREEK SCRIPTURES.

§ I. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON GREEK MANUSCRIPTS.

I. *On what materials written.*—II. *Form of letters.*—III. *Abbreviations.*—IV. *Codices Palimpsesti or Rescripti.*

I. THE Greek manuscripts, which have descended to our time, are written either on vellum or on paper; and their external form and condition vary, like the manuscripts of other ancient authors. The vellum is either purple-coloured or of its natural hue, and is either thick or thin. Manuscripts on very thin vellum were always held in the highest esteem. The paper also is either made of cotton, or the common sort manufactured from linen, and is either glazed, or *laid* (as it is technically termed), that is, of the ordinary roughness. Not more than six manuscript fragments on purple vellum are known to be extant: they are described in the following sections of this chapter. The Codex Claromontanus, of which a brief notice is also given in a subsequent page, is written on very thin vellum. All manuscripts on paper are of a much later date; those on cotton paper being posterior to the ninth century, and those on linen subsequent to the twelfth century; and if the paper be of a very ordinary quality, Wetstein pronounces them to have been written in Italy, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

II. The letters are either capital (which in the time of Jerome were called *uncial*, i. e. initial) or *cursive*, i. e. small; the capital letters, again, are of two kinds, either unadorned and simple, and made with straight thin strokes, or thicker, uneven, and angular. Some of them are supported on a sort of base, while others are decorated, or rather burdened, with various tops. As letters of the first kind are generally seen on ancient Greek monuments, while those of the last resemble the paintings of semi-barbarous times, manuscripts written with the former are generally supposed to be as old as the fifth century, and those written with the latter are supposed to be posterior to the ninth century. Greek manuscripts were usually written in capital letters till the seventh century, and mostly without any divisions of words; and capitals were in general use until the eighth century, and some even so late as the ninth: but there is a striking difference in the forms of the letters after the seventh century. Great alterations took place in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries: the Greek letters in the manuscripts copied by the Latins in the ninth century are by no means regular; the α, ε, and γ, being inflected like the *a*, *e*, and *y*, of the Latin alphabet. Towards the close of the tenth century, small or cursive letters were generally adopted; and Greek manuscripts written in and since the eleventh century are in small letters, and greatly resemble each other, though some few exceptions occur to the contrary. Flourished letters rarely occur in Greek manuscripts of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.[4] The fac-similes of the Alexandrian and other manuscripts, given in the subsequent pages of this work, will furnish the reader with a tolerably correct idea of the various styles of Greek writing which obtained at different periods between the sixth and the fourteenth centuries.

The most ancient manuscripts are written without accents, spirits, or any separation of the words; nor was it until after the ninth century that the copyists began to leave spaces between the words. Michaelis, after Wetstein, ascribes the insertion of accents to Euthalius, bishop of Sulca in Egypt, A. D. 458.[5]

III. Nearly the same mode of spelling obtains in ancient manuscripts which prevails in Greek printed books; but, even in the earliest manuscripts, we meet with some words that are abbreviated by putting the first and last letters, and sometimes also the middle letter, for an entire word, and drawing a line over the top: thus $\overline{\text{ΘC}}$, $\overline{\text{KC}}$, $\overline{\text{IC}}$, $\overline{\text{XC}}$, $\overline{\text{ΥΣ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΣΗΡ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΙΗΛ}}$, or $\overline{\text{ΙΣΗΛ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΠΝΑ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΠΗΡ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΜΗΡ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΟΥΝΟΣ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΑΝΟΣ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΙΛΗΜ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΔΑΔ}}$, respectively denote Θεος *God*, Κυριος *Lord*, Ιησους *Jesus*, Χριστος *Christ*, Υιος *a son*, Σωτηρ *Saviour*, Ισραηλ *Israel*, Πνευμα *spirit*, Πατηρ *father*, Μητηρ *mother*, Ουρανος *heaven*, Ανθρωπος *man*, Ιερουσαλημ *Jerusalem*, Δαυιδ *David*.[6] At the beginning of a new book, which always commences at the top of a page, the first three, four, or five lines are frequently written in vermilion; and, with the exception of the Alexandrian and Vatican manuscripts, all the most ancient codices now extant have the Eusebian κεφαλαια and τιτλοι, of which we have given an account in page 214. *supra*.

Very few manuscripts contain the whole either of the Old or of the New Testament. By far the greater part have only the four Gospels, because they were most frequently read in the churches; others comprise only the Acts of the Apostles

[1] See Mr. Yeates's Collation of an Indian Copy of the Pentateuch, pp. 40, 41.

[2] Prolegomena in Biblia Polyglotta Londinensia Minora, Prol. i. sect. xiv. p. 22.

[3] Kennicott, Diss. ii. pp. 538—540. Diss. Gen. pp. 81. 86. 88. 98. In the seventh and following volumes of the Classical Journal there is a catalogue of the biblical, biblico-oriental, and classical manuscripts at present existing in the various public libraries in Great Britain.

[4] Wetstein's Prolegomena to his edition of the Greek Testament, vol. i. pp. 1—3. Astle on the Origin of Writing, pp. 60—76. 2d edit. Wetstein has given an alphabet from various Greek manuscripts, and Astle has illustrated his observations with several very fine engravings.

[5] Wetstein, Proleg. p. 73. Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 519—524.

[6] Concerning Greek abbreviations, see Montfaucon's Palæographia Græca, pp. 345—370. Mr. Astle has also given a specimen of Greek abbreviations from two Psalters.—On Writing, p. 76. plate vi.

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and the Catholic Epistles; others, again, have the Acts, and St. Paul's Epistles; but a few contain the Apocalypse in connection with other books, and fewer still contain it alone, as this book was seldom read in the churches. Almost all of them, especially the more ancient manuscripts, are imperfect, either from the injuries of time, or from neglect.[1] The books of the New Testament are not always disposed in the same order. Thus, in some of the few manuscripts which contain the whole of the New Testament, we find the several books arranged in the following order:—the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, the Acts of the Apostles, the Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse, and the Epistles of Paul. In others, however, the Gospel of John is placed either immediately after that of Matthew, and is followed by Luke and Mark, or it is placed first, and is succeeded by Matthew, Mark, and Luke. In some, the Acts of the Apostles are followed by the Pauline Epistles, the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse. The Epistle to the Hebrews for the most part follows the Epistle to Philemon; but in many manuscripts it precedes the Epistles written to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon.[2]

All manuscripts, the most ancient not excepted, have erasures and corrections; which, however, were not always effected so dexterously, but that the original writing may sometimes be seen. Where these alterations have been made by the copyist of the manuscript (*à primâ manu*, as it is termed), they are preferable to those made by later hands, or *à secundâ manu*. These erasures were sometimes made by drawing a line through the word, or, what is tenfold worse, by the penknife. But, besides these modes of obliteration, the copyist frequently blotted out the old writing with a *sponge*, and wrote other words in lieu of it: nor was this practice confined to a single letter or word, as may be seen in the Codex Bezæ.[3] Authentic instances are on record, in which whole books have been thus obliterated, and other writing has been substituted in the place of the manuscript so blotted out; but where the writing was already faded through age, they preserved their transcriptions without further erasure.

IV. These manuscripts are termed *Codices Palimpsesti* or *Rescripti*. Before the invention of paper, the great scarcity of parchment in different places induced many persons to obliterate the works of ancient writers, in order to transcribe their own, or those of some other favourite author in their place: hence, doubtless, the works of many eminent writers have perished, and particularly those of the greatest antiquity; for such, as were comparatively recent, were transcribed, to satisfy the immediate demand; while those, which were already dim with age, were erased.[4] It was for a long time thought, that this destructive practice was confined to the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and that it chiefly prevailed among the Greeks: it must, in fact, be considered as the consequence of the barbarism which overspread those dark ages of ignorance; but this destructive operation was likewise practised by the Latins, and is also of a more remote date than has usually been supposed.

In general, a Codex Rescriptus is easily known, as it rarely happens that the former writing is so completely erased, as not to exhibit some traces: in a few instances, *both* writings are legible. Many such manuscripts are preserved in the library of the British Museum. Montfaucon found a manuscript in the Colbert Library, which had been written about the eighth century, and originally contained the works ascribed to St. Dionysius: new matter had been written over it, three or four centuries afterwards, and both continued legible.[5] Muratori saw in the Ambrosian library a manuscript comprising the works of the venerable Bede, the writing of which was from eight to nine hundred years old, and which had been substituted for another upwards of a thousand years old. Notwithstanding the efforts which had been made to erase the latter, some phrases could be deciphered, which indicated it to be an ancient pontifical.[6] The indefatigable researches of signor Angelo Maï (for some time the principal keeper of the Vatican library at Rome) have discovered several valuable remains of biblical and classical literature in the Ambrosian library at Milan; and a short account of some of the principal Codices Rescripti of the New Testament, or of parts thereof, will be found in the sequel of this section.

[1] The Codex Cottonianus, for instance, when perfect, contained only the Book of Genesis; the Codex Cæsareus contains only part of the same book, together with a fragment of the Gospel of St. Luke; the Alexandrian manuscript wants the first twenty-four chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel; and the Codex Bezæ contains only the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.

[2] Schott, Isagoge Hist. Crit. in Libros Novi Fœderis, pp. 591, 592.

[3] Wetstein's Prolegomena, pp. 3—8. Griesbach has discovered the hands of *viva different correctors* in the Codex Claromontanus. See his Symbolæ Criticæ, tom. ii. pp. 32—52.

[4] Peignot, Essai sur l'Histoire de Parchemin, pp. 83. *et seq.*

[5] Palæogr. Græc. pp. 231. 233. The greater part of the manuscripts on parchment which Montfaucon had seen, he affirms, were written on parchment, from which some former treatise had been erased, except in those of a very ancient date. Mem. de l'Acad. de Inscript. tom. ix. p. 325.

[6] Muratori. Antiq. Ital. tom. iii. diss. 43. col. 833, 834.

§ 2. ACCOUNT OF GREEK MANUSCRIPTS, CONTAINING THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

I. *The Alexandrian Manuscript.*—II. *The Vatican Manuscript.*

OF the few manuscripts known to be extant, which contain the Greek Scriptures (that is, the Old Testament, according to the Septuagint version, and the New Testament), there are two which pre-eminently demand the attention of the biblical student for their antiquity and intrinsic value, viz. The Alexandrian manuscript, which is preserved in the British Museum, and the Vatican manuscript, deposited in the library of the Vatican Palace at Rome.

I. The CODEX ALEXANDRINUS, or Alexandrian Manuscript, which is noted by the letter A. in Wetstein's, Griesbach's, and Scholz's critical editions of the New Testament, consists of four folio volumes; the three first contain the whole of the Old Testament, together with the apocryphal books, and the fourth comprises the New Testament, the first epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, and the apocryphal Psalms ascribed to Solomon. In the New Testament there is wanting the beginning as far as Matt. xxv. 6. ο νυμφιος ερχεται; likewise from John vi. 50. to viii. 52. and from 2 Cor. iv. 13. to xii. 7. The Psalms are preceded by the epistle of Athanasius to Marcellinus, and followed by a catalogue containing those which are to be used in prayer for each hour, both of the day and of the night; also by fourteen hymns, partly apocryphal, partly biblical, the eleventh of which is the hymn of the Virgin Mary, usually termed the Magnificat (Luke i. 46—55.), and here entitled προσευχη Μαριας της Θεοτοκου, or, *the prayer of Mary the mother of God:* the arguments of Eusebius are annexed to the Psalms, and his canons to the Gospels. This manuscript is now preserved in the British Museum, where it was deposited in 1753. It was sent as a present to King Charles I. from Cyrillus Lucaris, a native of Crete, and patriarch of Constantinople, by Sir Thomas Rowe, ambassador from England to the Grand Seignior, in the year 1628. Cyrillus brought it with him from Alexandria, where, probably, it was written. In a schedule annexed to it, he gives this account; that it was written, according to tradition, by Thecla, a noble Egyptian lady, about thirteen hundred years ago, a little after the council of Nice. He adds, that the name of Thecla, at the end of the book, was erased; but that this was the case with other books of the Christians, after Christianity was extinguished in Egypt by the Mohammedans: and that recent tradition records the fact of the laceration and erasure of Thecla's name. The proprietor of this manuscript, before it came into the hands of Cyrillus Lucaris, had written an Arabic subscription, expressing that this book was said to have been written with the pen of Thecla the Martyr.

Various disputes have arisen with regard to the place whence it was brought, and where it was written, to its antiquity, and of course to its real value. Some critics have bestowed upon it the highest commendation, whilst it has been equally depreciated by others. Of its most strenuous adversaries, Wetstein seems to have been the principal. The place from which it was sent to England was, without doubt, Alexandria, and hence it has been called the *Codex Alexandrinus*. As to the place where it was written, there is a considerable difference of opinion. Matthæus Muttis, who was a contemporary, friend, and deacon of Cyrillus, and who afterwards instructed in the Greek language John Rudolph Wetstein, uncle of the celebrated editor of the Greek Testament, bears testimony, in a letter written to Martin Bogdan, a physician in Berne, dated January 14, 1664, that it had been brought from one of the twenty-two monasteries in Mount Athos, which the Turks never destroyed, but allowed to continue upon the payment of tribute. Dr. Woide endeavours to weaken the evidence of Muttis, and to render the testimony of the elder Wetstein suspicious: but Spohn

[7] Caroli Godofredi Woidii Notitia Codicis Alexandrini, cum variis ejus lectionibus omnibus. Recudendum curavit, notasque adjecit Gottlieb Leberecht Spohn, pp. 10—13. (8vo. Lipsiæ, 1790.)

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shows that the objections of Woide are ungrounded. Allowing their reality, we cannot infer that Cyrillus found this manuscript in Alexandria. Before he went to Alexandria he spent some time on Mount Athos, the repository and manufactory of manuscripts of the New Testament, whence a great number have been brought into the west of Europe, and a still greater number has been sent to Moscow. It is therefore probable, independently of the evidence of Muttis, that Cyrillus procured it there either by purchase or by present, took it with him to Alexandria, and brought it thence on his return to Constantinople. But the question recurs, where was this copy written? The Arabic subscription above cited clearly proves, that it had been in Egypt at some period or other, before it fell into the hands of Cyrillus. This subscription shows that it once belonged to an Egyptian, or that during some time it was preserved in Egypt, where Arabic has been spoken since the seventh century. Besides it is well known that a great number of manuscripts of the Greek Bible have been written in Egypt. Woide has also pointed out a remarkable coincidence between the Codex Alexandrinus and the writings of the Copts. Michaelis alleges another circumstance as a probable argument of its having been written in Egypt. In Ezekiel xxvii. 18. both in the Hebrew and Greek text, the Tyrians are said to have fetched their wine from Chelbon, or, according to Bochart, Chalybon. But as Chalybon, though celebrated for its wine, was unknown to the writer of this manuscript, he has altered it by a fanciful conjecture to οινον εκ χεβρων, wine from Hebron. This alteration was probably made by an Egyptian copyist, because Egypt was formerly supplied with wine from Hebron. The subscription before mentioned ascribes the writing of it to Thecla, an Egyptian lady of high rank, who could not have been, as Michaelis supposes, the martyress Thecla, placed in the time of St. Paul; but Woide replies, that a distinction must be made between Thecla martyr, and Thecla proto-martyr. With regard to these subscriptions we may observe, with Bishop Marsh, that the true state of the case appears to be as follows:—"Some centuries after the Codex Alexandrinus had been written, and the Greek subscriptions, and perhaps those other parts where it is more defective, already lost, it fell into the hands of a Christian inhabitant of Egypt, who, not finding the usual Greek subscription of the copyist, added in Arabic, his native language, the tradition, either true or false, which had been preserved in the family or families to which the manuscript had belonged, 'Memorant hunc codicem scriptum esse calamo Theclæ martyris.' In the 17th century, when oral tradition respecting this manuscript had probably ceased, it became the property of Cyrillus Lucaris: but whether in Alexandria, or Mount Athos, is of no importance to the present inquiry. On examining the manuscript, he finds that the Greek subscription is lost, but that there is a tradition recorded in Arabic by a former proprietor, which simply related that it was written by one Thecla, a martyress, which is what he means by 'memoria et traditio recens.' Taking therefore upon trust, that one Thecla a martyress was really the copyist, he consults the annals of the church to discover in what age and country a person of this name and character existed; finds that an Egyptian lady of rank, called Thecla, suffered martyrdom between the time of holding the council of Nicæa and the close of the fourth century; and concludes, without further ceremony, that she was the very identical copyist. Not satisfied with this discovery, he attempts to account for the loss of the Greek subscription, and ascribes it to the malice of the Saracens; being weak enough to believe that the enemies of Christianity would exert their vengeance on the name of a poor transcriber, and leave the four folio volumes themselves unhurt." Dr. Woide, who transcribed and published this manuscript, and must be better acquainted with it than any other person, asserts, that it was written by two different copyists; for he observed a difference in the ink, and, which is of greater moment, even in the strokes of the letters. The conjecture of Oudin, adopted by Wetstein, that the manuscript was written by an Acœmet is, in the judgment of Michaelis, worthy of attention;[1] and he adds, that this conjecture does not contradict the account that Thecla was the copyist, since there were not only monks but nuns of this order. Mr. Baber, in the prolegomena to his fac-simile edition of the Old Testament from this manuscript, accedes to the opinion of Wetstein, that it was written, not for an individual, but for some church or monastery.[2]

The antiquity of this manuscript has also been the subject of controversy. Grabe and Schulze think that it might have been written before the end of the fourth century, which, says Michaelis, is the very utmost period that can be allowed, because it contains the epistles of Athanasius. Oudin places it in the tenth century. Wetstein refers it to the fifth, and supposes that it was one of the manuscripts collected at Alexandria in 615, for the Syriac version. Dr. Semler refers it to the seventh century. Montfaucon[3] is of opinion, that neither the Codex Alexandrinus, nor any Greek manuscript, can be said with great probability to be much prior to the sixth century. Michaelis apprehends, that this manuscript was written after Arabic was become the native language of the Egyptians, that is, one or rather two centuries after Alexandria was taken by the Saracens, which happened in the year 640, because the transcriber frequently confounds M and B, which is often done in the Arabic; and he concludes, that it is not more ancient than the eighth century. Woide, after a great display of learning, with which he examines the evidence for the antiquity of the Codex Alexandrinus, concludes, that it was written between the middle and the end of the fourth century. It cannot be allowed a greater antiquity, because it has not only the τιτλοι or κεφαλαια majora, but the κεφαλαια minora, or Ammonian sections, accompanied with the references to the Canons of Eusebius. Woide's arguments have been objected to by Spohn.[4] Some of the principal arguments advanced by those who refer this manuscript to the fourth or fifth centuries, are the following: the epistles of Saint Paul are not divided into chapters like the gospels, though this division took place so early as 396, when to each chapter was prefixed a superscription. The Codex Alexandrinus has the epistles of Clement of Rome; but these were forbidden to be read in the churches, by the council of Laodicea, in 364, and that of Carthage, in 419. Hence Schulze has inferred, that it was written before the year 364; and he produces a new argument for its antiquity, deduced from the last of the fourteen hymns found in it after the psalms, which is superscribed υμνος εωθινος, and is called the grand doxology; for this hymn has not the clause αγιος ο θεος, αγιος ισχυρος, αγιος αθανατος, ελεησον ημας, which was used between the years 434 and 446; and therefore the manuscript must have been written before this time. Wetstein thinks that it must have been written before the time of Jerome, because the Greek text of this manuscript was altered from the old Italic. He adds, that the transcriber was ignorant that the Arabs were called Hagarenes, because he has written (1 Chron. v. 20.) αγαρεοι for Αγαρεοι. Others allege that αγαρεοι is a mere erratum: because Αγαρεοι occurs in the preceding verse, Αγαρυτις in 1 Chron. xxvii. 31. and Αγαρηνοι in Psal. lxxxii. 7. These arguments, says Michaelis, afford no certainty, because the Codex Alexandrinus must have been copied from a still more ancient manuscript: and if this were faithfully copied, the arguments apply rather to this than to the Alexandrian manuscript itself. It is the handwriting alone, or the formation of the letters, with the want of accents, which can lead to any probable decision. The arguments alleged to prove that it is not so ancient as the fourth century, are the following. Dr. Semler thinks, that the epistle of Athanasius, on the value and excellency of the Psalms, would hardly have been prefixed to them during his life. But it ought to be recollected, that Athanasius had many warm and strenuous advocates. From this epistle Oudin has attempted to deduce an argument, that the manuscript was written in the tenth century. This epistle, he says, is spurious, and could not have been forged during the life of Athanasius, and the tenth century was fertile in spurious productions. Again, the Virgin Mary, in the superscription of the Song of the Blessed Virgin, is styled Θεοτοκος, a name which Wetstein says betrays the fifth century. Further, from the probable conjecture, that this manuscript was written by one of the order of the Acœmetæ, Oudin concludes against its antiquity; but Wetstein contents himself with asserting, that it could not have been written before the fifth century, because Alexander, who founded this order, lived about the year 420. From this statement, pursued more at large, Michaelis deduces a reason for paying less regard to the Codex Alexandrinus than many eminen

[1] The Acœmets were a class of monks in the ancient church, who flourished, particularly in the East, during the fifth century. They were so called, because they had divine service performed, without interruption, in their churches. They divided themselves into three bodies, each of which officiated in turn, and relieved the others, so that their churches were never silent, either night or day. Wetstein adopts the opinion of Cardinal Oudin, that the Codex Alexandrinus was written by an Acœmet, because it contains a catalogue of the psalms that were to be sung at every hour both of the day and night. Proleg. in Nov. Test. vol. i. p. 10

[2] Vet. Test. Græc. a Baber, Prolegom. p. xxv.

[3] Palæog. Græc. p. 185.

[4] Pp 42—109 of his edition of Woide's Notitia Codicis Alexandrini

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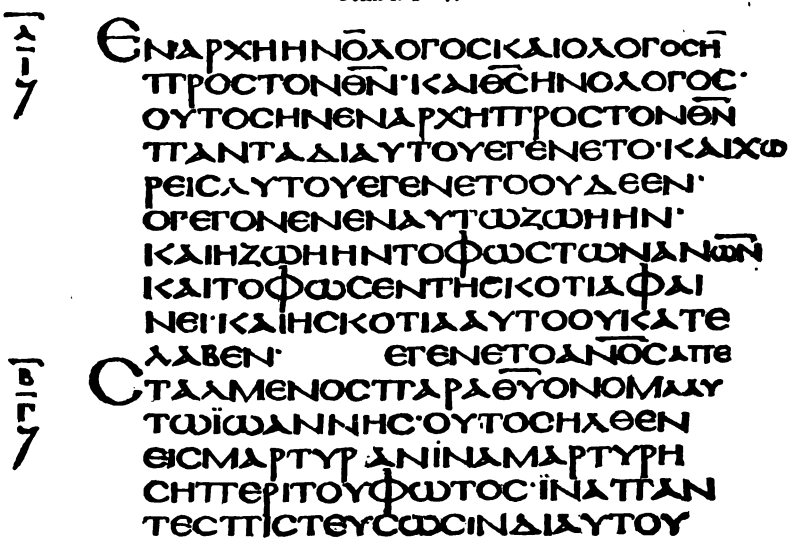
critics have done, and for the preference that is due, in many respects, to ancient versions, before any single manuscript, because the antiquity of the former, which is in general greater than that of the latter, can be determined with more precision. Dietelmaier, who has more recently investigated this question, is of opinion that this manuscript was written towards the close of the fourth, or early in the fifth century:[1] and this, which is the most probable opinion, is adopted by Mr. Baber.[2]

The value of the Alexandrian manuscript has been differently appreciated by different writers. Wetstein is no great admirer of it, nor does Michaelis estimate it highly, either on account of its internal excellence or the value of its readings. The principal charge which has been produced against the Alexandrian manuscript, and which has been strongly urged by Wetstein, is its having been altered from the Latin version. It is incredible, says Michaelis, who once agreed in opinion with Wetstein, but found occasion to alter his sentiments, that a transcriber who lived in Egypt, should have altered the Greek text from a Latin version, because Egypt belonged to the Greek diocese, and Latin was not understood there. On this subject Woide has eminently displayed his critical abilities, and ably defended the Greek manuscripts in general, and the Codex Alexandrinus in particular, from the charge of having been corrupted from the Latin. Griesbach concurs with Woide,[3] and both have contributed to confirm Michaelis in his new opinion. If this manuscript has been corrupted from a version, it is more reasonable to suspect the Coptic, the version of the country in which it was written. Between this manuscript and both the Coptic and Syriac versions, there is a remarkable coincidence. Griesbach has observed, that this manuscript follows three different editions: the Byzantine in the Gospels, the Western edition in the Acts of the Apostles, and the Catholic epistles, which form the middle division of this manuscript, and the Alexandrine in the epistles of Saint Paul. The transcriber, if this assertion be true, must have copied the three parts of the Greek Testament from three different manuscripts of three different editions. It is observable, that the readings of the Codex Alexandrinus coincide very frequently not only with the Coptic and the old Syriac, but with the new Syriac and the Ethiopic; and this circumstance favours the hypothesis, that this manuscript was written in Egypt, because the new Syriac version having been collated with Egyptian manuscripts of the Greek Testament, and the Ethiopic version being taken immediately from them, have necessarily the readings of the Alexandrine edition.

The Alexandrian manuscript is written in uncial or capital letters, without any accents or marks of aspiration, but with a few abbreviations nearly similar to those already noticed,[4] and also with some others which are described by Dr. Woide,[5] who has likewise explained the various points and spaces occurring in this manuscript.

A fac-simile of the Codex Alexandrinus, containing the New Testament, was published at London in 1786, in folio, by the late Dr. Woide, assistant librarian of the British Museum, with types cast for the purpose, line for line, without intervals between the words, precisely as in the original. The following specimen will convey to the reader an idea of this most precious manuscript.

John i. 1—7.



For this stereotype specimen we are indebted to the Rev. H. H. Baber, one of the librarians of the British Museum, who kindly favoured us with the use of the Alexandrian types, with which he printed a fac-simile edition of the Old Testament from the Codex Alexandrinus at London, 1816–28, in four volumes folio.[6] For the gratification of the English reader, the following extract is subjoined, comprising the first seven verses of Saint John's Gospel, rendered rather more literally than the idiom of our language will admit, in order to convey an exact idea of the original Greek (above given) of the Alexandrian manuscript.

John 1. 1—7.

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ANDTHELIFEWASTHELIGHTOFMN·
ANDTHELIGHTINDARKNESSSHIN
ETHANDTHEDARKNESSDIDNOTITCOMPRE
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IOHN·THIS*PERSON*CAME
ASAWITNESSTHATHEMIGHTTESTI
FYCONCERNINGTHELIGHTTHATA
LLMIGHTBELIEVETHROUGHHIM·

II. The CODEX VATICANUS, No. 1209., contests the palm of antiquity with the Alexandrian manuscript. No fac-simile of it has ever been published. The Roman edition of the

[1] Dietelmaieri Dissertatio Academica, quâ antiquitas Codicis Alexandrini vindicatur. §§ 7, 8.
[2] Vet. Test. Græc. Prolegom. p. 24.
[3] In his "Symbolæ Criticæ," vol. i. pp. 110—117.
[4] See p. 221. *supra*.
[5] In the Preface to his fac-simile of the Alexandrian manuscript of the New Testament, §§ 27—34.
[6] The reader who may be desirous of further information concerning the Alexandrian manuscript, is referred to Dr. Grabe's prolegomena to his edition of the Greek Septuagint, and also to the prolegomena of Dr. Woide and of Mr. Baber, already cited, and to those of Dr. Mill and Wetstein, prefixed to their editions of the New Testament. See also Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. ii. part i. pp. 186—209., and Bishop Marsh's notes in part ii. pp. 648—660., and Hug's Introduction to the New Test. vol. i. pp. 268—273. Dr. Lardner has given the table of contents of this manuscript in his Credibility of the Gospel History, part ii. chap. 147. (Works, 8vo. vol. v. pp. 253—256.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 44—46.)

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Septuagint, printed in 1590, professes to exhibit the text of this manuscript; and in the preface to that edition it is stated to have been written before the year 387, *i. e.* towards the close of the fourth century: Montfaucon and Blanchini refer it to the fifth or sixth century, and Dupin to the seventh century. Professor Hug has endeavoured to show that it was written in the early part of the fourth century; but from the omission of the Eusebian κεφαλαια and τιτλοι, Bishop Marsh concludes with great probability that it was written before the close of the fifth century. The Vatican manuscript is written on parchment or vellum, in uncial or capital letters, in three columns on each page, all of which are of the same size, except at the beginning of a book, and without any divisions of chapters, verses, or words, but with accents and spirits. The shape of the letters, and colour of the ink, prove that it was written throughout by one and the same careful copyist. The abbreviations are few, being confined chiefly to those words which are in general abbreviated, such as ΘC, KC, IC, XC, for Θεος, Κυριος, Ιησους, Χριστος, *God, Lord, Jesus, Christ*. Originally this manuscript contained the entire Greek Bible, including both the Old and New Testaments; in which respect it resembles none so much as the Codex Alexandrinus, though no two manuscripts vary more in their readings. The Old Testament wants the first forty-six chapters of Genesis, and thirty-two psalms, viz. from Psal. cv. to cxxxvii. inclusive; and the New Testament wants the latter part of the epistle to the Hebrews, viz. all after chapter ix. verse 14., and also Saint Paul's other epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, and the whole Book of Revelation. It appears, however, that this last book, as well as the latter part of the epistle to the Hebrews, has been supplied by a modern hand in the fifteenth century, and, it is said, from some manuscript that had formerly belonged to Cardinal Bessarion. In many places the faded letters have also been retouched by a modern but careful hand: and when the person who made these amendments (whom Michaelis pronounces to have been a man of learning) found various readings in other manuscripts, he has introduced them into the Codex Vaticanus, but has still preserved the original text; and in some few instances he has ventured to erase with a penknife. Various defects, both in orthography and language, indicate that this manuscript was executed by an Egyptian copyist. Instead of συλλαβω, &c. he has written συλλαμβω, λαμβανω, λαμβανεσθαι, which occurs only in Coptic or Græco-coptic MSS. He has also written ειπαν for ειπον, as may be seen in the celebrated Rosetta inscription; ειδαν, ειπαν, εστωθαν, ἀπεκατο, and διαμαρτυρατο, as in the inscription of the Theban Memnon; and ἐφαγαν and γενοναν, as the Alexandrians wrote, according to the testimony of Sextus Empiricus. These peculiarities show that the Codex Vaticanus exhibits the Egyptian text, subsequent to the third century, according to the Alexandrine Recension of Griesbach, though it exhibits many additions (in the Gospel of Saint Matthew for instance) which are not found in other manuscripts of this recension.

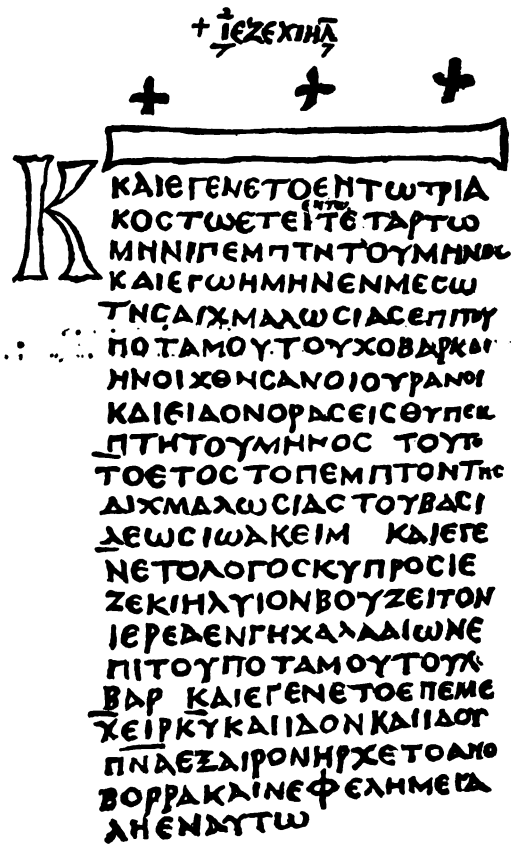
It has been supposed that this manuscript was collated by the editors of the Complutensian Polyglott, and even that this edition was almost entirely taken from it; but Bishop Marsh has shown by actual comparison that this was not the case.

Dr. Scholz made use of the collection of Julius de St. Anastasia, which was executed before the year 1669, and which is now preserved in the royal library at Paris.[1]

The Vatican manuscript has been repeatedly collated by various eminent critics, from whose extracts Wetstein collected numerous various readings; but the latest and best collation is that by Professor Birch, of Copenhagen, in 1781. Although the antiquity of the Vatican manuscript is indisputable, it is by no means easy to determine between its comparative value and that of the Alexandrian manuscript; nor is there any absolute and universal standard by which their several excellencies may be estimated. With regard to the Old Testament, if any Greek manuscript were now extant, containing an *exact* copy of the several books as they were originally translated, such manuscript would be perfect, and, consequently, the most valuable. The nearer any copy comes to this perfection, the more valuable it must be, and *vice versâ*. In its present state the Hebrew text cannot determine fully the value of these MSS. in their relation to one another: and yet, as that text receives great assistance from both, it proves that both deserve our highest regard. It is worthy of remark, that neither of them has the asterisks of Origen, though both of them were transcribed in the fifth century; which, Dr. Kennicott observes,[2] is one proof that they were not taken either mediately or immediately from the Hexapla. The Vatican and Alexandrian manuscripts differ from each other in the Old Testament chiefly in this;—that, as they contain books, which have been corrected by different persons, upon different principles; and as they differ greatly in some places in their interpolations,—so they contain many words which were either derived from different Greek versions, or else were translated by one or both of the transcribers themselves from the Hebrew text, which was consulted by them at the time of transcribing.

On the ground of its internal excellence, Michaelis preferred the Vatican manuscript (for the New Testament) to the Codex Alexandrinus. If, however, that manuscript be most respectable which comes the nearest to Origen's Hexaplar copy of the Septuagint, the Alexandrian manuscript seems to claim that merit in preference to its rival: but if it be thought a matter of superior honour to approach nearer the old Greek version, uncorrected by Origen, that merit seems to be due to the Vatican.[3]

The annexed engraving exhibits a specimen of the Vatican manuscript from a fac-simile traced in the year 1704 for Dr. Grabe, editor of the celebrated edition of the Septuagint, which is noticed in a subsequent part of this work. The author has reason to believe that it is *the most faithful* fac-simile ever executed of this MS. It was made by Signor Zacagni, at that time principal keeper of the Vatican Library, and it is now preserved among Dr. Grabe's manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.



This fac-simile has been most carefully and accurately copied, under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Bandinel, the keeper of that noble repository of literature, to whom the author now offers his acknowledgments for his kind assistance on this occasion. The passage represented in our engraving contains the first three verses of the first chapter of the prophet Ezekiel, of which the following is a literal English version:

[1] Scholz, Nov. Test. vol. i. Proleg. p. 38

[2] Diss. ii. pp. 413—415.

[3] Signor Zacagni's Letter to Dr. Grabe, dated Rome, Nov. 29. 1704, in Dr. Kennicott's Diss. ii. pp. 408—411. Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. pp. 341—350. Part ii. pp. 810—820. Hug's Introd. to the New Test. vol. i. pp 262—272.

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1EZEKIEL.

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NGJOACHIM ANDCA
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BARANDUPONMEWAS
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WITHIT

No fac-simile edition (like that of the Alexandrian manuscript of the New Testament edited by Dr. Woide, and of the Old Testament by the Rev. H. H. Baber) has ever been executed of the precious Vatican manuscript. During the pontificate of Pius VI. the Abate Spoletti contemplated the publication of it, for which purpose he delivered a memorial to the Pope. No *public* permission was ever given: and though the Pontiff's private judgment was not unfavourable to the undertaking, yet, as his indulgence would have been no security against the vengeance of the inquisition, Spoletti was obliged to abandon his design.[1] It is, however, but just to add, that no obstacles were thrown in the way of the collation of manuscripts in the Vatican for Dr. Holmes's critical edition of the Septuagint version, of which some account will be found in the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to the second volume.

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§ 3. ACCOUNT OF ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS (ENTIRE OR IN PART) CONTAINING THE SEPTUAGINT OR GREEK VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. *The Codex Cottonianus.*—II. *The Codex Sarravianus.*—III. *The Codex Colbertinus.*—IV. *The Codex Cæsareus, Argenteus, or Argenteo-Purpureus.*—V. *The Codex Ambrosianus.*—VI. *The Codex Coislinianus.*—VII. *The Codex Basiliano-Vaticanus.*—VIII. *The Codex Turicensis.*

IT is not precisely known what number of manuscripts of the Greek version of the Old Testament are extant. The highest number of those collated by the late Rev. Dr. Holmes, for his splendid edition of this version, is one hundred and thirty-five. *Nine* of them are described, as being written in uncial characters, and as having furnished him with the most important of the various readings, with which his first volume is enriched: besides these he has noticed *sixty-three* others, written in cursive or small characters, and which have likewise furnished him with various lections. Of these manuscripts the following are more particularly worthy of notice, on account of their rarity and value.[2]

I. The CODEX COTTONIANUS is not only the most ancient but the most correct manuscript that is extant. It was originally brought from Philippi by two Greek bishops, who presented it to king Henry VIII. whom they informed that tradition reported it to have been the identical copy which had belonged to the celebrated Origen, who lived in the former half of the third century. Queen Elizabeth gave it to Sir John Fortescue, her preceptor in Greek, who, desirous of preserving it for posterity, placed it in the Cottonian library. This precious manuscript was almost destroyed by the calamitous fire which consumed Cotton House at Westminster, in the year 1731. Eighteen fragments are all that now remain, and of these, both the leaves, and consequently the writing in a just proportion, are contracted into a less compass; so that what were large are now small capitals. These fragments are at present deposited in the British Museum.[3]

In its original state, the Codex Cottonianus contained one hundred and sixty-five leaves, in the quarto size; it is written on vellum, in uncial characters, the line running along the whole width of the page, and each line consisting, in general, of twenty-seven, rarely of thirty letters. These letters are almost every where of the same length, excepting that at the end of a line they are occasionally somewhat less, and in some instances are interlined or written over the line. Like all other very ancient manuscripts, it has no accents or spirits, nor any distinction of words, verses, or chapters. The words are, for the most part, written at full length, with the exception of the well known and frequent abbreviations of $\overline{\text{KC}}$, $\overline{\text{KN}}$, $\overline{\text{ΘC}}$, $\overline{\text{ΘN}}$, for Κυριος and Κυριον, *Lord*, and Θεος, Θεον, *God*. Certain consonants, vowels, and diphthongs are also interchanged.[4] The coherence of the Greek text is very close, except where it is divided by the interposition of the very curious paintings or illuminations with which this manuscript is decorated. These pictures were two hundred and fifty in number, and consist of compositions within square frames, of one or of several figures, in general not exceeding two inches in height; and these frames, which are four inches square, are occasionally divided into two compartments. The heads are perhaps too large, but the attitudes and draperies have considerable merit: and they are by competent judges preferred to the miniatures that adorn the Vienna manuscript, which is noticed in pp. 227, 228., *infra*. Twenty-one fragments of these illuminations were engraved in 1744, on two large folio plates, at the expense of the society of Antiquaries of London. More fragments must have been preserved than the eighteen which at present remain; because none of those engraved are now to be met with.[5] On an examination of the Codex Cottonianus, with a view to take a fac-simile of some one of its fragments for this work, they were found in a nearly pulverized and carbonized state, so that no accurate copy could be made. The annexed engraving therefore is copied from that of the Antiquarian Society.[6] The subject on the right hand is Jacob delivering his son Benjamin to his brethren, that they may go a second time into Egypt, and buy corn for himself and his family. The passage of Genesis, which it is intended to illustrate, is ch. xliii. 13, 14., of which the following is a representation in ordinary Greek characters; the words preserved being in capital letters.

ΚΑΙΤΟΝΑΔΕΛΦΟΝΥΜΩν λαβετε και ανα
ΣΤΑΝΤΕΣΚΑΤΑΒΗΤΕΠΡΟΣ τον ανθρω
ΠΟΝ·ΟΔΕΘΕΣΜΟΥΔΩΗ υμιν χαριν ινα
ΤΙΟΝΤΟΥΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ·ΚΑΙ αποστελλει τον
ΑΔΕΛΦΟΝΥΜΩΝΤΟΝ ὑμα και τον Βενι
ΑΜΕΙΝ·ΕΓΩΜΕΝΓΑΡΚΑΘαπερ ὑπαρχω
ΜΑΙΗΤΕΚΝΩΜΑΙ.

In English, thus:

ALSOYOURBROTHER take, and a
RISEGOAGAINUNTOthe ma
N·ANDMAYGDGIVE you favour be
FORETHEMANTHAT he may send back
YOURBROTHER and Benj
AMIN·ASFORMEAS I have been be
REAVEDOFCHILDRENIAM bereaved.

The subject on the left hand of the engraving is Joseph's interview with his brethren in his own house, on their return into Egypt. It illustrates Genesis xliii. 30, 31., and is as follows:—

[1] Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. p. 181., part ii. pp. 644, 645.

[2] Our descriptions are chiefly abridged from Dr. Holmes's Præfatio ad Pentateuchum, cap. ii. prefixed to the first volume of his critical edition of the Septuagint version published at Oxford, in 1798, folio.

[3] Catalogus Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ, p. 365. (folio, 1802.) Casley's Catalogue of MSS. in the King's library, pp. viii. ix.

[4] These permutations were a fruitful source of errors in manuscripts. Some instances of them are given Sect. VI. § 1. iii. 1. *infra*

[5] Catalogus Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ, p. 365.

[6] Vetusta Monumenta, quæ ad Rerum Britannicarum Memoriam Conservandam Societas Antiquariorum sumptu suo edenda curavit. Londini, 1747, folio, tom. i. Pl. *LXVII.* No. VI. et VII.

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Παραχχθη δε Ιωσηφ· συνεν
ΤΡΕΦΕΤΟΓΑΡΤΑΕΝΤΕΡΑ *αυτου*
ΤΩΑΔΕΛΦΩΑΥΤΟΥ·ΚΑΙΕΖΗ*τει κλαυσαι*
ΕΙΣΕΛΘΩΝΑΕΕΙΣΤΟΤΑΜΕΙ*ον κλαυσ*
ΕΝΕΚΕΙ·ΚΑΙΝΙΨΑΜΕΝΟΣΤΟ *πρωσωπον*
ΕΞΕΛΘΩΝΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΕΥΣΑΤΟ·*και ειπεν*
Παραθετε αρτον.

In English, thus:

And Joseph was discomposed·
FORhisBOWELSYEARNED
TOWARDSHISBROTHER·ANDheSOUGht *where* to weep·
ANDENTERINGINTOHISCHAMBer, he we
PTTHERE·ANDWHENHEHADWASHED his face, *and*
COMEFORTHHERESTRAINED himself· and said
Set on bread.

The larger Greek characters at the foot of our fac-simile are copied from the third plate of Mr. Astle's work on the Origin of Writing: they exhibit the first four words of Gen. xiv. 17. of the same size as in the Codex Cottonianus Genesis, before the occurrence of the calamitous fire above noticed. The loss of the consumed parts of this precious manuscript would have been irreparable, had not extracts of its various readings been made by different learned men, which have been preserved to the present time. Thus the collations of it by Archbishop Usher and Patrick Young, in the middle of the seventeenth century, are printed in the sixth volume of Bishop Walton's Polyglott Edition of the Bible. Archbishop Usher's autograph collation is deposited in the Bodleian Library, among the other MSS. of that distinguished prelate. The principal various readings, noted by Dr. Gale, towards the close of the same century, are entered in the margin of an Aldine edition of the Greek version, which subsequently belonged to the late Dr. Kennicott. But the most valuable collation is that made in the year 1703, by Dr. Grabe, who was deeply skilled in palæography, and bequeathed by him to the Bodleian Library, whence the Rev. Dr. Owen published it at London, in 1778, in an octavo volume. Dr. Holmes has chiefly followed Grabe's extract of various readings, in his critical edition of the Septuagint, but he has occasionally availed himself of Archbishop Usher's collation.[1]

The Codex Cottonianus is the most ancient manuscript of any part of the Old Testament that is extant. It is acknowledged to have been written towards the end of the *fourth*, or in the *beginning of the fifth* century; and it seldom agrees with any manuscript or printed edition, except the Codex Alexandrinus, which has been described in pp. 222—224. of the present volume. There are, according to Dr. Holmes, at least twenty instances in which this manuscript expresses the meaning of the *original* Hebrew more accurately than any other exemplars.

II. III. The Codices SARRAVIANUS (now in the Public Library of the Academy at Leyden), and COLBERTINUS (formerly numbered 3084. among the Colbert MSS., but at present deposited in the Royal Library at Paris), are distinct parts of the same manuscript, and contain the Pentateuch, and the books of Joshua and Judges. The Codex Sarravianus is defective in those very leaves, viz. seven in Exodus, thirteen in Leviticus, and two in Numbers, which are found in the Colbertine manuscript; the writing of which, as well as the texture of the vellum, and other peculiarities, agree so closely with those of the Codex Sarravianus, as to demonstrate their perfect identity. These manuscripts are neatly written on thin vellum, in uncial letters, with which some round characters are intermixed. The contractions or abbreviations, permutations of letters, &c. are the same which are found in the Codex Cottonianus. These two Codices, as they are termed, may be referred to the fifth or sixth century. To some paragraphs of the book of Leviticus titles or heads have been prefixed, evidently by a later hand.

IV. The CODEX CÆSAREUS (which is also frequently called the CODEX ARGENTEUS, and CODEX ARGENTEO-PURPUREUS, because it is written in *silver letters* on *purple vellum*) is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. The letters are beautiful but thick, partly round and partly square. In size, it approximates to the quarto form: it consists of twenty-six

[1] Another collation was made by the eminent critic, Crusius, who highly commended the Codex Cottonianus in two dissertations published by him at Gottingen in 1744 and 1745. Crusius's collation subsequently fell into the hands of Breitinger, the editor of the beautiful edition of the Septuagint published at Zurich in 1730—1733. It is not at present known what has become of this collation.

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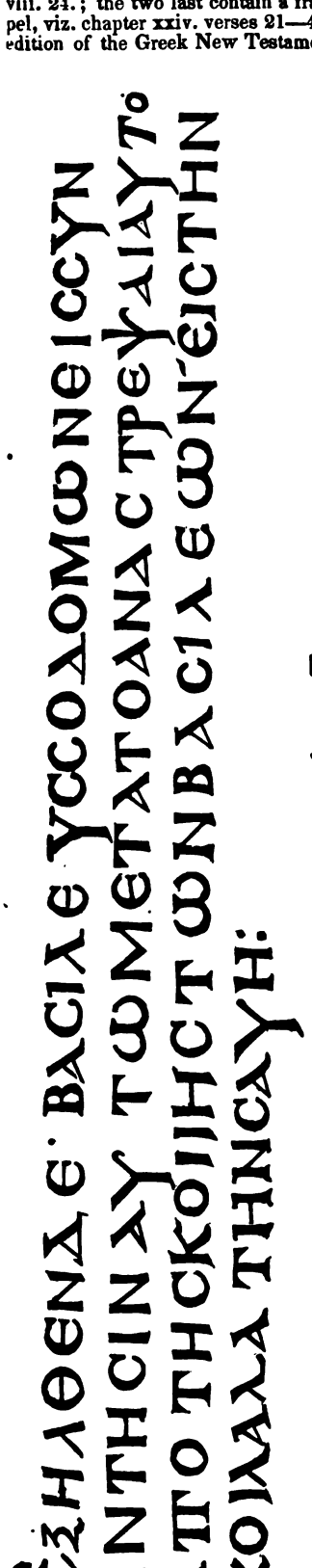
leaves only, the first twenty-four of which contain a fragment of the book of Genesis, viz. from chapter iii. 4. to chap. viii. 21.; the two last contain a fragment of St. Luke's Gospel, viz. chapter xxiv. verses 21—49. In Wetstein's critical edition of the Greek New Testament, these two leaves are denoted by the letter N. The first twenty-four leaves are ornamented with forty-eight curious miniature paintings which Lambecius refers to the age of Constantine; but, from the shape of the letters, this manuscript is rather to be assigned to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. In these pictures, the divine prescience and providence are represented by a hand proceeding out of a cloud: and they exhibit interesting specimens of the habits, customs, and amusements of those early times.[1] From the occurrence of the words κιτωνας (*kitônas*) instead of χιτωνας (*chitônas*), and Αβιμελεκ (*Abimelek*) instead of Αβιμελεχ (*Abimelech*), Dr. Holmes is of opinion that this manuscript was written by dictation. Vowels, consonants, &c. are interchanged in the same manner as in the Codex Cottonianus, and similar abbreviations are likewise found in it. In some of its readings the Codex Cæsareus resembles the Alexandrian manuscript. In his letter to the Bishop of Durham, published in 1795, and containing a specimen of his proposed new edition of the Septuagint version with various lections,[2] Dr. Holmes printed the *entire text* of this MS. which had been collated and revised for him by Professor Alter, of Vienna; and he also gave an engraved fac-simile of the whole of its seventh page. From this fac-simile the foregoing specimen is copied.



It is the seventeenth verse of the fourteenth chapter of the book of Genesis, and runs thus in ordinary Greek characters.

ΕΞΗΛΘΕΝΔΕ·ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΣΟΔΟΜΩΝΕΙΣΣΥΝ
ΑΝΤΗΣΙΝΑΥΤΩΜΕΤΑΤΟΥΝΑΣΤΡΕΨΑΙΑΥΤΟ
ΑΠΟΤΗΣΚΟΠΗΣΤΩΝΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ·ΕΙΣΤΗΝ
ΚΟΙΛΑΔΑΤΗΝΣΑΥΗ:

In English, thus, as nearly as the idiom of our language will allow:

AND THE KING OF SODOM WENT OUT TO ME
ETHIMAFTERHISRETURN
FROM THE SLAUGHTER OF THE KINGS TO THE
VALLEY OF SAVE:

VI. The CODEX COISLINIANUS originally belonged to M. Seguier, Chancellor of France in the middle of the seventeenth century, a munificent collector of biblical manuscripts, from whom it passed, by hereditary succession, to the Duc de Coislin. From his library it was transferred into that of the monastery of Saint Germain-Des-Prez, and thence into the Royal Library at Paris, where it now is. According to Montfaucon, by whom it is particularly described,[3] it is in quarto, and was written in a beautiful round uncial character, in the *sixth*, or at the latest in the *seventh* century. But the accents and spirits have been added by a comparatively recent hand. It consists of two hundred and twenty-six leaves of vellum, and formerly contained the *octateuch* (that is the five books of Moses, and those of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth), the two books of Samuel and the two books of Kings; but it is now considerably mutilated by the injuries of time. The copyist was totally ignorant of Hebrew, as is evident from the following inscription, which he has placed at the beginning of the book of Genesis;—Βαρησθ παρα Εβραιοις, οπερ εστι ερμηνευομενον, λογοι ημερων,—that is, Βαρησθ *in Hebrew, which being interpreted is* (or means) *the Words of Days*, or the *history of the days*, i. e. the history of the six days' work of creation. This word Βαρησθ (*Barêseth*) is no other than the Hebrew word בראשית (BERESHITH) *in the beginning*, which is the first word in the book of Genesis. Montfaucon further observed that this manuscript contained readings very similar to those of the Codex Alexandrinus; and his remark is confirmed by Dr. Holmes, so far as respects the Pentateuch.

VII. The CODEX BASILIANO-VATICANUS is the last of the MSS. in uncial characters collated by Dr. H. It formerly belonged to a monastery in Calabria, whence it was transferred by Pietro Memniti, superior of the monks of the order of Saint Basil at Rome, into the library of his monastery; and thence it passed into the papal library of the Vatican, where it is now numbered 2,106. It is written on vellum, in oblong leaning uncial characters; and according to Montfaucon

[1] The whole forty-eight embellishments are engraven in the third volume of Lambecius's Commentariorum de augustissima Bibliotheca Cæsarea-Vindobonensi, libri viii. (Vindobonæ, 1665—1679, folio, 8 vols.) They are also republished in Nesselius's Breviarum et Supplementum Commentariorum Bibliothecæ Cæsareæ-Vindobonensis (Vindobonæ, 6 parts, in 2 vols. folio), vol. i. pp. 55—102.; and again in the third book or volume of Kollarius's second edition of Lambecius's Commentarii (Vindobonæ, 1766—1782, 8 vols. folio). Montfaucon's fac-simile of the characters (Palæographia Græca, p. 194.) has been made familiar to English readers, by a portion of it which has been copied by Mr. Astle (on the Origin of Writing, plate iii. p. 70.); but his engraver is said by Dr. Dibdin (Bibliographical Decameron, vol. i. p. xliv.) to have deviated from the original, and to have executed the fac-simile in too heavy a manner. Dr. D. has himself given a most beautiful fac-simile of one of the pictures of this MS. in the third volume of his Bibliographical and Antiquarian Tour in France and Germany.

[2] Honorabili et admodum Reverendo, Shute Barrington, LL.D. Episcopo Dunelmensi, Epistola, Complexa Genesin ex Codice Purpureo-Argenteo Cæsareo-Vindobonensi expressam, et Testamenti Veteris Græci, Versionis Septuaginta-viralis cum Variis Lectionibus denuo edendi, Specimen. Dedit Robertus Holmes, S. T. P. e. Collegio novo, et nuperrime Publicus in Academia Oxoniensi Poeticæ Prælector. Oxonii, MDCCXCV. folio.

[3] Bibliotheca Coisliniana, olim Seguieriana, folio, Paris, 1715.

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was executed in the ninth century. Dr. Holmes considers it to be a manuscript of considerable value and importance, which, though in many respects it corresponds with the other MSS. collated by him, yet contains some valuable lections which are nowhere else to be found. On this account it is to be regretted that the Codex Basiliano-Vaticanus is imperfect both at the beginning and end.

VIII. The CODEX TURICENSIS is numbered 262 in Dr. Parson's catalogue of MSS. collated for the book of Psalms, in his continuation of the magnificent edition of the Septuagint commenced by the late Rev. Dr. Holmes. It is a quarto manuscript of the book of Psalms, the writing of which proves it to have been executed at least in the eleventh century, if not much earlier; and consists of two hundred and twenty-two leaves of extremely thin purple vellum; and the silver characters and golden initial letters are in many parts so decayed by the consuming hand of time, as to be with difficulty legible. The portions of the Psalms wanting in this MS. are Psal. i.—xxv.; xxx. 1.—xxxvi. 20.; xli. 5.—xliii. 2.; lviii. 13.—lix. 4.; lxiv. 11. lxxi. 4.; xcii. 3.—xciii. 7.; and xcvi. 12.—xcvii. 8. Several of the ancient ecclesiastical hymns, which form part of this MS., are also mutilated. It is, however, consolatory to know that those portions of the Psalms which are deficient in the Codices Alexandrinus and Vaticanus may be supplied from the Codex Turicensis:[1] and this circumstance, it should seem, occasioned the generally accurate traveller, Mr. Coxe (whose error has been implicitly copied by succeeding writers) to state that the MS. here described once formed part of the Codex Vaticanus.[2]

§ 4. ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING THE NEW TESTAMENT, ENTIRE OR IN PART, WHICH HAVE BEEN USED IN CRITICAL EDITIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE autographs, or manuscripts of the New Testament, which were written either by the apostles themselves, or by amanuenses under their immediate inspection,[3] have long since perished; and we have no information whatever concerning their history. The pretended autograph of St. Mark's Gospel at Venice is now known to be nothing more than a copy of the Latin version,[4] and no existing manuscripts of the New Testament can be traced higher than the fourth century; and most of them are of still later date. Some contain the whole of the New Testament; others comprise particular books or fragments of books; and there are several which contain, not whole books arranged according to their usual order, but detached portions or lessons (ἀναγνώσεις), appointed to be read on certain days in the public service of the Christian church; from which again whole books have been put together. These are called *Lectionaria*, and are of two sorts: 1. *Evangelisteria*, containing lessons from the four Gospels; and, 2. *Apostolos*, comprising lessons from the Acts and Epistles, and sometimes only the Epistles themselves. When a manuscript contains both parts, Michaelis says that it is called *Apostolo-Evangelion*. Forty-six Evangelisteria were collated by Griesbach for the four Gospels of his edition of the New Testament; and seven Lectionaria or Apostoli, for the Acts and Epistles.[5] Some manuscripts, again, have not only the Greek text, but are accompanied with a version, which is either interlined, or in a parallel column; these are called *Codices Bilingues*. The greatest number is in Greek and Latin; and the Latin version is, in general, one of those which existed before the time of Jerome. As there are extant Syriac-Arabic and Gothic-Latin manuscripts, Michaelis thinks it probable that there formerly existed Greek-Syriac, Greek-Gothic, and other manuscripts of that kind, in which the original and some version were written together.[6] Where a transcriber, instead of copying from one and the same ancient manuscript, selects from several those readings which appear to him to be the best, the manuscript so transcribed is termed a *Codex Criticus*.

i. *Manuscripts written in Uncial or Capital Letters.*[7]

I.—A.[8] The CODEX ALEXANDRINUS. See a description of it among the manuscripts containing the Old and New Testaments in Greek, pp. 222—224. *supra*. Except in the four Gospels (the copyist of which followed a manuscript of the Constantinopolitan Recension), this manuscript is considered the standard MS. of the Alexandrine Recension.

II.—B. The CODEX VATICANUS. It is described in pp. 224—226. Dr. Scholz refers it to the Alexandrine Recension, except in the Gospel of St. Matthew, in which there are many additions not found in other manuscripts of this family.

III.—C. The CODEX EPHREMI, or CODEX REGIUS, 1905, (at present 9.) is an invaluable Codex Rescriptus, written on vellum, and is of very high antiquity. The first part of this manuscript contains several Greek works of Ephrem the Syrian, written towards the close of the twelfth, or perhaps of the thirteenth century, over some more ancient writings which had been erased, though the traces are still visible, and in most places legible. These more ancient writings appear to have contained the Septuagint version of the Old Testament (considerable fragments of which are still extant), and the entire New Testament. Both were originally written continuously; but they were so completely intermingled, inverted, or transposed, by the unknown later copyists of Ephrem's treatises, as to render these venerable remains of Scripture almost useless.[9] The chasms in the New Testament are very numerous. They are specified by Wetstein, from whom they have been copied by Michaelis and Griesbach. The text is not divided into columns; the uncial characters are larger than those of the Codex Alexandrinus, without accents, and the words are not divided. There are large initial letters at the beginning of each section; and the text is sometimes divided into articles, not much larger than our verses. A small cross indicates the end of a division; a full point below a letter is equivalent to a comma, and in the middle to a semicolon. The Gospels follow the divisions of Ammonius, and also have the τιτλοι, *à primâ manu*; the sections of the epistles sometimes agree with the ἀναγνώσεις or lessons occurring in the MSS. which are known to have been written in Egypt. The titles and subscriptions to the several books are very brief, without any of the additions which are sometimes found in the Codex Alexandrinus. The Codex Ephremi exhibits the text of the Alexandrine Recension in its greatest purity, and numerous other indications of its Egyptian origin. In this manuscript the disputed verse, John v. 4., is written, not in the text, but as a marginal scholion. Wetstein conjectured, that this was one of the manuscripts that were collated at Alexandria in 616 with the new Syriac version; but of this there is no evidence. From a marginal note to Heb. viii. 7. the same critic also argued, that it was written before the institution of the feast of the Virgin Mary; that is, before the year 542. But his arguments are not considered as wholly decisive by Michaelis, who only asserts its great antiquity in general terms. Bishop Marsh pronounces it to be at least as ancient as the seventh century; Professor Hug considers it to be even older than the Codex Alexandrinus; and Dr. Scholz refers it, with much probability, to the sixth century. The readings of the Codex Ephremi, like those of all other very ancient manuscripts, are in favour of the Latin; but there is no satisfactory evidence that

[1] The preceding description of the Codex Turicensis is abridged from Professor Breitinger's scarce tract, addressed to Cardinal Quirini, and entitled, "De antiquissimo Turicensis Bibliothecæ Græco Psalmorum Libro, Epistola. Turici. 1748." 4to.

[2] See Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, in Pinkerton's Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. vi. p. 672. 4to.

[3] Saint Paul dictated most of his epistle to amanuenses; but, to prevent the circulation of spurious letters, he wrote the concluding benediction with his own hand. Compare Rom. xvi. 22. Gal. vi. 11. and 2 Thess. iii. 17, 18. with 1 Cor. xvi. 21.

[4] See vol. ii. p. 305, and note 9.

[5] Griesbach, Proleg. ad Nov Test. tom. i. pp. cxix—cxxii. In the second volume of his Symbolæ Criticæ (pp. 3—30.) Dr. G. has described eleven important Evangelisteria, which had either been not collated before, or were newly examined and collated by himself. Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. pp. 161—163. part ii. 639, 640. The Rev. Dr. Dibdin has described a superb Evangelisterium, and has given fac-similes of its ornaments, in the first volume of his Bibliographical Decameron, pp. xcii—xciv. This precious manuscript is supposed to have been written at the close of the eleventh, or early in the thirteenth century. The illuminations are executed with singular beauty and delicacy.

[6] Introduction to the New Test. vol. ii. part i. p. 164.

[7] In the following catalogue of Manuscript Letters of the Alphabet, A. to U. and X. denote the references made by Wetstein, Griesbach, and Scholz, in their respective critical editions of the New Testament, to the manuscripts described in this catalogue. The letters V. W. Y. Z. Γ. and Δ. denote the references made by Scholz alone. Where no authorities are specified for particular manuscripts, in order to avoid the unnecessary multiplication of references, it is proper to state that this catalogue of manuscripts has been drawn up from a careful examination of the Prolegomena of Dr. Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, and Scholz, from Griesbach's Symbolæ Criticæ, from Hug's Introduction to the New Testament, and from Michaelis's Chapter on "the Manuscripts that have been used in Editions of the Greek Testament," with Bishop Marsh's supplementary Annotations, which collectively form the greater part of the second volume of Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament.

[8] Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Regiæ, tom. ii. p. 2. In pp. 3—5., the compiler of the Catalogue [M. Anicet Mellot] has given an index of the several passages of the Old and New Testament restored to their proper order, with references to the leaves of the manuscripts where they are actually to be found. Montfaucon (Palæographia Græca, pp. 213, 214.) has given a fac-simile of this manuscript, which Professor Hug say is not equal in point of elegance to the original manuscript.

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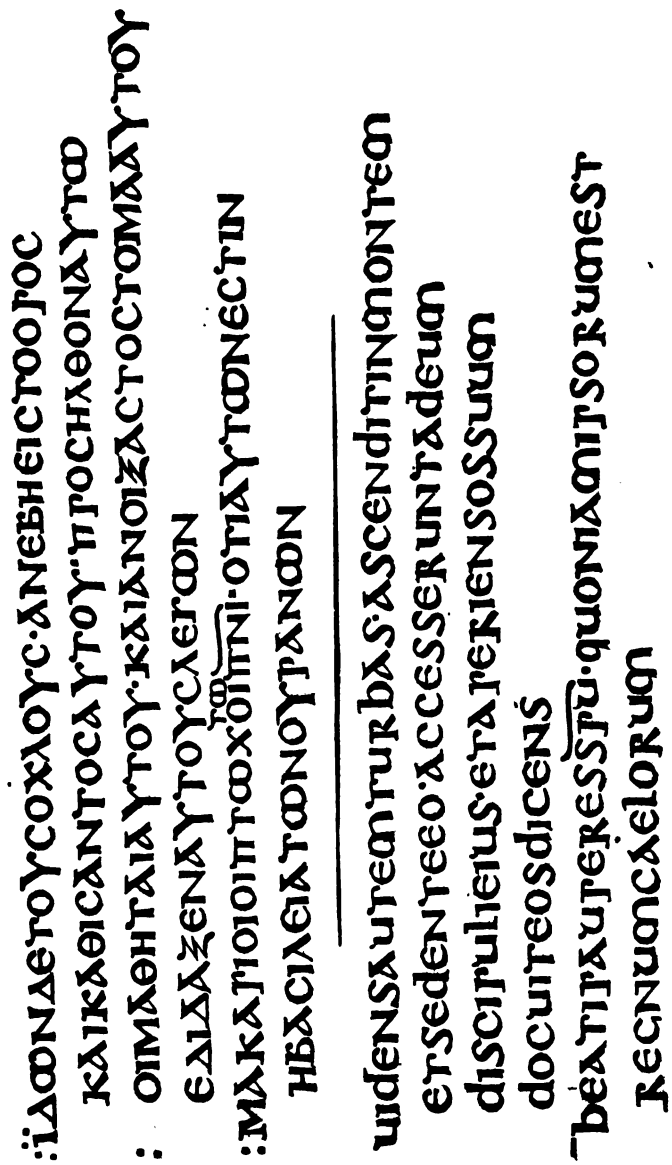
it has been corrupted from the Latin version. It has been altered by a critical collator, who, according to Griesbach, must have lived many years after the time when the manuscript was written, and who probably erased many of the ancient readings. Kuster was the first who procured extracts from this manuscript for his edition of Dr. Mill's Greek Testament. Wetstein has collated it with very great accuracy; and the numerous readings he has quoted from it greatly enhance the value of his edition.

IV.—D. The CODEX BEZÆ, also called the CODEX CANTABRIGIENSIS, is a Greek and Latin manuscript, containing the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. It is deposited in the public library of the University of Cambridge, to which it was presented by the celebrated Theodore Beza, in the year 1581. Of this manuscript, which is written on vellum, in quarto, without accents or marks of aspiration, or spaces between the words, the following fac-simile will convey an idea.



represents the first three verses of the fifth chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel, which are copied from Dr. Kipling's fac-simile edition of the Codex Bezæ, published at Cambridge in 1793, of which an account is given in the Bibliographical Appendix to the second volume. We have placed the Latin *under* the Greek, in order to bring the whole within the compass of an octavo page. The following is a literal English version of this fac-simile:—

Matt. V. 1—3.

AND SEEING THE MULTITUDES HE WENT UP INTO A MOUNTAIN
AND WHEN HE WAS SET DOWN CAME TO HIM
HIS DISCIPLES AND OPENING HIS MOUTH
HE TAUGHT THEM SAYING

BLESSED *ARE* THE POOR IN SPT† FOR THEIRS IS
THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN.

† Contracted for SPIRIT. The Greek is ΠΝΙ, ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ; and the Latin SPU, for SPIRITU

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Sixty-six leaves of this manuscript are much torn and mutilated, and ten of them have been supplied by a later transcriber.

The Codex Bezæ is noted with the letter D. by Wetstein, Griesbach, and Scholz. In the Greek it is defective, from the beginning to Matt. i. 20., and in the Latin to Matt. i. 12. In the Latin it has likewise the following chasms, viz. Matt. vi. 10.—ix. 2.; Matt. xxvii. 1—12.; John i. 16.—ii. 26.; Acts viii. 29.—x. 14.; xxii. 10—20.; and from xxii. 29. to the end. The Gospels are arranged in the usual order of the Latin manuscripts, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. It has a considerable number of corrections, some of which have been noticed by Dr. Griesbach; and some of the pages, containing Matt. iii. 8—16. John xviii. 13.—xx. 13. and Mark xv. to the end, are written by a later hand, which Wetstein refers to the tenth century, but Griesbach to the twelfth. The Latin version is that which was in use before the time of Jerome, and is usually called the Old Italic or Ante-Hieronymian version. In the margin of the Greek part of the manuscript there are inserted the Ammonian sections, evidently by a later hand; and the words αρχη, τελος, και λεγε, and οτι ελεγεν, are occasionally interspersed, indicating the beginning and end of the Ανγνωσματα, or lessons read in the church. The subjects discussed in the Gospels are sometimes written in the margin, sometimes at the top of the page. But all these notations are manifestly the work of several persons and of different ages. The date of this manuscript has been much contested. Those critics who give it the least antiquity, assign it to the sixth or seventh century. Wetstein supposed it to be of the fifth century. Michaelis was of opinion, that of all the manuscripts now extant, this is the most ancient. Dr. Kipling, the editor of the Cambridge fac-simile, thought it much older than the Alexandrian manuscript, and that it must have been written in the second century. On comparing it with Greek inscriptions of different ages, Bishop Marsh is of opinion that it cannot have been written later than the sixth century, and that it may have been written even two or three centuries earlier; and he finally considers it prior to all the manuscripts extant, except the Codex Vaticanus, and refers it to the fifth century, which, perhaps, is the true date, if an opinion may be hazarded where so much uncertainty prevails.

Wetstein was of opinion, from *eleven* coincidences which he thought he had discovered, that this was the identical manuscript collated at Alexandria in 616, for the Philoxenian or later Syriac version of the New Testament; but this is a groundless supposition. It is, however, worthy of remark, that many of the readings by which the Codex Bezæ is distinguished are found in the Syriac, Coptic, Sahidic, and in the margin of the Philoxenian-Syriac version. As the readings of this manuscript frequently agree with the Latin versions before the time of St. Jerome, and with the Vulgate or present Latin translation, Wetstein was of opinion that the Greek text was altered from the Latin version, or, in other words, that the writer of the Codex Bezæ departed from the lections of the Greek manuscript or manuscripts whence he copied, and introduced in their stead, from some Latin version, readings which were warranted by no Greek manuscript. This charge Semler, Michaelis, Griesbach, and Bishop Marsh have endeavoured to refute; and their verdict has been generally received. Matthæi, however, revived the charge of Wetstein, and considered the text as extremely corrupt, and suspected that some Latin monk, who was but indifferently skilled in Greek, wrote in the margin of his New Testament various passages from the Greek and Latin fathers, which seemed to refer to particular passages. He further thought that this monk had noted the differences occurring in some Greek and Latin manuscripts of the New Testament, and added parallel passages of Scripture; and that from this *farrago* either the monk himself, or some other person, manufactured his text (whether foolishly or fraudulently is uncertain), of which the Codex Bezæ is a copy. But this *suspicion* of Matthæi has been little regarded in Germany, where he incurred the antipathy of the most eminent biblical critics, by vilifying the sources of various readings from which he had it not in his power to draw, when he began to publish his edition of the New Testament; giving to the Codex Bezæ, the Codex Claromontanus (noticed in pp. 231, 232. *infra*), and other manuscripts of unquestionable antiquity, the appellation of *Editio Scurrilis*.[1] Bishop Middleton considers the judgment of Michaelis as approximating very near to the truth, and has given a collation of numerous passages of the received text with the Codex Bezæ; and the result of his examination, which does not admit of abridgment, is, that the Codex Bezæ, though a most venerable remain of antiquity, is not to be considered, in a critical view, as of much authority. He accounts for the goodness of its readings, considered with regard to the *sense*, by the natural supposition of the great antiquity of the manuscript, which was the basis of the Codex Bezæ; but while its Latinizing is admitted, he contends that we have no reason to infer that its readings, considered in the same light, are therefore faulty. The learned prelate concludes with subscribing to the opinion of Matthæi somewhat modified. He believes that no fraud was intended; but only that the critical possessor of the basis filled its margin with glosses and readings chiefly from the Latin, being a Christian of the Western Church; and that the whole collection of Latin passages was translated into Greek, and substituted in the text by some one who had a high opinion of their value, and who was better skilled in caligraphy than in the Greek and Latin languages.[2] The arguments and evidences adduced by Bishop Middleton, we believe, are by many, at least in England, considered so conclusive, that, though the antiquity of the manuscript is fully admitted, yet it must be deemed a Latinizing manuscript, and, consequently, is of comparatively little *critical* value.

At the time Beza presented this manuscript to the university of Cambridge, it had been in his possession about nineteen years; and in his letter to that learned body, he says, that it was found in the monastery of Saint Irenæus at Lyons, where it had lain concealed for a long time. But how it came there, and in what place it was written, are questions concerning which nothing certain is known. The most generally received opinion is, that it was written in the west of Europe.

The Cambridge manuscript has been repeatedly collated by critical editors of the New Testament. Robert Stephens made extracts from it, though with no great accuracy, under the title of Codex β, for his edition of the Greek Testament, of 1550; as Beza also did for his own edition published in 1582. Since it was sent to the university of Cambridge, it has been more accurately collated by Junius, whose extracts were used by Curcellæus and Father Morin. A fourth and more accurate collation of it was made, at the suggestion of Archbishop Usher, and the extracts were inserted in the sixth volume of the London Polyglott, edited by Bishop Walton. Dr. Mill collated it a fifth and sixth time; but that his extracts are frequently defective, and sometimes erroneous, appears from comparing them with Wetstein's New Testament, and from a new collation which was made, about the year 1733, by Mr. Dickenson of Saint John's College, which is now preserved in the library of Jesus' College, where it is marked ο, Θ, 2. Wetstein's extracts are also very incorrect, as appears from comparing them with the manuscript itself.

A splendid fac-simile of the Codex Bezæ was published by the Rev. Dr. Kipling at Cambridge, under the patronage and at the expense of the university, in 1793, in 2 vols. atlas folio. Dr. Harwood regulated the text of the Gospels and Acts, in his edition of the Greek Testament, chiefly according to the readings of the Codex Bezæ; which was so highly valued by the learned but eccentric divine, Whiston, that in his "Primitive New Testament in English" (8vo. Stamford and London, 1745), he has translated the four Gospels and Acts literally from this manuscript. Dr. A. Clarke, in his Commentary on the New Testament, has paid very particular attention to the readings of the Codex Bezæ.

V. The Codex Claromontanus, or Regius 2245., is a Greek-Latin manuscript of St. Paul's Epistles found in the monastery of Clermont, in the diocese of Beauvais, and used by Beza, together with the Codex Cantabrigiensis, in preparing his edition of the New Testament. It is noted D. by Wetstein and Griesbach in the second volumes of their respective editions of the Greek Testament. Sabatier supposes it to have been written in the sixth century; Montfaucon places it in the seventh century; Griesbach thinks it was written in the sixth *or* seventh century, and Hug, in the eighth century. This manuscript is written on vellum in uncial characters, and with accents and marks of aspiration added by another hand, but of great antiquity. As it contains the Epistle to the Hebrews, which has been added by a later hand, it is supposed to have been written in the west of Europe. Dr. Mill contended that the Codex Claromontanus was the second part of the Codex Bezæ; but this opinion has been confuted by Wetstein, who has shown that

[1] Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part ii. pp. 30, 31.

[2] Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article, pp. 677—698., first edition.

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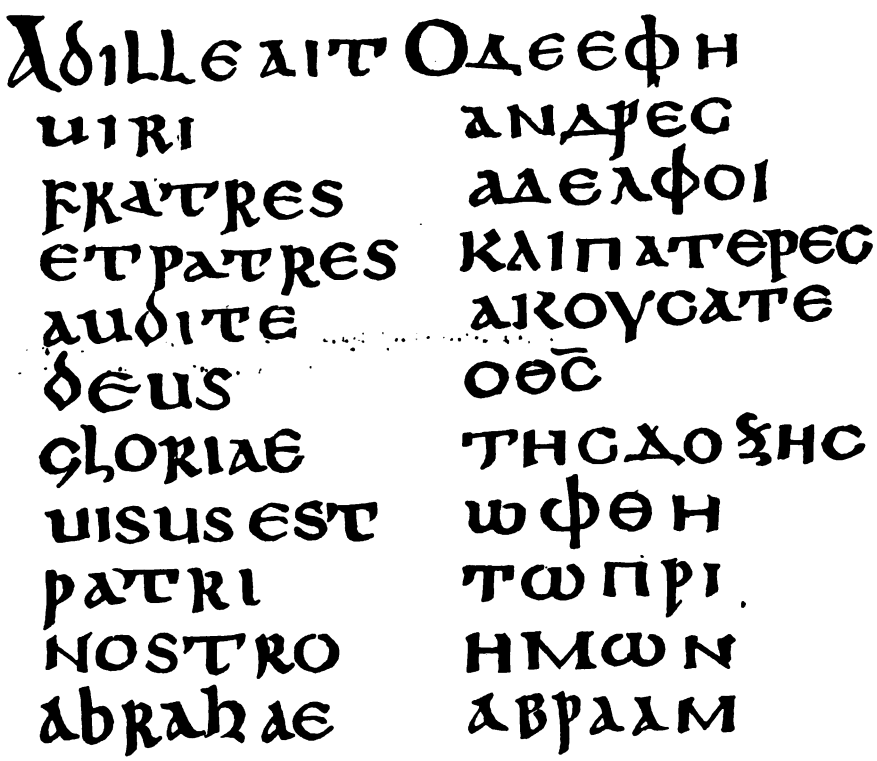
the former is by no means connected with the latter, as appears from the difference of their form, their orthography, and the nature of the vellum on which they are written. Bishop Marsh adds, on the authority of a gentleman who had examined both manuscripts, that the Codex Claromontanus contains only *twenty-one* lines in each page, while the Cambridge manuscript contains *thirty-three* lines in a page; the abbreviations in the two manuscripts are also different. The Codex Claromontanus, like other Greek-Latin manuscripts, has been accused of having a Greek text, that has been altered from the Latin; but this charge has been satisfactorily refuted by Dr. Semler. The *migrations* of this manuscript are somewhat remarkable. From the hands of Beza it went into the Putean library, which derived its name from the family of De Puy. Jacques De Puy, who was librarian to the king of France, and died in 1656, bequeathed it, together with his other manuscripts, to the Royal Library at Paris, where it is now preserved, and at present is marked 107. According to the accounts of Wetstein and Sabatier, thirty-six leaves were cut out of it at the beginning of the last century (it is supposed by John Aymon, a notorious literary thief of that time), and were sold in England; but they were sent back by the earl of Oxford in 1729. The manuscript, therefore, is once more complete, as the covering only is wanting in which the stolen sheets had been enclosed, which is kept in the British Museum, and filled with the letters that passed on the occasion, as a monument of this infamous theft.

VI.—E. The CODEX BASILEENSIS, B. VI. 21. (noted by Dr. Mill, B. 1., and by Bengel Bas α), is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in uncial letters, in the eighth or (more probably) ninth century. It is mutilated in Luke i. 69.—ii. 4., iii. 4—15., xii. 58.—xiii. 12., xv. 8—20.; and xxiv. 47. to the end of the Gospels; but the chasms in Luke i. 69.—ii. 4., xii. 58.—xiii. 12., and xv. 8—20. have been filled up by a later hand. This manuscript was not used by Erasmus; but it was collated by Samuel Battier for Dr. Mill, who highly valued it; by Iselin, for Bengel's edition of the New Testament; and by Wetstein, who has given its readings in his edition, whence they have been adopted by Griesbach and Scholz.

VII. The CODEX LAUDIANUS 3., as it is cited by Dr. Mill, but noted by the letter E. by Wetstein and * E. by Griesbach in their catalogues of manuscripts of the Acts of the Apostles, derives its appellation from Archbishop Laud, who gave this among many other precious manuscripts to the university of Oxford, in whose noble library it is now preserved. It is a Greek-Latin manuscript of the Acts of the Apostles, in which the Latin text is one of those versions which differ from Jerome's edition, having been altered from the particular Greek text of this manuscript. It is defective from chap. xxvi. 29. to xxviii. 26.

This manuscript is erroneously supposed to have been the identical book used by the venerable Bede in the seventh century, because it has all those irregular readings which, in his Commentaries on the Acts, he says were in *his* book; and no other manuscript is now found to have them. There is an extraordinary coincidence between it and the old Syriac version of the Acts of the Apostles. Wetstein conjectures, from an edict of a Sardinian prince, Flavius Pancratius, written at the end of this manuscript, and from several other circumstances, that it was written in Sardinia in the seventh century. To this conjecture Michaelis is disposed to accede, though Dr. Woide supposed it to have been written in the East, because its orthography has several properties observable in the Codex Alexandrinus. But as these peculiarities are also found in other very ancient manuscripts, Bishop Marsh considers them as insufficient to warrant the inference, especially when we reflect on the great improbability that a *Greek* manuscript written in the *East* should be accompanied with a Latin translation. It will be seen from the annexed fac-simile,



which represents the chief part of Acts vii. 2., that this Latin translation, contrary to the usual arrangement of the Greek-Latin manuscripts, occupies the first column of the page. Only one word (or at the utmost, two or three words, and that but seldom) is written in a line, and in uncial or capital letters; and they are so written that each Latin word is always opposite to the correspondent Greek word. Hence it is evident, that the manuscript was written for the use of a person who was not well skilled in both languages, and as the Latin occupies the first column, this circumstance is an additional evidence that it was written in the West of Europe, where Latin only was spoken. For the satisfaction of the English reader, the verse in question is subjoined in common Roman and Greek capitals, with the corresponding literal English in a third column:—

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AD ILLE AIT	ΟΔΕ ΕΦΗ	AND HE SAID
VIRI	ΑΝΔΡΕΣ	MEN
FRATRES	ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ	BRETHREN
ET PATRES	ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΕΡΕΣ	AND FATHERS
AUDITE	ΑΚΟΥΣΑΤΕ	HEARKEN
DEUS	Ο $\overline{\text{ΘΣ}}$	THE GD
GLORIÆ	ΤΗΣ ΔΟΞΗΣ	OF GLORY
VISUS EST	ΩΦΘΗ	APPEARED
PATRI	ΤΩΙΠΙΡΙ	UNTO THE FTHER
NOSTRO	ΗΜΩΝ	OF US
ABRAHAE.	ΑΒΡΑΑΜ.	ABRAHAM.

With regard to the date of this manuscript;—Mr. Astle refers it to the beginning of the fifth century; Griesbach to the seventh or eighth; and Mr. Hearne to the eighth century. But from the shape of the letters and other circumstances, Bishop Marsh pronounces it to be less ancient than the Codex Bezæ, which was written in the fifth century. Probably the end of the sixth or the former part of the seventh century may be assigned as the date of the Codex Laudianus 3. This manuscript is of great value: Michaelis pronounces it to be indispensable to every man who would examine the important question, whether the Codices Græco-Latini have been corrupted from the Latin, and adds, that it was this manuscript which convinced him that this charge is without foundation.[1]

VIII.—*E., in Griesbach's catalogue of manuscripts of Saint Paul's Epistles, and E. 2. in the second volume of Wetstein's edition of the New Testament, is the CODEX SAN GERMANENSIS, a Greek-Latin manuscript of Saint Paul's Epistles, written in the seventh century, in uncial letters, and with accents and marks of aspiration, *à primâ manu*. It has been generally supposed to be a mere copy of the Codex Claromontanus (described in pp. 231, 232.); but this opinion is questioned by Dr. Semler, in his critical examination of this manuscript, who has produced many examples, from which it appears that if the transcriber of it actually had the Clermont MS. before him, he must at least have selected various readings from other manuscripts. Bishop Marsh, therefore, considers the San-Germanensis as a kind of *Codex Eclecticus*, in writing which the Clermont MS. was principally but not at all times consulted. The manuscript now under consideration takes its name from the monastery of St. Germain-des-Prez, in Paris, in whose library it was formerly preserved. Dr. Mill first procured extracts from it, for his edition of the New Testament, where it is noted by the abbreviation Ger. for Germanensis.

According to Montfaucon, there is also extant another more ancient Codex San-Germanensis of Saint Paul's Epistles, which has never been collated. It is a fragment, containing only thirteen leaves; and is supposed to be as ancient as the fifth century.[2]

IX.—F., in Wetstein's, Griesbach's, and Scholz's notations of manuscripts, is the CODEX BOREELI, so called from its former possessor, John Boreel, who was ambassador at the court of London, in the reign of James I. Shortly after the death of Boreel in 1629, an unknown scholar collated the gospels of Matthew and Mark, and the first ten chapters of Luke's Gospel; which collation was communicated to Wetstein by Isaac Verburgius. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension. After it had been lost for a century, this manuscript was exhibited by Professor Heringa at a meeting of the associates of the third class of the Royal Belgian Institute, on the 26th of April, 1830.[3]

X.—F., in Wetstein's and Griesbach's notation of Manuscripts of Saint Paul's Epistles, is the CODEX AUGIENSIS, a Greek-Latin manuscript of the Pauline Epistles. It derives its name from the monastery of Augia major, at Rheinau, to which it belonged in the fifteenth century. After passing through various hands, it was purchased by the celebrated critic, Dr. Richard Bentley, in 1718; and in 1787, on the death of the younger Bentley, it was deposited in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. This manuscript is defective from the beginning to Rom. iii. 8., and the epistle to the Hebrews is found only in the Latin version. Hug assigns it to the latter half of the ninth, or to the tenth century, and Michaelis to the ninth century, which (Bishop Marsh remarks) is the utmost that can be allowed to its antiquity. The Greek text is written in uncial letters without accents, and the Latin in Anglo-Saxon characters: it has been collated by Wetstein. In many respects it coincides with the Codex Boernerianus, and belongs to the Alexandrine Recension. The words Χριστος (*Christ*), and Ιησους (*Jesus*), are not abbreviated by $\overline{\text{XC}}$ and $\overline{\text{IC}}$, as in the common manuscripts, but by $\overline{\text{XPC}}$ and $\overline{\text{IHC}}$, as in the Codex Bezæ.

XI.—G., in Griesbach's notation of manuscripts of Saint Paul's Epistles, is the CODEX BOERNERIANUS, which derives its name from Dr. C. F. Boerner, to whom it formerly belonged; it is now deposited in the royal library at Dresden. It contains St. Paul's Epistles, with the exception of that to the Hebrews, which was formerly rejected by the church of Rome; and it is written in Greek and Latin, the Latin or old Ante-Hieronymian version being interlined between the Greek, and written over the text, of which it is a translation Semler supposed that the Latin was written since the Greek, but Professor Matthæi, who published a copy of this manuscript, suggests that the uniformity of the handwriting, and similarity in the colour of the ink, evince that both the Greek and Latin texts proceeded from the same transcriber. It frequently agrees with the Codex Claromontanus. The time when this manuscript was written has not been determined with precision. That it is ancient, appears (says Michaelis) from the form of the characters, and the absence of accents and marks of aspiration. It seems to have been written in an age when the transition was making from uncial to small characters; and from the correspondence of the letters *r*, *s*, and *t*, in the Latin version to that form which is found in the Anglo-Saxon alphabet, Bishop Marsh infers, that this manuscript was written in the west of Europe, and probably between the eighth and tenth centuries. Kuster, who first collated this manuscript, supposed it to be British; Doederlein, Irish. The learned reviewer of Matthæi's edition of this manuscript, in the Jena Literary Gazette, decides that it could only be written in Germany or France; because in the margin many passages are noted *contra γοτζεκαλκον*, apparently because they are contradictory to the opinion of Gottschalk, a celebrated monk, who disputed concerning predestination in the ninth century, but whose tenets excited little attention except in those two countries. The writer in question thinks it probable that this manuscript was written by Johannes Scotus, who lived at the court of Charles the Bald, king of France, and was the most celebrated opponent of Gottschalk. The manuscript, however, could not have been written later than the ninth century; for in the beginning of the tenth, Gottschalk's dispute had lost all its importance. Griesbach and Hug accordingly refer the Codex Boernerianus to the ninth or tenth century. There is a transcript of this MS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, among the books and manuscripts that were left by Dr. Bentley, who probably procured it for his intended edition of the Greek Testament. Professor Matthæi published a copy of this manuscript at Meissen in Saxony, in 1791, in quarto, which was reprinted at the same place in 1818, also in quarto.[4]

XII.—*G. of Griesbach's notation, and G. according to Wetstein's and Dr. Scholz's notations, is the CODEX HARLEIANUS 5684., in the British Museum, formerly cited as Codex Wolfii A. Its first possessor was Erasmus Seidel who brought this and the following manuscript from the East. After his death both manuscripts were purchased by La Croze; by whom they were presented to J. C. Wolff, of Hamburgh. The latter collated them, and published his collations in the third volume of his Anecdota Græca, p. 48. *et seq.* Michaelis refers the Codex Harleianus 5684. to the eighth century, but Scholz dates it in the eleventh century. Griesbach thinks it scarcely more ancient than the twelfth century. It is written on vellum, in quarto, with accents and spirits, and has the following chasms, viz. Matt. i. 1. to vi. 6., vii. 25. to viii. 9., viii. 23. to ix. 2., xxviii. 18. to Mark i. 13., Mark i. 32. to ii. 4. and xiv. 19—25. Luke i. 1—13. v. 4. to vii. 3., viii. 46. to ix. 5., xi. 27—41. and xxiv. 41. to the end of Saint Luke's Gospel; John xvii. 5—19., and xix.

[1] Griesbach, Symb. Crit. tom. ii. pp. 181—183. Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. pp. 269—274. part ii. pp. 747, 748. Dr. Wolde, Præfat. ad Cod. Alexandr. pp. xxvi.—xxviii. §§ 76—81. Astle on the Origin of Writing, p. 76, 2d edit. (From this work our fac-simile is copied.) The Greek and Latin text of the Codex Laudianus was printed at Oxford in 8vo. in 1715, by the celebrated antiquary, Thomas Hearne.

[2] Montfaucon's Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum, tom. ii. p. 1041. In his Palæographia Græca, he has given a fac-simile of the Greek and Latin characters of the Codex San-Germanensis. Another fac-simile of them is given by Blanchini, in his Evangeliarium Quadruplex, vol. i. in the last of the plates annexed to p. 533.

[3] Dr. Lotze's edition of Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 51 note (a) Rotterdam, 1831.

[4] Kuster's preface to his edition of Mill's Greek Testament, *sub finem*. Michaelis, vol. ii. part. i. pp. 225—227. part ii. pp. 672—677. Jena Algemeine Literatur Zeitung, as abridged in the Analytical Review for 1793, vol xvii. p. 231. Hug's Introduction, vol. i. pp. 283—285.

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4—27. The text agrees with that of the Constantinopolitan recension, though it has some readings which are common to the Alexandrine recension.

XIII.—H. The CODEX WOLFII B. was also brought from the East by Seidel; it is written on vellum, in quarto, and is of the eleventh century. It contains the four Gospels, which, however, are mutilated in the following passages, viz. Matt. i. 1. to xv. 30., xxv. 3. to xxvi. 3. Mark xv. 44. to xvi. 14., Luke v. 18—33., vi. 8—23., x. 2—19., John ix. 30. to x. 25., xviii. 2—25. and xx. 12—25. It follows the Constantinopolitan family, but it has many readings in common with the Alexandrine recension.

XIV.—*H., in Griesbach's notation of manuscripts of Saint Paul's Epistles, is the CODEX COISLINIANUS, a very beautiful manuscript of the fifth or sixth century, according to Montfaucon; but Griesbach assigns it to the seventh century. It contains fragments of Saint Paul's Epistles, written in uncial characters, with accents; and was formerly kept at mount Athos, where it was applied, as old parchment, to the binding of other books, in the year 1218; as appears in a note of the book to the binding of which it was applied.[1]

XV.—I. The CODEX COTTONIANUS (Titus C. XV.), preserved in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum, is a most precious fragment of the four Gospels, written in silver letters on a faded purple ground. It is one of the oldest (if not the most ancient) manuscripts of any part of the New Testament that is extant; and contains,

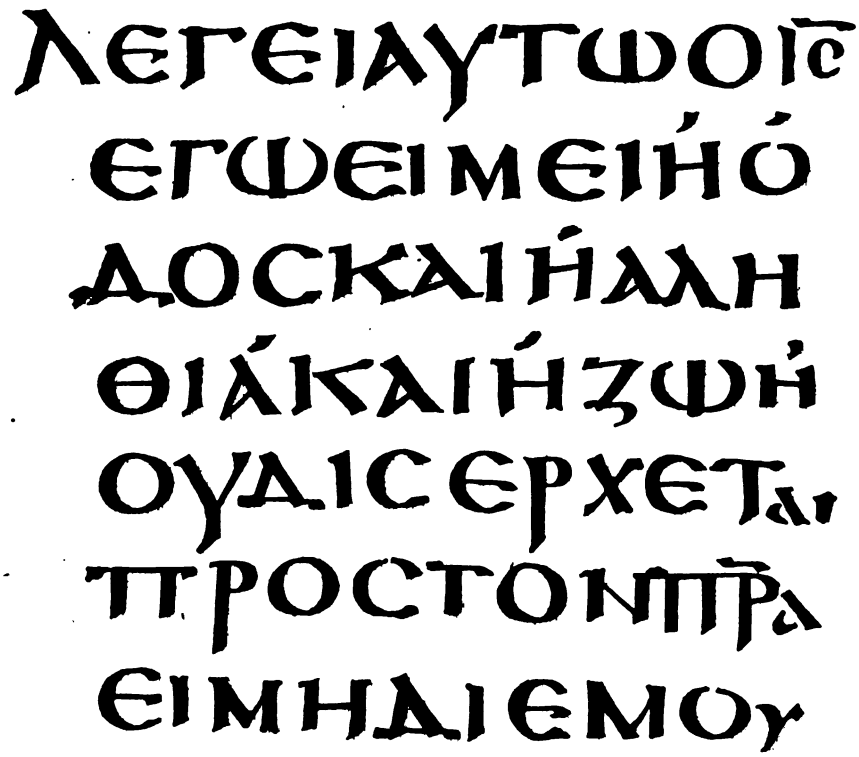
(1.) Part of Saint Matthew's Gospel, beginning at Chapter XXVI. v. 57. and ending with v. 65. of the same Chapter.

(2.) Part of the same Gospel, beginning at Chapter XXVII v. 26. and ending with v. 34. of the same Chapter.

(3.) Part of Saint John's Gospel, beginning at Chapter XIV v. 2. and ending with v. 10. of the same Chapter.

(4.) Part of the same Gospel, beginning at Chapter XV. v. 15. and ending with v. 22. of the same Chapter.

The subjoined engraving is a fac-simile of the Greek Text of John xiv. 6.



from this manuscript, of which the following is a representation in ordinary Greek characters, with the corresponding literal English version.

ΛΕΓΕΙΑΥΤΩΟΙΣ	SAITHUNTOHIMJs
ΕΓΩΕΙΜΕΙΗΟ	IAMTHEW
ΔΟΣΚΑΙΗΛΛΗ	AYANDTHETRU
ΘΙΑΚΑΙΗΖΩΗ	THANDTHELIFE
ΟΥΔΙΣΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ	NOMANCOMETH
ΠΡΟΣΤΟΝΠΑΤΕΡΑ	UNTOTHEFTHR
ΕΙΜΗΔΙΕΜΟΥ	BUTBYME

The words ΙΗΣΟΥΣ (*Jesus*), ΘΕΟΣ (*God*), ΚΥΡΙΟΣ (*Lord*), ΥΙΟΣ (*Son*), and ΣΩΤΗΡ (*Saviour*), are written in letters of gold; the first three with contractions similar to those in the Codex Alexandrinus, and Codex Bezæ. This precious fragment is generally acknowledged to have been executed at the end of the fourth, or at the latest in the beginning of the fifth century. Dr. Scholz, however, refers it to the seventh or eighth century.

XVI.—K., in the first volume of Wetstein's, Griesbach's, and Scholz's critical editions of the New Testament, is the CODEX CYPRIUS (Regius 63., formerly 2243., and Colbertinus 5149.), a manuscript of the four Gospels, brought from the Island of Cyprus in the year 1637; and now deposited in the Royal Library at Paris, where it is at present numbered 33. This manuscript was first collated by Father Simon,[2] whose extracts of various readings were inserted by Dr. Mill in his critical edition of the New Testament.[3] Wetstein charged this manuscript with Latinizing, but without sufficient evidence. Michaelis deemed it to be of great value, and expressed a wish for a more accurate collation of it. That wish was not realized until the year 1819, when Dr. J. M. A. Scholz, of Heidelberg, being at Paris, subjected this manuscript to a very rigorous critical examination; the results of which he communicated to the public in his *Curæ Criticæ in Historiam Textus Evangeliorum* (4to. Heidelbergæ, 1820) from this work the following particulars are abridged.

This manuscript is written on vellum, in an oblong quarto size, and in excellent preservation. The uncial characters are not round, as in most ancient manuscripts, but leaning; they exhibit evident marks of haste, and sometimes of carelessness, in the transcriber, and they present the same abbreviations as occur in the Alexandrine, Vatican, and other manuscripts. In a few instances, accents are absent, but frequently they are incorrectly placed; the spirits (asper and

[1] Hug's Introduction, vol. i. p. 288.
[2] Hist. Critique du Texte du Nouveau Testament, chap. x. p. 104.
[3] Nov. Test. Millii et Kusteri Prolegom., p. 162.

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lenis) are often interchanged; and the permutations of vowels and consonants are very numerous. Thus we meet with καμμμων for καμμμων (Matt. xiii. 44.); ωθυ for ωθη (Mark iv. 22.); ραββι for ραββι (Matt. xxiii. 7., xxvi. 25. 49, &c.); ωδομυτο for ωδομυτο (Luke iv. 29.); τωτω for τωτο (Luke viii. 9.); Δαβδαιν for Θαδδαιν; ωαδωδον for ωαιδωδον (Matt. xxv. 5.); Ναζαρηθ for Ναζαρετ (Mark i. 9.), &c. From the confused and irregular manner in which the accents and spirits are placed, Dr. Scholz conjectures that the Codex Cyprius was transcribed from a more ancient copy that was nearly destitute of those distinctions. Some of the permutations are unquestionably errors of the transcriber; but the greater part of them, he is of opinion, must be referred to the orthography and pronunciation which (it is well known) were peculiar to the Alexandrians. To this manuscript are prefixed a *Synaxarium*,[1] or epitome of the lives of the Saints who are venerated by the Greek church, and a *Menologion*,[1] or martyrology, together with the canons of Eusebius: to each of the three last Gospels is also prefixed an index of the κεφαλαια or larger chapters. The numbers of the Ammonian sections and larger chapters,[2] are marked in the inner margin; and the numbers of the other chapters, together with the titles, are placed either at the top or at the bottom of the page. The Gospel of St. Matthew comprises 359 Ammonian sections, and 68 chapters; that of St. Mark, 241 sections, and 48 chapters; that of St. Luke, 342 sections, and 83 chapters; and the Gospel of St. John, 232 sections, and 19 chapters. The celebrated passage in John viii. 1—11., concerning the woman who had been taken in adultery, constitutes a distinct chapter. From the occasional notation of certain days, on which particular portions were to be read, as well as from the prefixing of the synaxarion and menologian, Dr. Scholz considers this manuscript as having originally been written, and constantly used, for ecclesiastical purposes. In very many instances it agrees with the Constantinopolitan and Alexandrine recensions; in others, with the Alexandrine alone, and in a few instances with neither.

A considerable difference of opinion prevails, respecting the age of the Codex Cyprius. Montfaucon assigned it to the eighth century; Scholz and Hug, to the ninth century; and Simon, to the tenth century. Specimens of its characters have been given by Montfaucon,[3] Blanchini,[4] and Dr. Scholz;[5] the annexed fac-simile is copied from that of Dr. S.: it contains part of the first verse of the twenty-eighth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, in English thus:

IN THE END OF THE SABBATH AS IT BEGAN TO DAWN TOWAR
DS THE FIRST DAY OF THE WEEK CAME MARY MAGDALENE.

This manuscript is of considerable importance in a critical point of view, particularly as it affords great weight to the readings of the best and most ancient MSS., ancient versions, and the fathers.[6]

XVII.—L. The Codex Regius 62. (formerly 2861. Stephani α.) is a quarto manuscript on vellum, containing the four Gospels, and written in uncial letters, of an oblong form, according to Wetstein in the beginning of the seventh century, but in the opinion of Dr. Scholz, in the eighth century. Griesbach refers it to the eighth or ninth century. The accents are frequently wanting, and are often wrongly placed, even when they are inserted; from which circumstance Griesbach and Scholz think that this manuscript was transcribed from another very ancient one, which had no accents. Each page is divided into two columns, and the words follow, for the most part, without any intervals between them. The iota subscriptum, and postcriptum, are uniformly wanting: the usual abbreviations occur, and the letters AY and OY are sometimes written with contractions, as in the Codex Coislinianus 1. (a manuscript of the eighth century); and not seldom a letter is dropped in the middle of a word:—Thus, we read in it παραβλη for παραβολη, πλησεται for πλησθησεται, κατρωμενος for καταρωμενος, &c. &c. Errors in orthography appear in every page, and also permutations of vowels and consonants. This manuscript contains the four Gospels, with the following chasms, viz. Matt. iv. 21.—v. 14 and xxviii. 17. to the end of the Gospel; Mark x. 17—30. and xv. 10—20.; and John xxi. 15. to the end. The τιτλοι and the Ammonian sections with reference to the canons of Eusebius are written in the Codex Regius *à primâ manu*. This manuscript harmonizes with the Alexandrine or Western Recension. It was collated by Robert Stephens, and by Wetstein, but more accurately by Griesbach, with the exception of Matt. viii.—xviii.; which chapters he states that he examined in a cursory manner. The parts omitted by Griesbach were carefully collated by Dr. Scholz.

XVIII.—M. The Codex Regius 48. (formerly 2243.) is a manuscript of the four Gospels, presented to Louis XIV. by the Abbé François des Camps, Jan. 1, 1706. It is written on vellum, of the tenth century, and has the Eusebian canons, together with synaxaria, summaries of chapters, accents, musical notes, the usual abbreviations and permutations of words similar in sound. The text for the most part agrees with the Alexandrine Recension, but sometimes with the Constantinopolitan, and it has a few readings which are peculiar to K. or the Codex Cyprius. Dr. Scholz has described it in his Biblico-Critical Travels, and collated it throughout.

XIX.—N. The Codex Vindobonensis, Lambecii 2., in the Imperial Library at Vienna, contains a fragment of Saint Luke's Gospel, viz. ch. xxiv. 21—40. It has already been described in § IV. pp. 227, 228. of this volume. Scholz, after Fleischer, refers it to the seventh century; but it should rather seem to be of the fifth or sixth century.

XX.—O. is a fragment, torn out of some larger manuscript, containing the narrative of the Pharisee and the Publican, in Luke xviii.: it was presented by Anselm Banduri to Montfaucon. Only one reading has been quoted from it by Wetstein, Griesbach, and Scholz, viz. ὁ γαρ ἐκείνος, which has been received into the text by the two last-mentioned editors, as well as by Schott, Vater, Naebe, Goeschen, and Tittmann.

XXI.—P. The Codex Guelpherbytanus A. contains fragments of the four Gospels, written on vellum in the sixth century, which were erased in the eighth or ninth century, in order to write several works of Isidore of Seville.

XXII.—Q. The Codex Guelpherbytanus B. is also a palimpsest manuscript of the sixth century, containing fragments of the Gospels of Luke and John, which were erased, in order to make room for some treatises of Isidore of Seville.

XXIII.—R. The Codex Tubingensis is a single leaf of thick vellum in quarto, written on both sides, in the seventh century. It contains John i. 38—50.

XXIV.—S. The Codex Vaticanus 354. contains the four Gospels with the canons of Eusebius. It is written on vellum, in folio, by one Michael, a monk, in the year 949. It almost uniformly agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

XXV.—T. The Codex Borgianus 1. is a fragment of a

[1] According to Suicer, *Synaxarion* is the name of an ecclesiastical book in use among the members of the Greek church; it contains a very brief notice of their saints, and also a concise explanation of the subject of each festival which is celebrated. A *Menologion* is the same among the Greeks, as a martyrology or calendar of reputed saints with the Latin or Romish church, which contains an indication (for it can scarcely be termed a biographical notice) of the saints for every day of the month throughout the year; and also a commemoration of those saints, of whom no lives are extant, and for whom no special office is appointed. Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus, tom. ii. pp. 368 1108.

[2] See a notice of these divisions in p. 214 of this volume.

[3] Palæographia Græca, p. 232.

[4] Evangeliarium Quadruplex, part i. p. 492. plate 3. from that page.

[5] At the end of his Curæ Criticæ in Historiam Textus Evangeliorum.

[6] Dr. Scholz (Cur. Crit. pp. 63—65.) has given several instances of such readings, one only of which we have room to notice. In John vii. 8. the Codex Cyprius reads ουκ αναβαινω which in later manuscripts is altered to ουπω αναβαινω, because the celebrated antagonist of Christianity, Porphyry, had used it as a ground of objection. With the Codex Cyprius agree the Cambridge Manuscript, the Codices Regii. 14. (33. of Griesbach's notation), and 55. (17. of Griesbach), several of the Moscow manuscripts cited by Matthæi, the Memphitic and Ethiopic versions, together with several of the Ante-Hieronymian versions, and among the fathers, Jerome, Augustine, Cyril, Chrysostom, and Epiphanius. This reading alone proves that the Codex Cyprius has *not* been altered from the Latin, as Wetstein asserted without any authority

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Greek-Sahidic manuscript of the fifth century, in quarto, containing John vi. 28—67. and vii. 6—8. 31. It was published by Georgi, at Rome, in 1789, with the Sahidic version. Its text follows that of the Alexandrine recension.

XXVI.—U. The Codex Nanianus 1., in the library of St. Mark, at Venice, contains the four Gospels with the Eusebian canons. It is nearly entire, and for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. Dr. Birch, by whom it was first collated, refers it to the tenth or eleventh century; Dr. Scholz, to the tenth century.

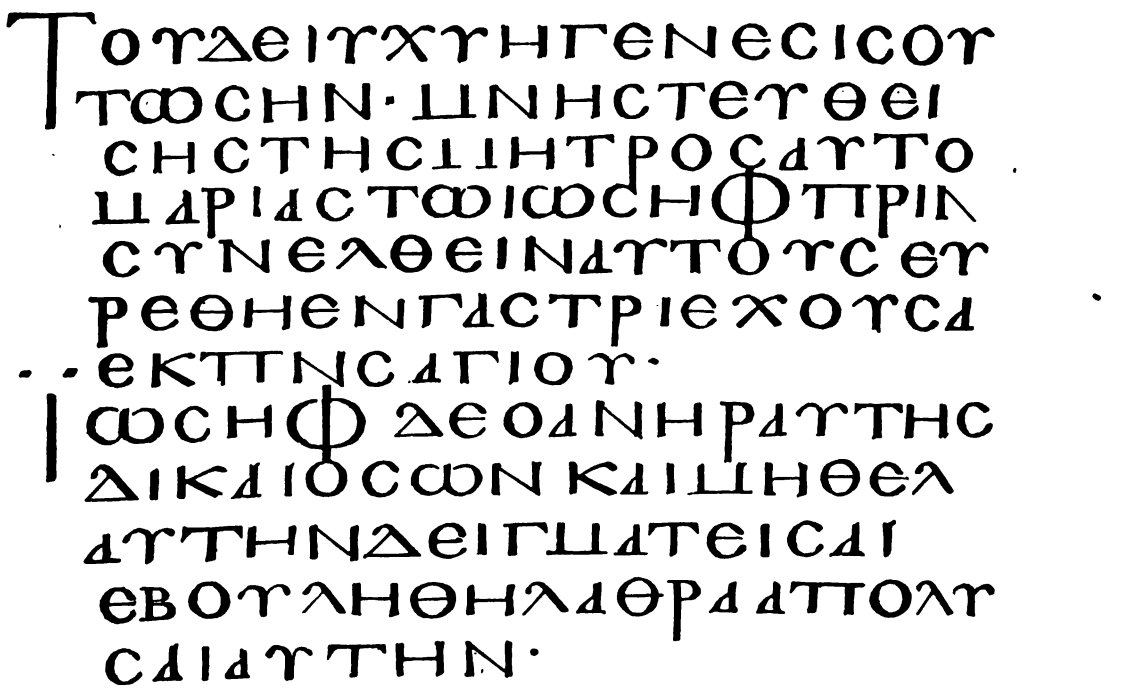
XXVII.—V. is a manuscript in the library of the Holy Synod at Moscow, thus noted by Matthæi in his edition of the Greek Testament. It is written on vellum, in octavo, and contains the four Gospels. From Matt. i. to John vii. 38. is in uncial letters, of the eighth century; from John vii. 39. to the end, is the writing of the thirteenth or fourteenth century; it follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

XXVIII.—W. is a fragment annexed to the Codex Regius Parisiensis 314., containing Luke ix. 36—47., and x. 12—22. It is written on vellum, in quarto, in the eighth century, and agrees with the Alexandrine family. It was first collated by Dr. Scholz.

XXIX.—X. The Codex Landshutensis, formerly Ingolstadiensis, is a neatly written manuscript of the tenth century, containing the four Gospels, the text of which almost uniformly agrees with the Alexandrine recension. Dobrowski, who communicated some readings from this manuscript, referred it to the eleventh century: it was, for the first time, collated throughout by Dr. Scholz. To the text of the Gospels of Matthew and John are added commentaries taken from Chrysostom, on John xix. 16. *et seq.* from Origen and Hesychius of Jerusalem, and on Luke from Titus of Bostra. Many leaves are misplaced by the carelessness of the binder, and there are numerous chasms, which are specified by Dr. Scholz.

XXX.—Y. The Codex Bibliothecæ Barberinianæ 225 is a fragment in folio, of the ninth century, written on vellum. It contains John xvi. 4. to xix. 28., and agrees with the Alexandrine family.

XXXI.—Z. is the Codex Rescriptus of St. Matthew's Gospel, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It was discovered by the Rev. Dr. Barrett, senior fellow of that college. While he was examining different books in its library, he met with a very ancient Greek manuscript, on certain leaves of which he observed a two-fold writing, one ancient and the other comparatively recent, transcribed over the former. The original writing on these leaves had been greatly defaced, either by the injuries of time, or by art: on close examination, he found, that this ancient writing consisted of the three following fragments:—The Prophet Isaiah, the Evangelist Saint Matthew, and certain orations of Gregory Nazianzen. The fragment, containing Saint Matthew's Gospel, Dr. Barrett carefully transcribed; and the whole has been accurately engraved in fac-simile by the order and at the expense of the University, thus presenting to the reader a perfect resemblance of the original.[1] The accompanying engraving is copied from Dr. B.'s first plate.



t represents the 18th and 19th verses of the first chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel. We have subjoined the same verses in ordinary Greek types, with a literal version in parallel columns.

V. 18. ΤΟΥΔΕΙΥΥΗΓΕΝΕΣΙΣΟΥ ΤΩΣΗΝ·ΜΝΗΣΤΕΥΘΕΙ ΣΗΣΤΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΣΑΥΤΟ... ΜΑΡΙΑΣΤΩΙΩΣΗΦΠΡΙΝ ΣΥΝΕΛΘΕΙΝΑΥΤΟΥΣΕΥ ΡΕΘΗΕΝΓΑΣΤΡΙΕΧΟΥΣΑ· ΕΚΠΝΕΑΓΙΟΥ·	V. 18. NOWTHEBIRTHOFJESCHTTH USWAS BEINGESPOU SEDHISMOTHER MARYTOJOSEPHBEFORE THEYCAMETOGETHERSHEWAS FOUNDWITHCHILD BYTHEHOLYSPT·
V. 19. ΙΩΣΗΦΔΕΟΑΝΗΡΑΥΤΗΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΩΝΚΑΙΜΗΘΕΛ... ΑΥΤΗΝΔΕΙΓΜΑΤΕΙΣΑΙ ΕΒΟΥΛΗΘΗΛΑΘΡΑΑΠΟΛΥ ΣΑΙΑΥΤΗΝ.	V. 19. JOSEPHTHENHERHUSBAND BEINGAJUSTMANANDNOTWILL... TOMAKEHERAPUBLICEXAMPLE WASMINDEDPRIVILYTOPUT HERAWAY.

Of the original writing of this manuscript, which Dr. Barrett calls the *Codex Vetus*, only sixty-four leaves remain, in a very mutilated state: each page contains one column; and the columns in general consist of twenty-one lines, and sometimes (though rarely) of twenty-two or twenty-three; the lines are nearly of equal lengths, and consist, ordinarily, of eighteen or twenty square letters, written on vellum, originally of a *purple* colour, but without any accents. From these two circumstances, as well as from the division of the text, the orthography, mode of pointing, abbreviations, and from some other considerations, Dr. Barrett, with great probability, fixes its age to the sixth century. This manuscript follows the Alexandrian Recension. The *Codex Recens*, or later writing (which contains several tracts of some Greek fathers), he attributes to a scribe of the thirteenth century: about which time it became a general practice to erase ancient writings, and insert others in their place.[2]

[1] The title of this interesting (and comparatively little known) publication is as follows: "Evangelium Secundum Matthæum ex Codice Rescripto in Bibliotheca Collegii SSæ. Trinitatis juxta Dublin: Descriptum Opera e Studio Johannis Barrett, S. T. P. MDCCCL." 4to.

[2] Dr. Barrett's Prolegomena, pp. 2—9.

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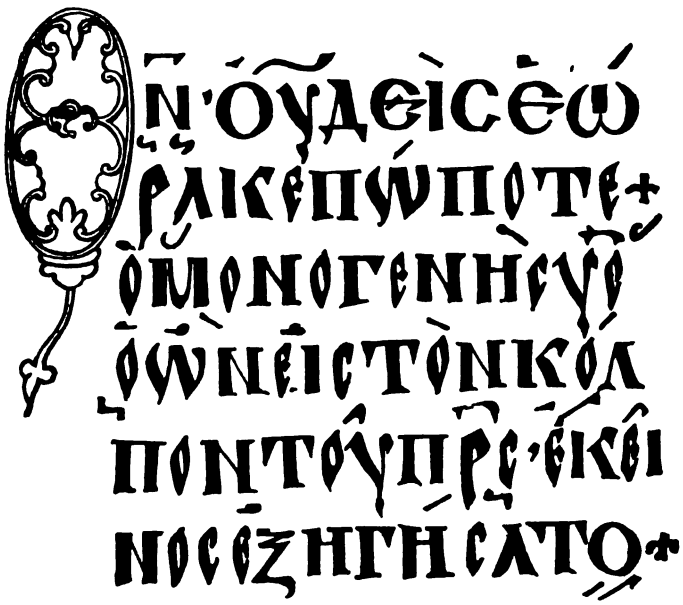
XXXII.—The Codex Harleianus, No. 5598., is a most splendid Evangelistarium, or collection of lessons from the four Gospels, written on vellum in uncial Greek letters, which are gilt on the first leaf, and coloured and ornamented throughout the rest of the book. It consists of seven hundred and forty-eight pages: and, according to an inscription on the last page, was written by one Constantine, a presbyter, A. D. 995. To several of the longer sections, titles are prefixed in larger characters. The passages of the Gospels are noted in the margin, as they occur, by a later hand, and between pages 726. and 729. there are inserted ten leaves of paper, containing the series of Lessons or Extracts from the Gospels, which are supposed to have been written by Dr. Covell, who was chaplain to the British embassy at Constantinople, A. D. 1670—1677, and was a diligent collector of MSS. The annexed fac-simile, from the third page of this precious manuscript, represents the eighteenth verse of the first chapter of Saint John's Gospel.

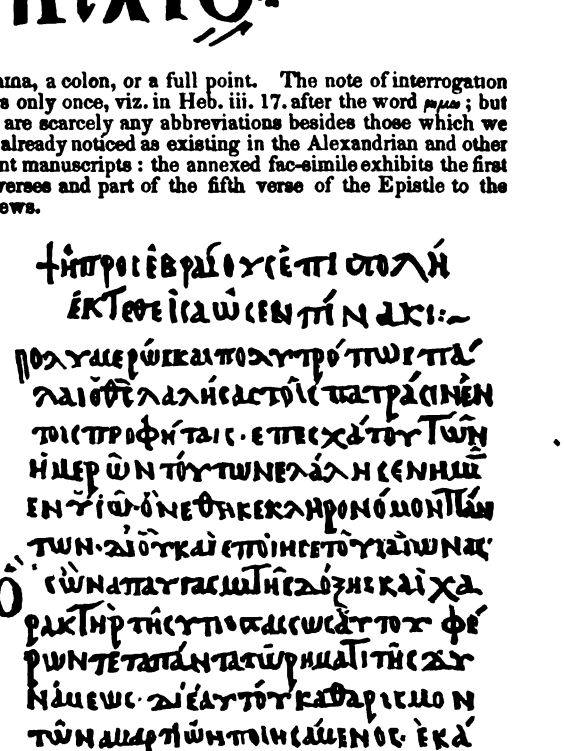


In ordinary Greek types, with a literal English version in parallel columns, it is as follows:—

ΘΝΟΥΔΕΙΣΕΩ	GDNOMANHATHSE
ΡΑΚΕΠΩΠΟΤΕ·	ENATANYTIME·
ΟΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣΥΣ	THEONLYBEGOTTENSN
ΟΩΝΕΙΣΤΟΝΚΟΛ	WHOISINTHEBO
ΠΟΝΤΟΥΠΡΣΕΚΕΙ	SOMOFTHEFHRH
ΝΟΣΕΞΗΓΗΣΑΤΟ·	EHATHMADEHIMKNOWN·

The lines of this venerable MS. are not all of equal length, some containing ten, others ten or more letters, in each line. The same contractions of ΘΣ for Θεος (*God*), ΠΡ for Πατηρ (*Father*), ΥΣ for Υιος (*a son*), &c. which occur in all the most ancient Greek manuscripts, are also to be seen in this Evangelistarium. This manuscript, which was unknown to Griesbach, was collated by Dr. Scholz, for his edition of the Greek Testament. He numbers it 153, in his catalogue of Evangelisteria.

XXXIII.—The Codex Uffenbachianus 2. (1. of Bengel's notation, and No. 53. of Wetstein's and Griesbach's catalogues of manuscripts of Saint Paul's Epistles), is a fragment of the Epistle to the Hebrews, consisting of two leaves: it is at present preserved in the public library at Hamburgh. Having been very imperfectly described by Maius, Wetstein, and Bengel, Dr. H. P. C. Henke rendered an important service to biblical literature by subjecting it to a minute critical examination, the result of which he published at Helmstadt, in 1800, in a quarto tract, with a fac-simile of the writing.[1] According to this writer, the Codex Uffenbachianus originally consisted of one ternion, or six leaves, of which the four middle ones are lost. It is wholly written in *red* uncial characters, slightly differing from the square form observable in the most ancient manuscripts. The accents and notes of aspiration are carefully marked, but the iota subscriptum nowhere occurs: nor are any stops or minor marks of distinction to be seen, except the full stop, which is promiscuously placed at the bottom, in the middle, or at the top of a page, to serve as a comma, a colon, or a full point. The note of interrogation occurs only once, viz. in Heb. iii. 17. after the word μιμω; but there are scarcely any abbreviations besides those which we have already noticed as existing in the Alexandrian and other ancient manuscripts: the annexed fac-simile exhibits the first four verses and part of the fifth verse of the Epistle to the Hebrews.



[1] Dr. Henke's publication and fac-simile are reprinted by Pott and Ruperti, in their Syllogo Commentationum Theologicarum, vol. ii. pp. 1—32. Helmstadt, 1801; from which our account of the Codex Uffenbachianus is abridged.

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In English thus :—

THEEPISTLETOTHEHEBREWS
SETFORTHLIKEROYALLETTERSPATENT.[1]
INSUNDRYPARTSANDDIVERSMANNERSAN
CIENTLYGODWHOSPAKETOTHEFATHERSBY
THEPROPHETSINTHELASTOF
THESEDAYSHATHSPOKENUNTOU
SBY*HIS*SON·WHOMHEHATHCONSTITUTEDHEIROFA
LLTHINGS.BYWHOMALSOHEMADETHEWORLDS·
WHOBEINGTHEBRIGHTNESSOF*HIS*GLORYANDTHEEX
PRESS.MAGEOFHISPERSON·ANDUP
HOLDINGALLTHINGSBYTHEWORDOFPOW
ER·WHENBYHIMSELFPURIFICATION
OFSINSHEHADMADE·SAT
DOWNONTHERIGHTHANDOFTHEMAJESTY
ONHIGH·SOMUCHBETTERBEINGMA
DETHANTHEANGELS.ASAMOREEX
CELLENTNAMETHANTHEY
HEHATHOBTAINED·FORUNTOWHICH[oftheangels]HATHHESAIDATANY
TIME

ii. *Manuscripts containing the New Testament or the Four Gospels, written in cursive or ordinary Greek characters, which have been collated and cited by editors of the Greek Testament (and especially by Wetstein and Griesbach), who preceded Dr. Scholz, by whom their notation has been retained, with the exception of Numbers,* 12. 87. 98. 100. 107. 111, 112. 122. *and* 172.

1. The CODEX BASILEENSIS, B. VI. 27. (noted by Bengel Bas, γ.) contains the whole of the New Testament, except the Revelation, and is written on vellum with accents. On account of the subscriptions and pictures which are found in it (one of which appears to be a portrait of the emperor Leo, surnamed the Wise, and his son Constantine Porphyrogennetus), Wetstein conjectures that it was written in their time, that is, in the tenth century. Michaelis and Griesbach have acceded to this opinion. Erasmus, who made use of it for his edition of the Greek Testament, supposed it to be a Latinising manuscript, and his supposition was subsequently adopted by Wetstein; but Michaelis has vindicated it from this charge, and asserts that it is entitled to very great esteem. According to Hug, the text of the Gospels is very different from the text of the other parts of the book. In the Acts and Epistles, according to Dr. Scholz, it agrees with the Constantinopolitan Recension; and in the Gospels, with the Alexandrine Recension.

2. The CODEX BASILEENSIS B. VI. 25. (noted by Bengel Bas, β.) is a manuscript of the fifteenth century, containing the four Gospels. Its text harmonizes with that of the Constantinopolitan Recension. It was used by Erasmus for his edition of the New Testament.

3. The CODEX COSENDONCENSIS formerly belonged to a monastery of Canons Regular of the Blessed Virgin at Corsendonck near Turnhout. It is a manuscript of the twelfth century, containing the whole of the New Testament, except the Apocalypse. It was used by Erasmus for his second edition. Wetstein charges it with being altered from the Latin.

4. The CODEX REGIUS 84., formerly 2867. (Stephani, γ.), is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written on vellum in the twelfth century. It was partially collated by Robert Stephens and subsequent editors, and for the first time *throughout* by Dr. Scholz, who states that its text is composed from the Alexandrine and Constantinopolitan Recensions, but more frequently agrees with the last.

5. The CODEX REGIUS 106., formerly 2871 (Stephani, δ.), contains the Acts, Catholic and Pauline Epistles, and the Gospels with Prologues; it is written on vellum in the twelfth century, and exhibits a mixed text. It was collated throughout by Dr. Scholz. Extracts from it were given by Dr. Mill, Wetstein, and Griesbach.

6. The CODEX REGIUS 112., formerly 3425, and then 2205. (Stephani, ϵ.), is a manuscript of the eleventh century, written on vellum in 12mo. It contains the Gospel, Acts, and Epistles, with synaxaria,[2] and the liturgy of Chrysostom. To the Gospels of St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John, and to the Epistle of St. James and the first Epistle of St. Peter, are prefixed an argument and index of chapters; to the remaining Catholic Epistles and to those of St. Paul, only an argument. This manuscript is pronounced by Michaelis to be of very great importance: it has the following chasms, which were first discovered by Griesbach, viz. Matt. i. 1.—ii. 21.; xxvi. 33—53.; xxvii. 26.—xxviii. 10.; Mark i. 2. to the end of the chapter; and John xxi. 2. to the end of the Gospel. The various readings from this manuscript given by Kuster and Wetstein are very inaccurate. Matt. xiii. xiv. and xv. were the only three chapters actually collated by Griesbach. It was collated by Dr. Scholz, in the Gospel of St. Matthew, in Mark i.—iv. and John vii. viii. The text is a mixed one.

7. The CODEX REGIUS 71., formerly 2866. (Stephani, ε.), is a manuscript of the eleventh century, written on vellum, and containing the four Gospels, with prologues, synaxaria, the Eusebian canons, and figures. The text for the most part agrees with that of the Constantinopolitan Recension, though there also are very many Alexandrine readings. Dr. Scholz collated it in Mark i.—vi. and John iii. 8.

8. The CODEX REGIUS 49., formerly 2242. (Stephani, ζ.), is a manuscript on vellum, of the eleventh century. It is correctly written, in folio, and contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, and synaxaria: it follows the Alexandrine Recension. Michaelis's account of this manuscript is very perplexed: in this notice we have adopted the numeration of Dr. Scholz, who not only saw it, but collated it expressly for the Gospel of St. John.

9. The CODEX REGIUS 83., formerly 2862. (Stephani, $\iota\beta$.), is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written, according to the subscription, in the year 1168, while Manuel Porphyrogennetus reigned at Constantinople, Amaury at Jerusalem, and William II. in Sicily. It contains the four Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, and synaxaria. The text for the most part agrees with that of the Constantinopolitan Recension. Kuster printed extracts from this manuscript, which were retained in Wetstein's and Griesbach's editions: it was collated by Dr. Scholz in Matt. i.—viii., Mark i.—iv., and John iv.—viii.

10. The CODEX REGIUS 91., formerly 2865. and 2247. (Kuster, Paris, 1), is a manuscript of the four Gospels, of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, according to Griesbach, and of the thirteenth century according to Scholz. This manuscript came from Greece: for the subscription states that it was given in 1439 to the library of the Canons Regular at Verona, by Dorotheus, a Greek by nation, and archbishop of Mitylene, who was present at the synod convened at Florence [in 1438] for the purpose of uniting the Greek and Latin churches. It contains the four Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, and synaxaria. Kuster's collation is by no means accurate: and many remarkable readings were omitted by Wetstein, according to Griesbach, who expresses a wish for its more accurate examination. Dr. Scholz collated it for Mark i.—iv. and John iv.—viii. The text of this manuscript, for the most part, agrees with that of the Constantinopolitan Recension.

11. The CODEX REGIUS 121. and 122., formerly 3424. 2. and 3., is a small octavo manuscript in two volumes, of the twelfth century, according to Dr. Scholz, but of the tenth century in the judgment of Montfaucon. It is neatly executed, and contains the four Gospels with the Eusebian canons. Kuster has printed some readings from this manuscript, which was collated anew by Scholz; who states that its readings, for the most part, follow those of the Constantinopolitan Recension, though there are many readings peculiar to the Alexandrine manuscripts.

12. The CODEX REGIUS 230. is a quarto manuscript on vellum, of the eleventh century, containing the Gospels, with synaxaria, the Eusebian canons, prologues, figures, and commentaries. A very few instances excepted, it agrees with the Constantinopolitan Recension. It was collated for the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John, by Dr. Scholz, who has substituted this manuscript for No. 12. of Wetstein's notation (* 12 of Griesbach), in the place of three manuscripts in the royal library at Paris, viz. 185.[a] (No. 120. *infra*), 85. (No. 119. *infra*), and another manuscript, at present unknown, the readings of which and this number had been confounded together by Wetstein.

13. The CODEX REGIUS 50., formerly 2244.[b] (Kuster, Paris, 6.), is a quarto manuscript on vellum, of the twelfth century, according to Scholz, of the thirteenth century according to Michaelis, and of the twelfth or thirteenth century according to Griesbach. It contains the four Gospels, with synaxaria, and follows the Alexandrine Recension. It has the following chasms, viz. Matt. i. 1.—ii. 21. xxvi. 33—53. xxvii. 26.—xxviii. 10., Mark i. 21—45., and John xxi. 2—25. It was negligently collated by Kuster and Wetstein, and

[1] Such, Dr. Henke has shown, is the proper rendering of the inscription, most probably from the circumstance of its being written with vermilion, after the pattern of the ancient imperial letters patent, which were usually written in red, purple, or golden characters. Codicis Uffenbachiani Recensus Criticus, pp. 5—7. of vol. ii. of Pott's and Ruperti's Sylloge Commentationum Theologicarum.

[2] On the import of this word see note 1. p. 235. *supra*.

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more diligently by Griesbach; who, in those parts which he collated, discovered not fewer than six hundred various readings which had been omitted by Kuster. It was collated anew by M. Begtrup, a Danish divine, in 1797; from whose labours Dr. Birch[1] and Dr. Schulz[2] severally obtained numerous additional various readings.

14. The Codex Regius 70., formerly 3424. and 2396., (Kuster, Paris, 7.), is a manuscript on vellum, very neatly and correctly written in the year 964, as appears from the subscription. It contains the four Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, figures, and the paschal canon; and follows the Constantinopolitan text. It was collated by Scholz in Matt. vii.—xxi., Mark i.—vi., Luke iii. iv. ix. xi., and John iii. —ix.

15. The Codex Regius 64., formerly 2868., and afterwards 2232. (Kuster, Paris, 8.), is a very neat copy of the four Gospels, of the tenth century, with the Eusebian canons, pictures, and synaxaria. Extracts from it were given by Kuster; and Dr. Scholz collated the chief parts of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John.

16. The Codex Regius 54., formerly 1881., is a neatly written Greek-Latin manuscript of the four Gospels, of the fourteenth century. It was collated by Wetstein; and Dr. Scholz collated the Gospel of Mark, and select passages from the other Gospels. The text of this manuscript rarely departs from the received text; but it has some Alexandrine readings.

17. The Codex Regius 55., formerly 2083., and afterwards 2244., is a folio manuscript of the sixteenth century, containing the four Gospels with a Latin version. According to Wetstein and Scholz, it was written in France, by George Hermonymus of Sparta, who was Greek professor at Paris, and the preceptor of Budæus and Reuchlin. Wetstein examined this manuscript, but only in a very cursory manner, according to Griesbach, who has given more extracts from it. The Gospel of Mark, and select passages of the other Gospels, were collated by Scholz, who states that this manuscript very rarely departs from the received text.

18. The Codex Regius 47., formerly 2241., was written in the year 1364; it contains the New Testament, with prologues, synaxaria, psalms, and hymns. The Gospels and Acts were collated by Scholz, who examined the remaining books of the New Testament cursorily. Its text closely follows that of the Constantinopolitan recension.

19. The Codex Regius 189., formerly 437., also numbered 1880., is the same manuscript which Wetstein cites as the Codex Regius 1869. It was written on vellum in the twelfth century, and contains the four Gospels, with a catena on John, and scholia on the other Gospels. The text is that of the Constantinopolitan recension, though there are some changes which have been introduced from an Alexandrine copy. This manuscript was collated throughout by Dr. Scholz.

20. The Codex Regius 188., formerly 1883., was brought from the East in 1669. It was written in the twelfth century, and contains the Gospels, with a catena on Matthew, and the commentaries of Victor, a presbyter of Antioch, or of Cyril of Alexandria, on Mark; of Titus of Bostra, and other fathers, on Luke; and of John Chrysostom and other fathers on John. Further, there are scholia written in the outer margin; and at the end of each Gospel are dissertations on various topics by Eusebius Pamphilus, Isidorus Hippolytus of Thebes, Sophronius, archbishop of Jerusalem, and others. A later copyist has supplied some omissions in the text, as in Mark ix. 5. 37. At the end of the Gospel of Mark, it is stated that this Gospel was transcribed from accurate manuscripts, and collated; and nearly the same assertion is made at the close of the Gospels of Luke and John. The text, for the most part, follows the Constantinopolitan recension; but it has many Alexandrine readings, chiefly in those passages which have been altered by a later hand. Dr. Scholz collated the greater part of this manuscript.

21. The Codex Regius 68., formerly 2860. and 1007., contains the four Gospels, which were written in the tenth century on vellum, together with synaxaria, written on paper by a later hand. Wetstein cited this manuscript only on John viii. It was collated by Scholz on Matt i.—xi., the Gospel of Mark, and John iv. v. vii. viii. It belongs to the Constantinopolitan family.

22. The Codex Regius 72., formerly $\frac{2244}{2.\ 2.}$ (incorrectly cited by Wetstein on John viii. as No. 2242.), Colbertinus 2467, is a manuscript on vellum, correctly written in the eleventh century. It contains the four Gospels, which are mutilated in Matt. i.—ii. 2. and John xiv. 22. to xvi. 27. Some leaves are transposed by the carelessness of the bookbinder. Its orthography and text coincide with those of the Alexandrine recension. This manuscript was collated by Wetstein, and also by Scholz, who states that there are traces of readings which were added in the sixteenth century.

23. The Codex Regius 77., formerly $\frac{2861}{2\ A}$ and 3947, Colbertinus 3947, contains the four Gospels written on vellum in the eleventh century, with a Latin verson of Matthew, Mark, and Luke i. 1.—iv. 18., which very rarely differs from the Vulgate. It is mutilated in Matt. i. 1.—xvii. Luke xxiv. 46. to John ii. 20., and in xx. xxi. 24, 25. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension. The chief part of this manuscript was collated by Scholz.

24. The Codex Regius 178., formerly $\frac{2244}{5.\ 5.}$, Colbertinus 4112, on vellum, of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels with a commentary, and with synaxaria which appear to have been added by a later hand. It is mutilated from Matt. xxvii. 20. to Mark iv. 22. This manuscript follows the Constantinopolitan recension; nearly the whole of it was collated by Scholz.

25. The Codex Regius 191., formerly $\frac{1880}{2}$, Colbertinus 2259, is a folio manuscript on vellum of the tenth century, containing the Gospel with scholia. The text is composed from Constantinopolitan and Alexandrine copies. It has the following chasms, viz. Matt. xxiii. 1.—xxv. 42. Mark i. 1. —vii. 36. Luke viii. 31—41. ix. 44—54. x. 39.—xi. 4. and John xiii. from the middle to the end of that Gospel. Many leaves have been transposed by the error or carelessness of the bookbinder; the whole of this manuscript was collated by Scholz.

26. The Codex Regius 78., formerly 2244. 5., Colbertinus 4078, is a manuscript on vellum of the eleventh century, neatly and correctly written by one Paul, a presbyter, and containing the Gospels, with a commentary and the Eusebian canons. Its text almost always agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension; though there are many Alexandrine readings. It was collated by Wetstein and Scholz.

27. The Codex Regius 115., formerly $\frac{2863}{5}$, Colbertinus 6043, in Dr. Mill's notation Colb. 1., is a manuscript of the eleventh century, neatly and correctly written, and containing the Gospels with synaxaria and pictures. John xviii. 3. to the end of that gospel is written on cotton paper, in the fourteenth century. Though this manuscript has not a few peculiar readings, and such as are common to the Alexandrine recension, yet it for the most part follows the Constantinopolitan text. It was collated again both by Wetstein, and by Scholz. Michaelis states that in this manuscript many readings have been erased, and others substituted in their stead.

28. The Codex Regius 379., formerly $\frac{3012}{7}$, Colbertinus 4075, (Mill, Colb. 1.) is a manuscript of the the tenth century, not very correctly written: it chiefly follows the Alexandrine recension, though it has many readings which are peculiar to the received text and to itself. It contains the Gospels with synaxaria, and it has the following chasms, Matt. vii. 17.—ix. 12. xiv. 33.—xvi. 10. xxvi. 70.—xxvii. 48. Luke xx. 19.—xxii. 46. John xii. 40.—xiii. 1., xv. 24. —xvi. 12. xviii. 16—28. xx. 20.—xxi. 5. 18—25. It was collated anew and described by Scholz.

29. The Codex Regius 89., formerly 2860, Colbertinus 4705 (in Mill, Colb. 3.), a manuscript on vellum of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels with scholia, and fragments of the Eusebian canons. Some lost leaves in the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John, have been added in the fifteenth century. Though it chiefly agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, it has numerous Alexandrine readings which have been added by some corrector. This manuscript was collated by Scholz in Matt. i.—v., and John v.—viii.

30. The Codex Regius 100., formerly $\frac{2860}{3.\ 4.}$, Colbertinus 4444 (in Mill, Colb. 4.), is a manuscript written on paper in the sixteenth century, by George Hermonymus of Sparta; it contains the Gospels, and not the first sixteen chapters only of Matthew, as Mill and after him Wetstein and Griesbach have asserted. Its text varies little from that of No. 17, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. Dr. Scholz collated it for select passages of the Gospels.

31. The Codex Regius 94., formerly 2865, Colbertinus

[1] In his Varias Lectiones ad Textum iv. Evangeliorum. Hauniæ, 1801.
[2] In his third edition of Griesbach's Greek Testament, vol. i. Berolini, 1827. 8vo.

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6063, is a manuscript on vellum, of the thirteenth century. It contains the Gospels, with prayers. Many parts of this manuscript, which were ill written, have been erased. The text is that of the Constantinopolitan family: it was collated by Scholz in select passages.

32. The CODEX REGIUS 116., formerly 2860, Colbertinus 6511, contains the Gospels, written on vellum, in the thirteenth century; but Matt. i. 1.—x. 22. xxiv. 15—30. Luke xxii. 33.—John iv. 20. are wanting. This manuscript was evidently used for ecclesiastical purposes; its text is mixed, but for the most part it follows the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated by Scholz in select passages.

33. The CODEX REGIUS 14., formerly 1871, Colbertinus 2844 (in Mill, Colb. 8. for the Gospels, Colb. 6. for the Acts, and Colb. 7. for the Epistles), is a manuscript of the eleventh century according to Scholz, and of the eleventh or twelfth according to Griesbach. It contains part of the prophets, and the whole of the New Testament; the extremities of almost all the leaves are torn, and many leaves are transposed by the book binder. It agrees throughout with the Alexandrine recension. This manuscript was collated by Wetstein, Griesbach (in Matt. i.—xviii.), Begtrup, and again throughout by Scholz.

34. The CODEX COISLINIANUS[1] 195., is a manuscript elegantly written on vellum, on Mount Athos, in the eleventh century. It contains the Gospels with a catena, prologues, and figures. The text closely agrees with that of the Constantinopolitan recension. It was cursorily collated by Wetstein and by Scholz.

35. CODEX COISLINIANUS 199., contains the New Testament, written on vellum in the eleventh century: it has been corrected in many places. The text very rarely differs from the textus receptus: it was cursorily collated both by Wetstein and by Scholz.

36. The CODEX COISLINIANUS 20., is a manuscript of the eleventh century on vellum, brought from Mount Athos: it contains the four Gospels with the Eusebian canons, prefaces, and commentaries. The text agrees with that of the Constantinopolitan family; it was cursorily collated by Wetstein and by Scholz.

37. The CODEX COISLINIANUS 21., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels with scholia, the Eusebian canons, synaxaria, and figures. Its text agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated by Wetstein and Scholz.

38. The CODEX COISLINIANUS 200., (Stephani 9.) is a manuscript of the fourteenth century, according to Scholz, but of the thirteenth century according to Griesbach. It contains the New Testament, except the Epistles of St. Paul, with figures, and is mutilated in Matt. xiv. 15.—xv. 30. xx. 14.—xxi. 27. and Mark xii. 3.—xiii. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension; and was cursorily collated by Wetstein and Scholz.

39. The CODEX COISLINIANUS 23., formerly 315., was written in the eleventh century: according to the subscription it was presented to the monastery of St. Athanasius on Mount Athos in the year 1218. It contains the four Gospels with commentaries, and follows the Constantinopolitan recension; it was cursorily collated by Wetstein and Scholz. This manuscript was presented to Louis IX. king of France, by the Greek emperor Michael Palæologus.

40. The CODEX COISLINIANUS 22., formerly 375., a manuscript of the eleventh century, brought from Mount Athos, contains the four Gospels, with commentaries and the Eusebian canons. It is defective from John xx. 25. to the end. It follows the Constantinopolitan family, and was cursorily collated by Wetstein and Scholz.

41. The CODEX COISLINIANUS 24., formerly 141., contains the Gospels of Matthew and Mark with commentaries, and was written on vellum in the eleventh century. It was collated by Wetstein, and again cursorily by Scholz.

42. The CODEX MEDICÆUS Pithoei is a manuscript of the four Gospels, the readings of which were extracted by Peter Pithou, and written in the margin of his copy of Stephens's edition of 1550. These readings were communicated to Dr. Mill by Mr. Bernard, the purchaser of that copy; and from Mill they have been copied by Wetstein, Griesbach, and Scholz. Amelotte, who professes to have used this manuscript, states that it was preserved in the collect at Troyes in his time (the close of the seventeenth century). Dr. Scholz sought for it in vain in the different libraries of France, and says that it could not be found in the city of Troyes. The readings of this manuscript coincide with those of the Alexandrine recension.

43. The CODEX GRÆCUS 4., in the Library of the Arsenal at Paris, formerly called the Codex San-Maglorianus, is a manuscript of the eleventh or twelfth century, in two volumes 4to.: the first contains the Gospels with the Eusebian canons; the second, the Acts and Epistles. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension; Amelotte and Simon both used this manuscript; which, from the subscription to the second Epistle to Timothy, appears to have been written at Ephesus. It was collated for select chapters by Scholz.

44. The CODEX MISSYANUS, now in the British Museum (No. 4949 of the additional manuscripts), is a manuscript of the four Gospels, of the eleventh century, which Cæsar de Missy procured from Mount Athos, and collated for Wetstein, to whom he communicated its readings. Like all other manuscripts brought from that mountain, it agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

45. The CODEX BAROCCIANUS 31., now in the Bodleian library at Oxford (in Mill, Bodl. 1.) is a manuscript of the four Gospels on vellum, of the fourteenth century, with the Eusebian canons and figures. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated by Dr. Mill, and afterwards in select passages by Griesbach.

46. The CODEX BAROCCIANUS 29., (in Mill, Bodl. 2.) was written in the fifteenth century. It contains the four Gospels, with synaxaria, the Eusebian canons, and figures. It was collated by Dr. Mill, and was afterwards examined by Griesbach for readings on Mark xii. which, he asserts, had been neglected by Dr. Mill.

47. The CODEX BODLEIANUS (in Mill, Bodl. 6.) is a manuscript of the fifteenth century, containing the four Gospels. Archbishop Usher was the first who procured extracts from this manuscript, which were inserted in the sixth volume of Bishop Walton's Polyglott, whence they were taken by Mill and by subsequent editors of the Greek Testament. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

48. The CODEX BODLEIANUS (in Mill, Bodl. 7.) is a manuscript of the thirteenth century, containing the Gospels with scholia, and the Eusebian canons. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated by Mill.

49. The CODEX BODLEIANUS, Roe. 1. contains the four Gospels with the Eusebian canons, which were collated by Mill. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

50. The CODEX BODLEIANUS, LAUDIANUS, D. 122. (in Mill, Laud. 1.), contains the Gospels with commentaries: it was written in the eleventh century, and follows the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated by Dr. Mill, and more accurately by Griesbach on Mark iv.—vii. and Luke viii. ix. This manuscript is defective from Matt. i. 1. to ix. 36. xii. 3—24. and xxv. 20—31. and John v. 18. to the end. Mark xiv. 40. to the end has been added by a later hand.

51. The CODEX BODLEIANUS, LAUDIANUS, C. 715., 63 (in Mill, Laud. 2.), of the thirteenth century, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Gospels, with synaxaria and prologues. It has many readings in common with the Complutensian Polyglott, and for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated by Mill and Griesbach.

52. The CODEX BODLEIANUS, LAUDIANUS, C. 28. (in Mill, Laud. 5.) was written in the year 1286, and contains the Gospels. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated first by Mill, and afterwards more accurately by Griesbach, on Mark iii. Luke iv. v. vi. and John v. 1—5. vii. 53.—viii. 19.

53. The CODEX[2] SELDENI 1., written in the fourteenth century, contains the Gospels: it follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated by Mill.

54. The CODEX SELDENI 2., written in 1338, contains the Gospels with synaxaria, and follows the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated by Mill.

55. The CODEX SELDENI 3., written in the fifteenth century, also contains the Gospels with synaxaria. It was collated by Mill, and follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

56. The CODEX LINCOLNIENSIS 1., belonging to Lincoln college, Oxford, was written in 1502. It contains the Gos-

[1] The Codices Coislinianí derive their name from Coislin, Bishop of Metz, to whom they were bequeathed by the celebrated Chancellor Seguier, who died in 1672. They are described by Montfaucon in the "Bibliotheca Coisliniana, olim Seguieriana." Paris, 1715, folio. (March's Michaelis, vol. ii. part ii. p. 728.)

[2] The Selden Manuscripts are preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford

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pels, and follows the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated by Bishop Walton and Dr. Mill.

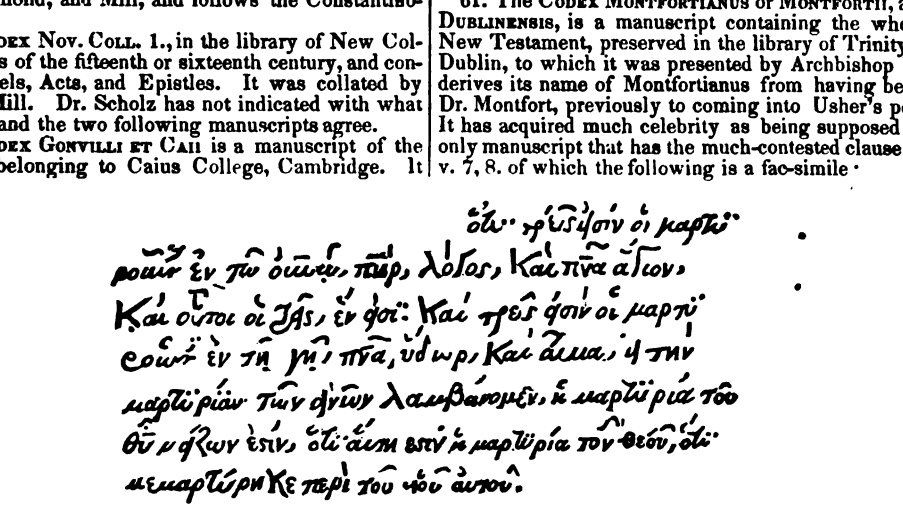
57. The CODEX MAGDALENSIS 1., belonging to Magdalen College, Oxford, contains the Gospels, Acts, Epistles, Psalms, and Hymns. It was written in the eleventh century, and is defective in Mark i. 1—11., the Epistles to the Romans, and 1 and 2 Corinthians. It was collated by Bishop Walton, Hammond, and Mill, and follows the Constantinopolitan family.

58. The CODEX NOV. COLL. 1., in the library of New College, Oxford, is of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. It was collated by Walton, and Mill. Dr. Scholz has not indicated with what recension this and the two following manuscripts agree.

59. The CODEX GONVILLI ET CAII is a manuscript of the four Gospels belonging to Caius College, Cambridge. It was collated by Walton, carefully examined by Mill, and inspected by Wetstein.

60. The CODEX CANTABRIGIENSIS, Dd. 9. 69. formerly Mori 1., contains the Gospels very neatly written on paper, in 1297, and the Apocalypse in a more modern hand. It has the Ammonian sections, without reference to the Eusebian canons; and was collated by Dr. Mill.

61. The CODEX MONTFORTIANUS or MONTFORTII, also called DUBLINENSIS, is a manuscript containing the whole of the New Testament, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, to which it was presented by Archbishop Usher. It derives its name of Montfortianus from having belonged to Dr. Montfort, previously to coming into Usher's possession. It has acquired much celebrity as being supposed to be the only manuscript that has the much-contested clause in 1 John v. 7, 8. of which the following is a fac-simile:



In English, literally thus,

for there are three that bear witn[ess] in heaven, father, word, and holy spirit, And these three are one· and there are three that bear witn[ess] on earth, spirit, water, and blood· if we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater, for this is the witness of God, which he hath testified of his son.

The CODEX MONTFORTIANUS is the same manuscript which was cited by Erasmus under the title of *Codex Britannicus*, who inserted the disputed passage in the third edition of his Greek Testament on its authority. It is written in small Greek characters on thick glazed paper, in duodecimo, and without folios. Dr. A. Clarke (to whom we are indebted for the preceding fac-simile)[1] is of opinion that it was most probably written in the *thirteenth* century, from the similarity of its writing to that of other manuscripts of the same time. He has no doubt but that it existed before the invention of printing, and is inclined to think it the work of an unknown bold critic, who formed a text from one or more manuscripts in conjunction with the Latin Vulgate, and who was by no means sparing of his own conjectural emendations, as it possesses various readings which exist in no manuscript yet discovered. But how far the writer has in any place faithfully copied the text of any particular ancient manuscript, is more than can be determined. In the early part of the last century, Mr. Martin claimed for this manuscript so early a date as the eleventh century. But Bishop Marsh, after Griesbach, contends that it is at least as modern as the fifteenth or sixteenth century. The Codex Montfortianus, he observes, "made its appearance about the year 1520: and that the manuscript had just been written, when it first appeared, is highly probable, because it appeared at a critical juncture, and its appearance answered a particular purpose.[2] But, whether written for the occasion or not, it could not have been written *very long* before the fifteenth century; for this manuscript has the Latin chapters, though the κεφαλαια of Eusebius are likewise noted. Now the *Latin* chapters were foreign to the usage of the *Greek* Church, before the introduction of printed editions, in which the Latin chapters were adopted, as well for the Greek as for the Latin Testament. Whatever Greek manuscripts therefore were written with Latin chapters, were written in the *West* of Europe, where the Latin chapters were in use. They were written by the Greeks, or by the descendants of those Greeks, who fled into the West of Europe, after the taking of Constantinople, and who then began to divide their manuscripts according to the usage of the country, in which they fixed their abode.[3] The Dublin manuscript, therefore, if not written for the purpose to which it was applied in the third edition of Erasmus,[4] could hardly have been written more than fifty years before. And how widely those critics have erred in their conjectures, who have supposed that it was written so early as the twelfth century, appears from the fact that the Latin chapters were not *invented* till the 13th century.[5] But the influence of the Church of Rome in the composition of the Dublin manuscript, is most conspicuous in the *text* of that manuscript, which is a servile imitation of the Latin Vulgate. It will be sufficient to mention how it follows the Vulgate at the place in question. It not only agrees with the Vulgate, in the insertion of the seventh verse: it follows the Vulgate also at the end of the sixth verse, having χριστος, where all other Greek manuscripts have πνευμα: and in the eighth verse it omits the final clause which had *never* been omitted in the Greek manuscripts, and was not omitted even in the *Latin* manuscripts before the thirteenth century.[6] Such is the character of that solitary manuscript, which is opposed to the united evidence of all former manuscripts, including the Codex Vaticanus, and the Codex Alexandrinus."[7] Upon the whole, it does not appear that the date of the Codex Montfortianus *can* be earlier than the close of the fifteenth century. The uncollated parts of this manuscript were collated by the late Rev. Dr. Barrett,

[1] Our engraving is copied (by permission) from the fac-simile prefixed to the Rev. Dr. A. Clarke's Concise View of the Succession of Sacred Literature, 12mo. London, 1807. This fac-simile was traced by the accurate hand of the late Rev. Dr. Barrett, senior fellow of Trinity College; by whom Dr. Clarke's engraving was collated with the original manuscript, so as to represent it with the utmost fidelity.

[2] "Erasmus had published two editions of the Greek Testament, one in 1516, the other in 1519, both of which were without the words that begin with εν τω ουρανω, and end with εν τη γη, in the disputed clause in 1 John v. 7, 8. This *omission*, as it was called by those who paid more deference to the Latin translation than to the Greek original, exposed Erasmus to much censure, though, in fact, the complaint was for *non-addition*. Erasmus, therefore, very properly answered, 'Addendi de meo, quod Græcis deest, provinciam non susceperam.' He promised, however, that though he could not insert in a Greek edition what he had never found in a Greek manuscript, he would insert the passage in his next edition, if in the mean time a Greek MS. could be discovered which had the passage. In less than a year after that declaration, Erasmus was informed that there was a Greek MS. in England which contained the passage. At the same time a copy of the passage, as contained in that MS., was communicated to Erasmus: and Erasmus, as he had promised, inserted that copy in his next edition, which was published in 1522."

[3] "There are three Greek manuscripts with the Latin chapters in the University Library at Cambridge, marked Hh. 6. 12. Kk. 5. 35. and Ll. 2. 13. That which is marked Ll. 2. 13., and is evidently the oldest of the three, was written at Paris by Jerom of Sparta, for the use and at the expense of a person called Bodet, as appears from the subscription to it. Now Jerom of Sparta died at the beginning of the sixteenth century."

[4] "The third edition of Erasmus has 1 John v. 7. *precisely* in the words of the Dublin MS."

[5] See p. 213. *supra*.

[6] "Here there is an additional proof, respecting the age of the Dublin MS."

[7] Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part vi. pp. 23—26. See also his letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis. (Leipzig, 1795, 8vo.) Pref. pp. xvii. xviii. xxiii. in the notes. Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. pp. 284—287. part ii pp. 755—759 Dr. A. Clarke's Succession of Sacred Literature, pp 86—92.

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of Trinity College, Dublin, with Wetstein's edition of the Greek Testament; beginning with Rom. ii. and ending with the Apocalypse, including also a collation of the Acts of the Apostles, from chap. xxii. 27. to chap. xxviii. 2. This collation, comprising thirty-five pages, forms the third part of his fac-simile edition of the Codex Rescriptus of St. Matthew's Gospel.

62. The CODEX CANTABRIGIENSIS K. k. 5. 35., formerly belonging to Henry Googe, is a manuscript of the Gospels, written on paper in the fifteenth century. Its readings were first printed in the London Polyglott, whence they were copied by Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, and Scholz. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

63. The CODEX USSERII 1., now in Trinity College, Dublin, where it is marked D. 20., is a folio manuscript on vellum, containing the four Gospels with commentaries. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. Some extracts from this manuscript were given in Bishop Fell's edition of the New Testament, in the Gospels of Luke and John. It was collated for Dr. Mill on all the Gospels by Richard Bulkley. Wetstein suspected that this manuscript is the same as the preceding, which Griesbach remarks is scarcely probable.

64. The CODEX USSERII 2., also in Trinity College, Dublin (F. 1.), formerly belonged to a Dr. Goad. It is a manuscript on vellum, in 8vo. containing the Gospels, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. Mill and Wetstein conjectured that this is the same manuscript which Bishop Walton quotes in the sixth volume of the London Polyglott by the abbreviation Em. as belonging either to Emanuel College, Cambridge, or perhaps to some fellow of that College. This, however, is far from being certain. Wetstein, Griesbach, and Scholz, have severally *omitted* the readings of the manuscript Em. Henry Dodwell gave extracts from this manuscript to Bishop Fell; and Richard Bulkley, to Dr. Mill.

65. The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5776., formerly cited as Covellianus 1., is one of five manuscripts, brought from the East by Dr. John Covell: it contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons and prologues, and was collated by Dr. Mill. Griesbach merely says that it is not very ancient. Scholz refers it to the thirteenth century.

66. The CODEX THOMÆ GALE, contains the Gospels with synaxaria, part of the Eusebian canons and scholia. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated by Mill. No age has been assigned to this manuscript.

67. The CODEX HUNTINGTONIANUS 2., now in the Bodleian Library, is a manuscript of the eleventh century, which was brought from the East by Dr. Robert Huntington. It contains the Gospels, and is imperfect from John vi. 64. to the end. This manuscript was collated by Dr. Mill.

68. The CODEX WHELERI 1., now belonging to Lincoln College, Oxford, was brought from the East by Sir George Wheler. It contains the Gospels with the Eusebian canons, and was collated by Dr. Mill. Michaelis states that it was written in the year 1502.

69. The CODEX LEICESTRENSIS derives its name from being the property of the Corporation of Leicester:[1] it is a manuscript of the whole New Testament, written by a modern hand, partly on paper, and partly on vellum, chiefly the former, and is referred by Wetstein and Griesbach to the fourteenth century. It is noted by Dr. Mill by the letter L., in the first part of Wetstein's New Testament, Codex 69.; in the second, 37.; in the third, 31.; and in the fourth, 14.; and by Griesbach, 69. The book of Acts is inserted between the epistle to the Hebrews and that of Saint James. This manuscript is defective from the beginning as far as Matt. xviii. 15., and has also the following chasms, viz. Acts x. 45.—xiv. 7. Jude 7. to the end of that Epistle, and it concludes with part of Rev. xix. It has many peculiar readings; and in those which are not confined to it, this manuscript chiefly agrees with D. or the Codex Cantabrigiensis: it also harmonizes in a very eminent manner with the old Syriac version; and, what further proves its value, several readings, which Dr. Mill found in it alone, have been confirmed by other manuscripts that belong to totally different countries. The Codex Leicestrensis was first collated by him, and afterwards more accurately by Mr. Jackson, the learned editor of Novatian's works, whose extracts were used by Wetstein There is another and still more accurate transcript of Mr. J.'s collation in his copy of Mill's edition of the Greek Testament, which is now preserved in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge, where it is marked O, Θ, 1.[2]

70. The CODEX CANTABRIGIENSIS LL. 2. 13., now in the library of the University of Cambridge, formerly belonged to a Mr. Bunckle, and afterwards to Bishop More. It contains the Gospels, and was written in the fifteenth century, at Paris, by George Hermonymus, of Sparta, from whom we have a few other manuscripts of the Greek Testament. It was collated by Mill, and perhaps by Wetstein.

71. The CODEX EPHESIUS (so called because it had formerly belonged to a bishop of Ephesus) is now in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, to which it was presented by Thomas Traherne, together with a collection of its various readings[3] which were printed by Mill. It was written in 1166, and contains the Gospels with scholia. For the most part it agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

72. The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5647., formerly cited as Johnsonii (from T. Johnson, a bookseller, who lent it to Wetstein for collation before it was sent into England), is a very elegantly written manuscript on vellum, of the eleventh century, which contains the four Gospels, with a catena on Matthew, and various readings on Matthew and Luke. It frequently agrees with the Alexandrine recension.

73. The CODEX WAKII 1., which formerly belonged to Dr. Wake, archbishop of Canterbury, is now in the library of Christ's College, Oxford. It contains the Gospels, written in the eleventh century, with the Eusebian canons.

74. The CODEX WAKII 2., also belonging to Christ's College, Oxford, is a manuscript, containing the Gospels, written on Mount Athos, in the thirteenth century. It is imperfect in Matt. i. 1—14. v. 30.—vi. 1. Both this and the preceding manuscript were collated by the Rev. John Walker, for Wetstein.

75. The CODEX GENEVENSIS 19., written in the eleventh century, contains the Gospels with prologues, the Eusebian canons, and figures. The text agrees with the Constantinopolitan family: it has a few readings in common with other manuscripts, especially No. 6. (see p. 238. supra.) Wetstein says that he saw it in the year 1714. Scholz collated it in some select passages; and Professor Cellérier, of Geneva, also specially collated Matt. i.—xviii., and Mark i.—v. for his critical edition of the Greek Testament.

76. The CODEX CÆSAREUS VINDOBONENSIS (in Lambecius's catalogue 28.) contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, with prologues, synaxaria, and figures. It was written in the eleventh century, and was collated by Gerard Von Maestricht, and most accurately by Alter.

77. The CODEX CÆSAREUS VINDOBONENSIS (in Lambecius 29., and in Nessel's catalogue 114.), is a manuscript of the eleventh century, very neatly and correctly written, containing the Gospels, with commentaries, the Eusebian canons, prologues, figures, paintings, and synaxaria, which last have been added by a more recent hand. It was collated by Alter.

78. The CODEX CARPZOVIANUS was formerly in the possession of John Gottlob Carpzov, of Leipzig, on the death of whose grandson, at Helmstadt, it was purchased by Nicholas signior Jancovich, of Vadass, in Hungary, whither it was taken. It contains the Gospels, written in the twelfth century according to Griesbach; and almost always agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. Dr. Boerner collated it for Kuster's edition of Mill's Greek Testament; and Scholz collated it in select passages for his edition.

79. The CODEX GEORGII DOUZÆ (by whom it was brought from Constantinople) was seen by Gomer at Leyden, on the eighth chapter of Saint John's Gospel. Scholz conjectures

[1] In a critique on the second edition of this work, in the Eclectic Review for January, 1822 (vol. xvii. N. S. p. 83.), it is stated, that when the writer of that article made inquiry respecting the Codex Leicestrensis, it was no longer to be found in the Library of the Town Hall at Leicester. Anxious, for the interest of sacred literature, to ascertain the *real* fact, the author of the present work requested Mr. Combe (an eminent bookseller at that place, to whom he thus gladly makes his acknowledgments), to make the requisite investigation. The result of Mr. Combe's critical researches is, that *the Codex Leicestrensis is still carefully preserved.* Mr. C. further collated the author's account of it (which had been drawn up from the notices of Wetstein and Michaelis) with the manuscript itself, and this collation has enabled him to make the description above given more complete as well as more correct. *Note to the third edition.*]

[2] Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. pp. 355—357. part ii. pp. 749, 750. Bishop Marsh adds, "This copy of Mill's Greek Testament, with Jackson's marginal readings, is a treasure of sacred criticism, which deserves to be communicated to the public. It contains the result of all his labours in that branch of literature; it supplies many of the defects of Mill, and corrects many of his errors: and, besides quotations from manuscripts and ancient versions, it contains a copious collection of readings from many of the fathers, which have hitherto been very imperfectly collated, or wholly neglected." Ibid. p. 750.

[3] Traherne's or Traheron's Manuscript Collection of Various Readings from the Codex Ephesius, is now in the British Museum, among the Burney MSS. No. 24

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that it is the Codex Lugdunensis Batavorum 74. It contains the Gospels with a Latin version, and is imperfect.

80. The CODEX GRÆVII formerly belonged to the celebrated critic John George Grævius, and afterwards to the Rev. John Van der Hagen. It contains the Gospels, written in the twelfth century. According to Wetstein, who saw it, this manuscript was collated by Bynæus in 1691.

81. Certain Greek manuscripts, which are mentioned in a revision of the Latin Bible, written in the thirteenth century.

82. Certain Greek manuscripts cited by Laurentius Valla in his remarks on the Latin New Testament. As he has given no description of them, and has not distinguished the readings of one manuscript from those of another, it is impossible at present to ascertain them: Bishop Marsh, who is followed by Dr. Lotze in his edition of Wetstein's Prolegomena, supposes that they are still preserved in some of the libraries of Italy. The various readings extracted by Valla are such as are generally found in manuscripts of the least antiquity and the least value.

83. The CODEX MONACENSIS 518. (Augustanus 1. of Bengel's, Wetstein's, and Griesbach's notation), is a neatly and accurately written manuscript, of the eleventh century, containing the Gospels, with synaxaria. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension. This manuscript is described by Ignatius Hardt in his catalogue of Greek MSS. at Munich: it was collated in select passages by Scholz.

84. The CODEX MONACENSIS 568. (Augustanus 2. in Bengel, Wetstein, and Griesbach), is a manuscript of the twelfth century, also described by Hardt, and collated in select passages by Scholz. It contains the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, and is imperfect in Matt. i. 1—18. xiii. 10—27. xiii. 42.—xiv. 3. xviii. 25.—xix. 9. xxi. 33.—xxii. 4., and in Mark vii. 13. to the end. It follows the Constantinopolitan text.

85. The CODEX MONACENSIS 569. (Augustanus 3.) contains only some loose leaves of the four Gospels, on vellum, written in the thirteenth century; it follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and is described by Hardt. Dr. Scholz collated it anew for his edition.

86. The CODEX POSONIENSIS, also called Byzantinus, because it formerly belonged to the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, was written at least before the year 1183. It contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons and prologues, and was collated by Bengel.

87. The CODEX TREVIRENSIS formerly belonged to Cardinal Cusa; it contains the Gospel of St. John with a catena, written in the twelfth century. Cordier (or Corderius) printed it in his catena of Greek Fathers on that Gospel. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated by Scholz, who has numbered it 87., in the place of the Codex Mosquensis (Matthæi v.) which he has numbered 250., *infra*.

88. The Manuscript cited by Joachim Camerarius, in his Annotations on the New Testament, as being ancient. It contains the Gospels. Wetstein says that it is like those which he has described under the numbers 63., 72., and 80. (See pp. 242, 243. *supra*.)

89. The CODEX GOTTINGENSIS, formerly called Gehlianus, from its possessor, A. G. Gehle, was written in 1106, and contains the Gospels, the text of which agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated by Gehle in 1729, and again by Matthæi, who numbers it 20.

90. The CODEX JOANNIS FABRI, Daventriensis, was written by John Faber, a Dominican monk, of Deventer, who in the sixteenth century copied it from a manuscript written in the year 1293. It contains the four Gospels, Pauline Epistles, Acts, and Catholic Epistles. The Epistle of Jude is written twice, and from two different copies. Faber collated this manuscript with a very ancient copy which had belonged to John Wessel of Groningen, to whom it had been presented by Pope Sixtus IV. Faber's manuscript was collated by Griesbach.

91. The CODEX PERRONIANUS, which formerly belonged to Cardinal Perron, contains the four Gospels, which Montfaucon refers to the tenth century. He communicated the extracts which were inserted by Dr. Mill.

92. The CODEX ANDREÆ FAESCHII 1. derives its name from Andrew Faesch, secretary of the republic of Basle, its proprietor. It contains the Gospel of Mark with the commentary of Victor, and a commentary on the Catholic Epistles. It was collated by Wetstein, who has not specified its age.

93. The CODEX GRAVII contains the Gospels. It is cited by Vossius on the genealogy of Christ, recorded in Luke iii.

94. The CODEX ANDREÆ FAESCHII 2. contains the Gospels of Mark and Luke, with a commentary. It was collated by Wetstein.

95. The CODEX LINCOLNIENSIS 2. is a manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century, containing Luke xi. 2.—xxiv. 53., and the Gospel of John (with the exception of three leaves), with a commentary extracted from the writings of the fathers. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension. This manuscript was collated by Dr. Mill, and on John v.—vii. by the late learned Professor Nicoll for Scholz.

96. The CODEX BODLEIANUS, A. 3. 37., was written by John Trithemius, abbot of Spanheim, in the fifteenth century. It contains the Gospel of John, the text of which appears to coincide with that of the Alexandrine recension. It was collated by Walton and Mill, and again, on John iii. and iv., by Griesbach.

97. The CODEX HIRSAUGIENSIS, a manuscript of St. John's Gospel, written in 1500 by one Nicholas, a monk of Hirsau, who seems to have copied it from Trithemius's manuscript (No. 96.), with which it agrees. Scholz asserts that Michaelis and Griesbach (who followed him) are in error, when they designate this manuscript as the Codex Giessensis et Uffenbachianus, because it never belonged to the library of the university at Giessen, or to Uffenbach's library. Dr. S., however, appears himself to be mistaken. Bengel, who made use of this manuscript, expressly says that it was communicated to him by Z. C. von Uffenbach; and a manuscript has been discovered by Professor Schulze, in the university library at Giessen, which had formerly belonged to Uffenbach, and had been collated by Maius, whose extracts are likewise preserved in that library. The identity, therefore, of the two manuscripts seems to be sufficiently ascertained. Bishop Marsh, likewise, compared the extracts from the Codex Giessensis with Wetstein's quotations from the Codex Hirsaugiensis, and found that their readings are not contradictory to each other.[1]

98. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ BODLEIANÆ, E. D. Clarkii 4., is a manuscript brought from the East by the Rev. Dr. E. D. Clarke: it contains the four Gospels, with figures, and seldom departs from the received text. Scholz, who collated it in Matt. vi. ix. x., and Luke iv. v. vi., has numbered this manuscript 98., in place of the Tubingen fragment which Griesbach has noted with the letter R.

99. The CODEX LIPSIENSIS, in the library of St. Paul (No. 18. of Matthæi's notation), is a manuscript of the sixteenth century collated by Matthæi, and containing Matt. iv. 8.—v. 27. vi. 2.—xv. 30. and Luke i. 1—13., with fragments of synaxaria. Scholz has substituted this manuscript in place of the Codex Rutgersii, used by Daniel Heinsius in his *Exercitationes Sacræ*, which is noticed *infra*, under No. 155.

100. The CODEX EUBESWALDIANUS is a manuscript which formerly belonged to Baron Paul, of Eubeswald. It was used by Wagenseil; a reading has been taken from it in John viii. 6. Scholz is of opinion that it is, most probably, the same manuscript on vellum which is now preserved in the university library, at Pesth in Hungary. He describes it as containing the Gospels, written in the tenth century, with index of chapters, the Eusebian canons, synaxaria, and scholia, added by a later hand on *paper*. The text follows the Constantinopolitan recension. Some later hand has also added numerous corrections.

101. The CODEX UFFENBACHIANUS 3. contains the Gospel of St. John, written in the sixteenth century. Its text agrees with that of the Constantinopolitan recension, and almost uniformly with that of the printed editions. Bengel thought that it was transcribed from some Basle edition of the New Testament.

102. The CODEX MEDICÆUS is an unknown manuscript, from which some unknown person wrote extracts in the margin of Plantin's edition of 1591. These extracts were printed by Wetstein. This manuscript contains fragments from Matt. xxiv. to Mark viii. 1.

103. The CODEX REGIUS 193, is a folio manuscript of the eleventh century, which formerly belonged to Cardinal Mazarine. Scholz is of opinion that this is the same manuscript from which Emeric Bigot communicated a few extracts to Courcelles or Curcellæus. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated by Scholz.

104. The CODEX VIGNERII is a manuscript of the tenth century, containing the four Gospels. It was collated by Bigot, whose extracts were printed by Wetstein.

[1] Bengelii Apparatus Criticus, p. 9. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. part ii. p. 746.

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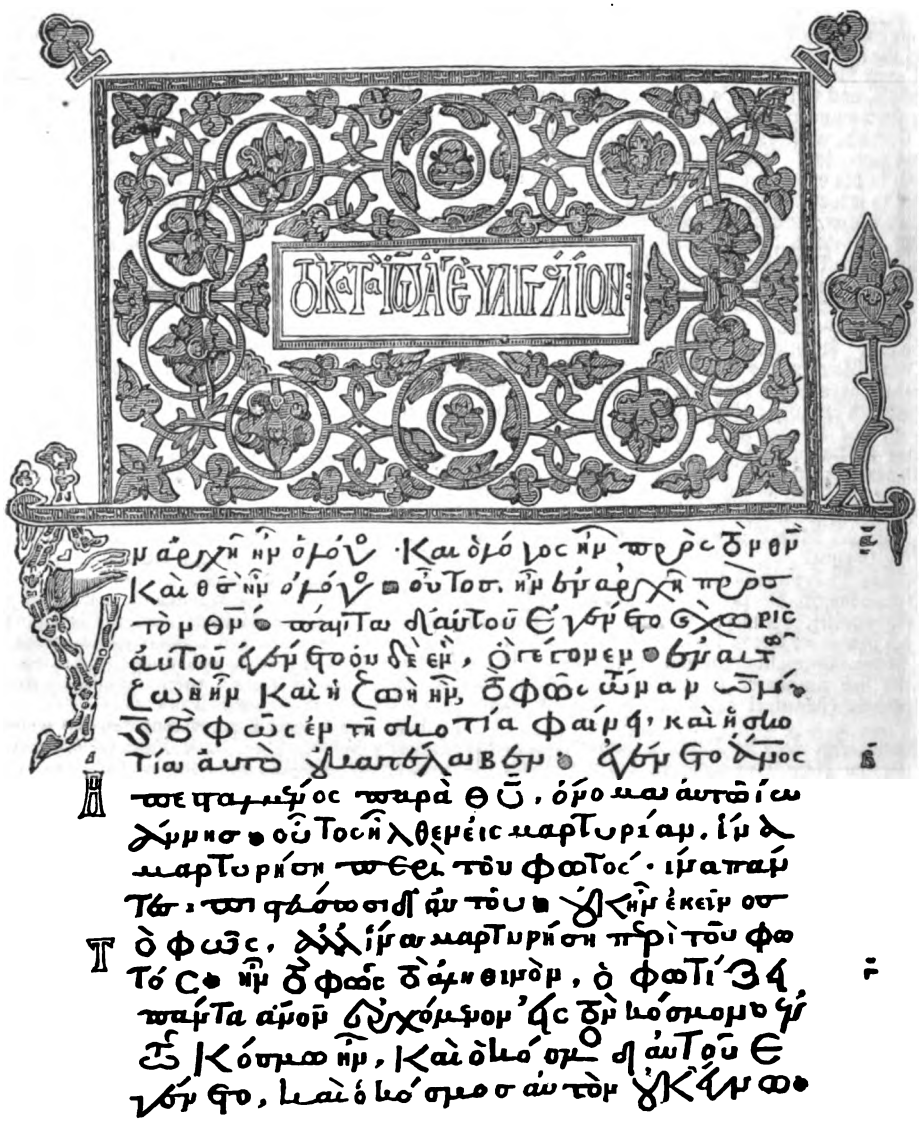
105. The Codex Ebnerianus is a very neat manuscript of the New Testament in quarto, formerly in the possession of Hieronymus Ebner von Eschenbach of Nuremberg, from whom its appellation is derived: it is now the property of the University of Oxford, and is deposited among the other precious manuscripts preserved in the Bodleian library. The Codex Ebnerianus contains 425 leaves of vellum, and was written in the twelfth century. The whole of the New Testament is comprised in this volume, excepting the Book of Revelation: each page contains 27 lines, at equal distances, excepting those in which the different books commence, or which are decorated with illuminations. At the beginning of the manuscript there has been added a table of the order of reading the four Gospels, yearly; which is followed by three other tables of lessons for particular days and seasons of the ecclesiastical year, and a menology of the Greek church. All these additions (as appears from a note appended) were written A. M. 6999, corresponding with the year 1391 of our computation, by one Joasaph, a calligraphist. The book is bound in massy silver covers, in the centre of which the Redeemer of the world is represented sitting on a throne, and in the act of pronouncing a blessing. Above his head is the following inscription, in square letters, exhibiting the style in which the capitals are written:—Δεσποτα ευλογησον τον δουλον σου ελαχιστον Ιερωνυμον Ιουλιελμον και την οικιαν αυτου. "Lord, bless the least of thy servants, Hieronymus Gulielmus, and his family." Of the style of writing adopted in the body of the manuscript the annexed engraving will afford a correct idea, and at the same time exemplify the abbreviations frequent in Greek manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.



This fac-simile comprises the first ten verses of the first chapter of Saint John's Gospel: the abbreviations, though very numerous, being uniformly the same, do not interpose any material difficulty to the easy perusal of the manuscript. Wetstein, though he has admitted it into his catalogue, has made use of it only in the eighteenth chapter of Saint John's Gospel; Scholz, who has briefly noticed this manuscript, did not examine it. Michaelis has classed it among the uncollated manuscripts of the New Testament.[1] It is to be hoped that some learned member of the University of Oxford will publish a collation of *all* the various readings which may be found in this manuscript.

106. The Codex Winchelseanus derives its name from its owner, an Earl of Winchelsea. This manuscript contains the four Gospels, and was written in the tenth century; its text for the most part agrees with that of the Alexandrine recension. It was collated by J. Jackson, whose extracts

[1] Wetstein, N. T. Proleg. p. 58. Bp. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. p. 358. De Murr's Memorabilia Bibliothecæ Norimbergensis, part ii. pp. 100—131., where the Codex Ebnerianus is minutely described and illustrated with thirteen plates of illuminations, &c., which are very curious in an antiquarian point of view. Our fac-simile is copied from one of De Murr's plates.

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Cæsar de Missy communicated to Wetstein, by whom they were printed.

107. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ BODLEIANÆ, E. D. Clarkii 6., contains the Gospels, which are written by different hands: it rarely departs from the received or Constantinopolitan text. It was collated by Scholz, in Matt. vi. ix. x., Mark v. vi., Luke iv. v. vi., and John v. vi. Dr. S. has substituted this manuscript for No. 107. of Wetstein's and Griesbach's notation, it being the same which they have numbered 201.

108. The CODEX PARRHASII formerly belonged to Aulus Janus Parrhasius: it is now in the imperial library at Vienne. It is in two volumes, folio, written in the eleventh century, and (in Scholz's opinion) at Constantinople. This manuscript contains the Gospels with a commentary, the Eusebian canons and figures, and follows the Constantinopolitan recension. It has been collated by Alter, Birch, and Scholz.

109. The Codex 5116. in the British Museum, formerly cited as Meadii 1. and Askewii, is a manuscript in three volumes; of which 5116 contains the Gospels; 5115, the Acts, and Catholic Epistles; and 5117, the Epistles of Saint Paul. Scholz says that this manuscript was written in 1326.

110. The CODEX RAVIANUS, now in the royal library at Berlin, formerly belonged to John Rave of Upsal. It contains the New Testament in two volumes, written in the sixteenth century; the principal part of which is copied from the Complutensian edition, and the remainder from Robert Stephens's third edition. It was collated and minutely described by Wetstein, Griesbach, and Pappelbaum.

111. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ BODLEIANÆ, E. D. Clarkii 7., contains the four Gospels. It is imperfect from John xx. 25. to the end; and was collated by Scholz on Matt. vi. ix. x., Mark v. vi., Luke iv. v. vi., and John v. vi. Dr. S. has substituted this manuscript for the collection of Velesian readings (of which an account is given below),[1] which Wetstein and Griesbach had severally numbered 111.

112. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ BODLEIANÆ, E. D. Clarkii 10., contains the Gospels with the Eusebian canons: it follows the Constantinopolitan recension, though there are some Alexandrine readings, and many errors. This manuscript was collated on Matt. v. ix. x., Mark v. vi., Luke iv. v., and John v. vi., by Dr. Scholz, who has substituted it under this number for the Barberini Readings, or collation of twenty-two Roman manuscripts, ten of which contained the Gospels, made by John Matthew Caryophilus, which was published by Pierre Poussines (Petrus Possinus) at the end of a Greek catena on St. Mark, printed in 1673. Dr. Mill inserted these extracts among his various readings; but as it was not known for a long time what had become of the Barberini manuscripts, and as the readings of the Barberini collation are for the most part in favour of the Latin Vulgate version, Wetstein, Semler, and other Protestant divines, accused Poussines of a literary fraud. Of this, however, he was acquitted by Isaac Vossius, who found the manuscript of Caryophilus in the Barberini library; and the imputation against the veracity of that eminent Greek scholar has been completely destroyed by M. Birch, a learned Danish divine, who recognised in the Vatican library six of the manuscripts from which Caryophilus had made extracts. These six manuscripts will be found in this catalogue, under the letters B. (pp. 224—226.) and S. (p. 235.) *supra*, and under the numbers 127. 129. 141. and 144. The remainder, Scholz thinks, may be found among the Vatican manuscripts, numbered 159—168. *infra*.

113. The CODEX HARLEIANUS, 1810., a manuscript of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with prologues, Eusebian canons, figures, pictures, and synaxaria, added by a later hand. It was collated by Griesbach in select passages, and follows the Alexandrine recension.

114. The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5540. contains the four Gospels, written in the twelfth century, with marginal notes of a later date, many of which have nearly disappeared. It follows the Alexandrine recension, and was collated by Griesbach in select passages.

115. The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5559., a manuscript of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels: it is defective in Matt. i. 1.—viii. 10. Mark v. 23—36. Luke i. 78.—ii. 10. v. 4—15. and John xi. 2.—xxi. 25. It has a mixed text, according to Dr. Scholz; but Griesbach, by whom it was collated in Matt. viii.—xi., considers its numerous peculiar readings as nothing more than bold conjectures.

116. The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5567., a manuscript of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, and synaxaria, and for the most part follows the Alexandrine recension, according to Scholz. Griesbach, however, attaches but little value to it. He collated the whole, except the last chapters of St. John's Gospel.

117. The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5731. was formerly the property of the celebrated critic Dr. Bentley: it was written in the fourteenth century by an illiterate transcriber, and it contains the Gospels, with fragments of a lectionary, the Eusebian canons, and synaxaria. Griesbach, who collated it in some select passages, states that it has many readings peculiar to itself.

118. The CODEX BODLEIANUS, Marshii 24. (which formerly belonged to Archbishop Marsh, of Armagh), is a codex rescriptus of the thirteenth century, containing the four Gospels; but the original writing can no longer be traced, so as to determine upon what treatise the Gospels were written. It is defective in Matt. i. 1.—vi. 3. Luke xiii. 35.—xiv. 20. xviii. 8.—xix. 9. and John xvi. 25.—xxi. 25. These chasms have been supplied by a later hand. Griesbach, who collated it in select passages, considered it as having an eclectic text, but Scholz states that it for the most part agrees with the Alexandrine recension.

119. The CODEX REGIUS, 85. (formerly 2865[b].) contains the four Gospels, which were written about the twelfth century: its readings are intermingled by Wetstein with those of the manuscript No. 12. (p. 233. *supra*.) It seldom varies from the received text. It was partially collated by Griesbach.

120. The CODEX REGIUS 158[a]. (*a*. of Robert Stephens's notation) is a manuscript of the thirteenth century, which originally contained the Gospels: its readings are also intermingled by Wetstein with those of the manuscript No. 12. It rarely departs from the received text. The Gospel of St. Mark is lost, and there are other chasms.

121. The CODEX GENOVEFENSIS, which formerly belonged to the library of St. Geneviève at Paris, contains the four Gospels, with synaxaria, written in the year 1284. It is defective in Matt. v. 21.—viii. 24., and follows the Constantinopolitan recension. Scholz states that it is not known where this manuscript is now preserved: he could not find it either in the library of St. Geneviève or in the Royal Library at Paris.

122. The CODEX MEERMANNIANUS 116. derives its name from its former possessor, M. Meerman, at the sale of whose library it was purchased by a private individual, but has since been deposited in the Library of the University of Leyden. It was written towards the close of the twelfth century, and contains the four Gospels, Acts, and all the Epistles; but it is defective in Acts i. 1—14. xxi. 14.—xxii. 28. Rom. i.—vii. 13. 1 John iv. 20. to the end; the second and third Epistles of John, and the Epistle of Jude. This manuscript was first collated by Dr. Dermout, in his Collectanea Critica in Novum Testamentum; and the various readings discovered by him are incorporated by Dr. Scholz in his third edition of the first volume of Griesbach's Greek Testament, where it is numbered 246.[2] As the manuscript which Griesbach had numbered 122. is the same which he had previously numbered 97. (p. 243. *supra*), Dr. Scholz has substituted the Codex Meermannianus in its place.

[1] John Louise de la Cerda inserted in his *Adversaria Sacra*, which appeared at Lyons in 1696, a collation of sixteen manuscripts, which had been made by Pedro Faxardo, Marquis of Velez. From these manuscripts the marquis inserted various readings in his copy of the Greek Testament, but without specifying what manuscripts in particular, or even how many, in general, were in favour of each quoted reading. The remarkable agreement between the Velesian Readings and those of the Vulgate excited the suspicions of Mariana (who communicated them to De la Cerda) that Velez had made use only of interpolated manuscripts, that had been corrected agreeably to the Latin Vulgate, subsequently to the council of Florence. However this may be, the collation of Velez will never be of any utility in the criticism of the New Testament, unless the identical manuscripts, which he made use of, should hereafter be discovered in any Spanish library. But this discovery must be considered as hopeless after the laborious and careful researches made by Bishop Marsh, relative to the collation of Velez, who (*he has proved to demonstration*) did NOT collate one single Greek or Latin manuscript, but took his various lections from Robert Stephens's edition of the *Latin* Vulgate, published at Paris in 1540: that the object which the marquis had in view, in framing this collection of readings, was to support, not the Vulgate in general, but the text of this edition in particular, wherever it varied from the text of Stephens's *Greek* Testament printed in 1550; and that with this view he translated into Greek the readings of the former, which varied from the latter, except where Stephens's Greek margin supplied him with the readings which he wanted, where he had only to transcribe, and not to translate. Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. pp. 351—354. part ii. pp. 824, 825. Mr. (now Bishop) Marsh's Letters to Archdeacon Travis, p. 67. and the Appendix to that work (pp. 253—344.), in which a minute detail of the Velesian Readings is given, as also in Christian Benedict Michaelis's Tractatio Critica de Variis Lectionibus Novi Testamenti, §§ 87—89. (pp. 96—101.) 4to. Halæ Magdeburgicæ, 1749.

[2] Dermout, Collectanea Critica in N. T. pars i. p. 14.

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123. The CODEX CÆSAREUS VINDOBONENSIS (Lambecii 30.), of the eleventh century, contains the four Gospels, with prologues, the Eusebian canons and figures. Some emendations have been inserted by another hand. It was collated by Alter and Birch, and frequently agrees with the Alexandrine recension.

124. The CODEX CÆSAREUS VINDOBONENSIS (Lambecii 31.) is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in the eleventh or twelfth century: it has been collated by Treschow, Birch, and Alter. It is of very great importance, and agrees with the Codex Cantabrigiensis in not less than eighty unusual readings; with the Codex Ephremi in upwards of thirty-five; with the Codex Regius 2861. or Stephani *n*, in fifty; with the Codex Basileensis in more than fifty, and has several which are found in that manuscript alone; with the Codex Regius 2244[2]. in sixty unusual readings; and with the Codex Colbertinus 2844. in twenty-two. It chiefly follows the Alexandrine recension.

125. The CODEX CÆSAREUS (Kollarii 6.), in the imperial library at Vienna, is a manuscript of the tenth century, containing the Gospels. Its text frequently coincides with that of the Alexandrine recension: it was collated by Treschow, Birch, and Alter.

126. The CODEX GUELPHERBYTANUS XVI. 16. is a manuscript of the four Gospels, of the eleventh century, with the Eusebian canons, κεφαλαια, prologues, and portraits of each evangelist. Heusinger, by whom its existence was first announced to the learned, supposed it to have been written in the tenth century. But Michaelis, Griesbach, and Sholz, after Knittel (by whom it has been copiously described),[1] refer it to the eleventh century. Knittel states that a modern hand, later than Erasmus's edition of the Greek Testament, has officiously corrected the text in several places. He further adds, that the text seems occasionally Latinized, and that the copyist has frequently omitted part of the text, which omissions are specified by Knittel; but at other times he has repeated those almost immediately preceding, and has sometimes committed manifest mistakes in writing. This manuscript also has many remarkable readings; and occasionally there is an uncial letter in the midst of a word, for instance in Matt. xv. 1. προσΕρχονται, and 22. γυνη ΧΑΝΑΝΑΙΑ. This occurrence of an uncial letter Knittel considers as a proof that the original of this manuscript must have been an ancient codex. The liturgical notices which are interspersed, together with a summary of the ecclesiastical calendar with which the manuscript terminates, are written in a hand evidently different from that which wrote the prefaces and Gospels. The conclusion of the Gospel of Saint Matthew, xxviii. 18—20., is written in a cruciform manner, thus:—

προσε-
κυνησαν
αυτω·
οἱ δε ε-
δισταζαν.
Και προ-
σελθων ὁ Ιησους, ωαλησεν αυτοις,
λεγων· Εδοθη μοι ωασα εξουσια εν
ουρανῳ και ωι γης. Πορευθεντες μ
θητευ-
σατε
ωαντα
τα εθνη,
βαπτιζον-
τες αυτους εις
το ονομα του Ωατρος
και του Υιου και του
αγιου Πνευματος· διδασκον-
τες αυτους τηρειν ωαντα
ὁσα ενετειλαμην ὑμιν· και ε-
δου, εγω μεθ' ὑμων ειμι ωασας
τας ἡμερας, ἑως της συντελει-
ας του αιωνος. αμην. † †

In English, thus:—

they wor-
shipped
him:
but some
doubted.
And Jesus
coming spake unto them,
saying, All power is given unto me in
heaven and in earth. Go ye, make
disci-
ples of
all
nations,
baptiz-
ing them in
the name of the Father,
and of the Son and of the
Holy Ghost; teach-
ing them to observe all things
whatsoever I have commanded you; and l
o, I am with you al-
way, *even* unto the end
of the world. Amen. † † † †

Knittel conjectures that this cruciform mode of writing may have been a prolific source of various readings, on account of the frequent disruption of the words. Dr. Scholz states that this manuscript follows the Alexandrine recension.

127. The CODEX VATICANUS 349., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons: there are emendations by a later hand. The whole of this manuscript was collated by Birch; its text frequently agrees with that of the Alexandrine recension.[2]

128. The CODEX VATICANUS 356., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with prologues. It was inspected by Birch; and its text appears to harmonize with that of the Constantinopolitan recension.

129. The CODEX VATICANUS 358., which formerly belonged to Cardinal Nicholas de Cusa, contains the four Gospels, with scholia, written in the twelfth century. It appears to coincide with the Constantinopolitan recension.

130. The CODEX VATICANUS 359. contains the four Gospels, with the Latin version, written in the thirteenth century, by a Latin copyist. It frequently agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, but for the most part it follows the Alexandrine family.

131. The CODEX VATICANUS 360. formerly belonged to Aldus Manutius, the son of Paul: it contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, with the Eusebian canons, written in the eleventh century. Aldus appears to have consulted it for his edition of the New Testament, as it frequently agrees in its peculiar readings with this manuscript, which for the most part harmonizes with the Constantinopolitan recension, though it has numerous readings peculiar to itself.

132. The CODEX VATICANUS 361., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons and figures.

133. The CODEX VATICANUS 363. of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, with synaxaria.

134. The CODEX VATICANUS 364., also of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons and figures.

135. The CODEX VATICANUS 365. contains the Gospels, with figures, written on vellum, in the eleventh century. The first twenty-six leaves have been supplied by a later hand, on paper.

136. The CODEX VATICANUS 665., of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, with the commentary of Euthymius.

137. The CODEX VATICANUS 756., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with a commentary.

138. The CODEX VATICANUS 757., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with a commentary: it was collated in select passages by Birch and Scholz.

139. The CODEX VATICANUS 758., of the twelfth century,

[1] Knittel, Neue Kritiken über 1 Joh. v. 7. p. 365. *et seq.* or pp. 231—234. in the Rev. W. A. Evanson's translation of this work, entitled "New Criticisms on the celebrated Text 1 John v. 7." London, 1829. 8vo. Knittel announced his intention of printing all the readings of this manuscript, but it does not appear that they were ever published.

[2] The Codices Vaticani Nos. 127—137 were wholly or partially collated by Birch.

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contains the Gospels of Luke and John, with a commentary. It was collated in select passages by Birch and Scholz.

140. The Codex Vaticanus 1158. contains the four Gospels, splendidly written on vellum in the twelfth century, with the Eusebian canons and figures. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was partially collated by Scholz.

141. The Codex Vaticanus 1160., of the thirteenth century, contains the New Testament, with synaxaria: it follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages by Scholz.

142. The Codex Vaticanus 1210. contains the Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Psalms. Numerous readings are written on the margin: in the Gospels it for the most part follows the Constantinopolitan recension. This and the following manuscripts, Nos. 143, 144. 146—157. 159—162. 164—171. 173—175. 177—180. and 182—199. were collated wholly or in part by Drs. Birch and Scholz.

143. The Codex Vaticanus 1229., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with a commentary. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

144. The Codex Vaticanus 1254., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons. It appears to follow the Constantinopolitan recension.

145. The Codex Vaticanus 1548., of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels of Luke and John: it is defective in Luke iv. 15.—v. 36., and in John i. 1—26. The seventeenth chapter of Luke, to the twenty-first, inclusive, has been added by another hand. Numerous emendations occur in the text, and various readings in the margin.

146. The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus[1] 5., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, with a commentary. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

147. The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus 89., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

148. The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus 136., of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, with scholia on the beginning of St. Matthew. It follows the Constantinopolitan family, but it has some Alexandrine readings.

149. The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus 171., of the fourteenth century, contains the New Testament adapted to ecclesiastical use: it follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

150. The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus 189., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, and synaxaria: it follows the Constantinopolitan family.

151. The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus 220., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, and scholia: it has a mixed text.

152. The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus 227., of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, with figures, and prologues. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

153. The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus 229., of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, with prologues, and synaxaria: it has a mixed text, but chiefly agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

154. The Codex Alexandrino-Vaticanus[2] 28. was written in 1442, and, according to the opinion of Scholz, in Italy. It contains the Gospels, with the commentary of Theophylact, and follows the Alexandrine recension.

155. The Codex Alexandrino-Vaticanus 79., of the fourteenth century, contains the Gospels, to which are prefixed some readings from Saint Paul's Epistles. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension. Scholz is of opinion that this was the manuscript which Wetstein had formerly numbered 99., and which was also consulted by Daniel Heinsius for his *Exercitationes Sacræ*.

156. The Codex Alexandrino-Vaticanus 189., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, the text of which follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

157. The Codex Urbino-Vaticanus[3] 2. appears to have been written for the use of John II. emperor of the East, who succeeded Alexius in the empire in 1118. It contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, figures, pictures, a chronicle of the life of Christ, the Chronicle of Hippolytus, and a preface from Chrysostom. Scholz states that it was transcribed from, and collated with, some very ancient Jerusalem manuscripts, preserved in a monastery of the Holy Mountain [Athos]. It sometimes agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, but it has very numerous Alexandrine readings.

158. The Codex Pii II. Vaticanus 53. contains the Gospels, written in the eleventh century, with the Eusebian canons. There are various readings inserted in the margin.

159. The Codex Barberinianus[4] 8. contains the four Gospels, written in the eleventh century: its text follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

160. The Codex Barberinianus 9., written in the year 1123, contains the four Gospels, with synaxaria: it agrees with the Constantinopolitan text.

161. The Codex Barberinianus 10., of the tenth century, contains the Gospels: it is imperfect in John xvi. 4.—xxi. 25.

162. The Codex Barberinianus 11., written in the year 1163, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, and figures.

163. The Codex Barberinianus 12., written in Syria in the eleventh century, contains only the sections of the Gospels usually read in churches, together with fragments of the Eusebian canons. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

164. The Codex Barberinianus 13., written in 1040, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons and synaxaria. It chiefly follows the Constantinopolitan recension; but it has many Alexandrine readings.

165. The Codex Barberinianus 14. formerly belonged to Eugenia, the daughter of John Pontanus, by whom it was presented to the Barberini Library. It was written by a Roman monk in the year 1197, with the Latin version, Eusebian canons, and synaxaria. It follows the Constantinopolitan family.

166. The Codex Barberinianus 115., of the thirteenth century, contains Luke ix. 33.—xxiv. 24., and John. It mostly agrees with the Alexandrine recension, but frequently, also, with the Constantinopolitan family.

167. The Codex Barberinianus 208., of the fourteenth century, contains the Gospels, which follow the Constantinopolitan text.

168. The Codex Barberinianus 211., of the thirteenth century, contains the four Gospels, with the commentary of Theophylact. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

169. The Codex Vallicellianus B. 133. belongs to the library of Santa Maria in Vallicella, a library at Rome belonging to the fathers of the oratory of San Filippo Neri: it contains the Gospels, written in the eleventh century, with prologues, figures, and synaxaria.

170. The Codex Vallicellianus C. 61., of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria. The last chapters of Saint Luke, and many chapters of Saint John, have been written by a later hand. It follows the Constantinopolitan family.

171. The Codex Vallicellianus C. 73. contains the Gospels, written in the fourteenth century. Its text follows the Alexandrine recension.

172. The Codex Vallicellianus F. 90., of the twelfth century, according to Birch and Griesbach, contains the Gospels; but Scholz states that it now contains only the Pentateuch, with which the Gospels were formerly bound. It is not known where the Gospels are now to be found.

173. The Codex Vaticanus 1983. (formerly S. Basilii 22.), written, according to Scholz, in the thirteenth century, for the use of some church in Asia Minor, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria, and the Eusebian canons. It is defective in John xiii. 1.—xxi. 25., and almost every where agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

174. The Codex Vaticanus 2002. (formerly S. Basil. 41.) was written in the year 1063, and contains the Gospels. It is defective in Matt. i. 1.—ii. 1. and John i. 1—27. and viii. 47.—xxi. 25.

175. The Codex Vaticanus 2020. (formerly S. Basil. 119.), of the twelfth century, contains the New Testament, with scholia on the Acts. It is defective in Matt. i. 1.—iv. 17. Some various readings have been added in the margin. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, but it frequently has Alexandrine readings.

[1] The Codices Palatino-Vaticano are so called, because they were presented to the Vatican Library, during the pontificate of Urban VIII., by Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria: they formerly belonged to the Electors-Palatine.

[2] The Codices Alexandrino-Vaticani formerly belonged to Alexandrina Christina, Queen of Sweden, who abdicated her throne, and went to reside at Rome, where she embraced the Romish faith. Pope Alexander XII. presented them to the Vatican Library.

[3] The Urbino-Vatican Library at Rome is a collection of books, removed from Urbino to Rome, by Pope Clement VII., who added them to the Vatican Library.

[4] The Codices Barberiniani derive their name from the library founded in the Barberini Palace at Rome, by the cardinal Francis Barberini in the seventeenth century.

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176. The CODEX VATICANUS 2113. (formerly S. Basil. 152.), of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, accommodated to ecclesiastical use. It is imperfect in Matt. i. 10. —x. 13. and John i. 1—29.

177. The CODEX VATICANUS, formerly Basil. 163., contains the Gospels, written in the eleventh century. It is imperfect in John i. 1—29.

178. The CODEX ANGELICUS A. 1. 5., in the library of the monastery of the Augustinians at Rome, contains the Gospels with the Eusebian canons, written in the twelfth century: it follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and is imperfect in John xxi. 17. to the end.

179. The CODEX ANGELICUS A. 4. 11. contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, written on vellum, in the twelfth century. Some leaves have been added, by a later hand, on paper, in which the chasms occurring in it have been supplied. This manuscript is accommodated to ecclesiastical use, and mostly follows the Alexandrine recension.

180. The manuscript in the library of the College of the PROPAGANDA at Rome, formerly Borgiæ 2., contains the Gospels, written in the eleventh century, to which are added the Acts, Epistles, Apocalypse, and some apocryphal books which bear the date of the year 1284. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

181. The manuscript belonging to Francis Cardinal de ZELADA contains the Gospels, with scholia, written in the eleventh century. Its text follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

182. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 11., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels. The Constantinopolitan recension is followed by all the Codices Laurentiani, No. 182—198.

183. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 14., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with figures, Eusebian canons, and synaxaria.

184. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 15., of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, with prologues.

185. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 16., written by one Basilius in the twelfth century, contains the Gospels with prologues and synaxaria.

186. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 18., written in the twelfth century by Leontius a calligrapher, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, prologues, and commentaries.

187. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 23., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with figures and paintings.

188. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 25., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria.

189. THE CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 27., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, with prologues and synaxaria.

190. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 28., written in the month of July, 1385, contains the Gospels.

191. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 29., of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, with prologues.

192. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 30., also of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, with prologues.

193. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 32., written in the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons and figures. It has been adapted to ecclesiastical use.

194. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 33., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with a figure of St. John the apostle, and with commentaries.

195. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 34., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with prologues, commentaries, and synaxaria.

196. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VIII. 12., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, written in red letters, with a catena and figures.

197. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VIII. 14., of the eleventh century, contains the Epistles of St. James, and fragments of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, with commentaries.

198. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS 256., of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons.

199. The CODEX 5., formerly belonging to the monks of the Benedictine order of Santa Maria, contains the Gospels, written in the twelfth century, with figures, Eusebian canons, scholia, and iambic verses. It agrees with the manuscripts of the Constantinopolitan family. Dr. Birch collated this manuscript, and also those numbered 200—202. 204—208. 211—214.

200. The CODEX 6., formerly belonging to the same monks, of the tenth century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, prologues, fragments of an oration against the Arians by Gregory the Theologian, and synaxaria. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

201. The CODEX 701., formerly belonging to the friars-preachers of Saint Mark, was written in the year 1359. It contains the New Testament, and, according to Dr. Scholz, it is undoubtedly the same manuscript from which Wetstein quoted some various readings out of Lamy's treatise *De Eruditione Apostolorum*, and which he numbered 107., referring it to the fourteenth century.

202. The CODEX 705., formerly belonging to the friars-preachers of Saint Mark, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria, written in the twelfth century.

203. The CODEX 707., formerly belonging to the friars-preachers of Saint Mark, of the fifteen century, contains the New Testament written in modern Greek. Dr. Scholz states that he does not know where the MSS. Nos. 199—203. are at present to be found.

204. The CODEX BONONIENSIS 640., belonging to the canons regular, contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, written in the eleventh century.

205. The CODEX VENETUS 5. (in the library of Saint Mark at Venice) formerly belonged to Cardinal Bessarion. It contains the Old and New Testaments, written in the fifteenth century, and it is allied to the manuscripts of the Alexandrine family.

206. The CODEX VENETUS 6., written partly on vellum and partly on paper, contains the whole of the New Testament, written in the fifteenth century.

207. The CODEX VENETUS 8., of the tenth century, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria. It is imperfect in the beginning of Saint Matthew.

208. The CODEX VENETIANUS 9., of the tenth century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons. Its text is allied to that of the MSS. of the Alexandrine recension.

209. The CODEX VENETIANUS 10., of the fifteenth century, contains the New Testament, in the following order, viz. the Acts of the Apostles, Catholic Epistles, the Epistles of Saint Paul, Gospels, and Apocalypse, with prolegomena. In the Gospels, the text follows the Alexandrine recension; and in the Acts and Epistles it chiefly agrees with the Constantinopolitan family. This manuscript was collated throughout by Birch and Engelbreth: its readings will be found in Dr. Schulz's third edition of Griesbach's Revision of the Greek Testament, and also in Dr. Scholz's critical edition.

210. The CODEX VENETIANUS 27., of the tenth century, contains the Gospels, with a catena.

211. The CODEX VENETIANUS 539., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with an Arabic version. There are chasms in the beginning of Saint Matthew and Saint John.

212, 213. The CODICES VENETIANI 540. and 542., of the eleventh century, contain the Gospels.

214. The CODEX VENETIANUS 543., of the fourteenth century, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria. It appears to agree with the text of the Constantinopolitan recension.

215. The CODEX VENETIANUS 544., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with commentaries from the writings of the fathers, to which are prefixed the canons of Eusebius and his epistle to Carpianus. It was collated on Matt. xxiv., Mark iv., Luke iv., and John v. Its text for the most part agrees with that of the Constantinopolitan recension.

216. The CODEX CANONICI, brought from Corcyra into the library of Saint Mark at Venice, contains the Gospels. Its date is not specified by Scholz.

217. The CODEX III. in Class I. of Saint Mark's library, written in the twelfth or thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons and synaxaria. It was collated for the same portions of the Gospels as No. 215. Its text agrees partly with the Alexandrine and partly with the Constantinopolitan recension.

218. The CODEX CÆSAREO-VINDOBONENSIS 23. (Lambecii 1.) was brought by Busbeck from Constantinople. It was written in the thirteenth century, and contains the Old and New Testament. Birch examined this manuscript only in those places where manuscripts usually depart from the received text. It is imperfect in Rev. xii. 5.—xiv. 8. xv. 7.—xvii. 2. xviii. 10.—xix. 15. and xx. 8. to the end. Dr. Treschow, by whom this manuscript has been minutely described, states that it was written by four different hands. From this manuscript Prof. Alter printed his edition of the Greek Testament, which appeared at Vienna in 1786–87, in two vols 8vo. He has deviated from it only where the copyist has

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committed manifest errata, which he has corrected from Robert Stephens's edition of 1546. The text of this manuscript frequently agrees with the MSS. of the Alexandrine family, but for the most part with those of the Constantinopolitan recension.

219. The CODEX CÆSAREO-VINDOBONENSIS 321. (Lambecii 32.), of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, with prologues. It chiefly agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated by Alter.

220. The CODEX CÆSAREO-VINDOBONENSIS 337. (Lambecii 33.) contains the Gospels, written in very small characters in the fourteenth century. Its text for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It was also collated by Alter.

221. The CODEX CÆSAREO-VINDOBONENSIS CXVII. 29. (Lambecii 38.) contains the four Gospels, written in the eleventh century, with Chrysostom's commentaries on St. Matthew and St. John, with the commentary of Victor on St. Mark, and of Titus of Bostra on St. Luke. It is defective in Matt. i. 1—11. As the transcriber of this manuscript seems rather to have designed the writing of a commentary than a correct text, it is difficult to refer it to any recension, from the liberty he has taken of making arbitrary additions to or omissions in the text.

222. The CODEX CÆSAREO-VINDOBONENSIS (Nessel. 180. Lambec. 39.), of the fourteenth century, contains sections of the Gospels, with commentaries. It is imperfect both at the beginning and end; and for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

223. The CODEX CÆSAREO-VINDOBONENSIS 301 (Lambec. 40.), of the fourteenth century, contains fragments of the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, with a catena. Scholz states it to be of little value in a critical point of view: it was collated by Alter.

224. The CODEX CÆSAREUS 8. in Kollarius's Catalogue, and 30. in Forlosia's Auctarium, came from Naples to Vienna. It contains the Gospel of St. Matthew, the text of which chiefly agrees with that of the Constantinopolitan recension: it was collated by Alter.

225. The CODEX CÆSAREUS 9. of Kollarius and 31. of Forlosia, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria. It exhibits a mixed text, agreeing partly with the Constantinopolitan recension, and partly with the Alexandrine recension. It was collated by Alter, and was written in the year 1192.

226. The CODEX ESCURIALENSIS χ IV. 17., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and Epistles, with figures: it exhibits a mixed text, and has been corrected by some one after a copy of later date. This and the seven following manuscripts (227—233.) were collated in select passages by Dr. Moldenhawer.

227. The CODEX ESCURIALENSIS χ III. 15., of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, with figures: some of its leaves have been misplaced by the bookbinder. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

228. The CODEX ESCURIALENSIS χ IV. 12. contains the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, with the Eusebian canons, written in the fourteenth century.

229. The CODEX ESCURIALENSIS χ IV. 21., written in the year 1140 by Basilius Argyropylus, a notary: it contains the Gospels, with a figure of Saint Mark, and is imperfect in Mark xvi. 15—20. and John i. 1—11. Many alterations of the ancient writing (which are evidently of the fourteenth century) are written partly in the text and partly in the margin; but nearly half the readings and notes in the margin have perished through the carelessness of the bookbinder. Its text agrees partly with the Alexandrine and partly with the Constantinopolitan recension.

230. The CODEX ESCURIALENSIS φ III. 5., written in 1014, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria. Its text agrees partly with the Alexandrine and partly with the Constantinopolitan recension.

231. The CODEX ESCURIALENSIS φ III. 6., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with scholia, figures, and synaxaria. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

232. The CODEX ESCURIALENSIS φ III. 7., of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

233. The CODEX ESCURIALENSIS ι II. 8. contains the Gospels, with a catena, written in the twelfth century. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

234. The CODEX HAVNIENSIS 1. in the Royal library at Copenhagen was written in 1278, and contains the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of St. Paul, the catholic Epistles, and the Gospels, with synaxaria. The text of the Gospels for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

235. The CODEX HAVNIENSIS 2. was written in 1314, and contains the Gospels adapted to ecclesiastical use. It appears chiefly to agree with the Alexandrine recension.

236. The readings of a manuscript which are written in the margin of Dr. Mill's edition of the New Testament, written partly by himself and partly by Hearne, the editor of the Codex Laudianus. It is not known from what manuscript these readings were derived. Griesbach has given a copious extract of their various readings in his Symbolæ Criticæ, vol. i. pp. 247—304.

237. The CODEX S. SYNODI 42. in the library of the HOLY SYNOD at Moscow (d. of Matthaei's notation), contains the Gospel, with scholia and figures, written in the tenth century. It agrees for the most part with the Constantinopolitan recension.

238. The CODEX S. SYNODI 48. (e. of Matthaei), of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, with commentaries and a catena. It agrees for the most part with the Constantinopolitan recension.

239. The CODEX S. SYNODI 47. (g. of Matthaei) contains Mark xvi. 2—8., Luke, and John i. 1.—xxi. 23., with commentaries. It agrees almost always with the Constantinopolitan recension.

240. The CODEX S. SYNODI 49., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with the commentary of Euthymius Zigabenus. It is defective in Mark viii. 12—34. xiv. 17—54., and Luke xv. 32.—xvi. 8. It follows the Constantinopolitan family.

241. The CODEX DRESDENSIS formerly belonged to Matthaei, who has noted it by the letter k in his edition of the New Testament. It is very beautifully and carefully written in the eleventh century, and contains the New Testament, with synaxaria. It chiefly agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

242. The CODEX S. SYNODI 380. (l. of Matthaei), of the twelfth century, contains the New Testament, with figures, the Eusebian canons, paintings, and prologues, besides psalms and odes. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

243. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ TYPOGRAPH. SYNODI 13. (m. of Matthaei), written in the fourteenth century, contains the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, with the commentary of Theophylact. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

244. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ TYPOGRAPH. SYNODI 1. (n. of Matthaei), contains the Gospels, with figures, and the commentaries of Euthymius Zigabenus. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

245. The CODEX SYNOD. 265. (o. of Matthaei), written in 1199, contains the Gospels, and follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

246. The CODEX SYNOD. 261. (p. of Matthaei), of the fourteenth century, contains the Gospels. It is defective in Matt. xii. 41.—xiii. 55., and in John xvii. 24.—xviii. 20. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and has some various readings in the margin.

247. The CODEX SYNOD. 373. (q. of Matthaei), of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

248. The CODEX SYNOD. 264. (r. of Matthaei), written in 1275, contains the Gospels, and for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

249. The CODEX SYNOD. 94. (s. of Matthaei), written in the eleventh century, contains the Gospel of St. John, with a catena. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

250. The CODEX SYNOD. (not numbered), preserved in a small wooden box (v. of Matthaei), contains John vii. 39. to the end of that Gospel, written in cursive Greek characters in the thirteenth century.

251. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ TABULARII MOSCUENSIS (x. of Matthaei), of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels with the Eusebian canons and figures: it contains a mixed text, from both families of manuscripts.

252. The CODEX DRESDENSIS formerly belonged to Matthaei, who has noted it with the letter z.: it is of the eleventh century, and contains the Gospels. This manuscript has corrections and double readings, which have been added by the same hand from another manuscript. Its text, for the most part, agrees with that of the Constantinopolitan recension.

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253. The CODEX of NICEPHORUS, Archbishop of Cherson (10. of Matthaei), of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with scholia. It has many readings in common with the Constantinopolitan family, but more which agree with the Alexandrine recension.

254. The CODEX MATTHAEII of the eleventh century (11. of Matthaei), contains the Gospels of Saint Luke and Saint John with figures and scholia. Its text for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

255. The CODEX SYNOD. 139. (12. of Matthaei), of the thirteenth century, contains commentaries extracted from Chrysostom and others on the Gospels, with fragments of the sacred text, which for the most part follows the Constantinopolitan family.

256. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ TYPOGRAPH. 3. (14. of Matthaei), of the ninth century, contains scholia on Mark and Luke, together with fragments of the sacred text, which for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

257. The CODEX BIBLIOTH. SYNOD. 120. (15. of Matthaei) contains fragments of John i. and xx., written in capital letters in the eighth century, with scholia. Its text mostly agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

258. The CODEX DRESDENSIS (17. of Matthaei), of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels incorrectly written by an illiterate scribe, together with figures. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

259. The CODEX S. SYNODI 45. (a. of Matthaei) contains the Gospels written in the eleventh century, with synaxaria, the Eusebian canons, and commentaries. Its text for the most part agrees with the Alexandrine family.

The preceding manuscripts, Nos. 236—259., were collated and described by Matthaei. Dr. Scholz, however, has omitted those which he has marked α, β, γ, δ, ι, ζ, ϑ, λ, μ, κ, ς, φ, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. and 9., because they appear to contain only some works of Chrysostom.

iii. *Manuscripts containing the New Testament and the Gospels, which, for the first time, were collated by Dr. Scholz.*

260. The CODEX REGIUS 51. formerly 2243. (in the royal library at Paris),[1] contains the four Gospels, with figures, correctly written in the twelfth century. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension. The greater part of this manuscript was collated.

261. The CODEX REGIUS 52. is written on vellum in the twelfth century; but the beginning, comprising Matt. i. 1—11., has been supplied on paper by some one in the fourteenth century. It contains the Gospels adapted to ecclesiastical use. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and is imperfect from Luke xxiv. 39. to the end of that Gospel. It was collated by Scholz on Matt. xi.—xiii., Mark v.—vii., Luke i.—v., and John v.—viii.

262. The CODEX REGIUS 53., of the tenth century, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria and the Eusebian canons. It chiefly agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated throughout.

263. The CODEX REGIUS 61., formerly 2251. and also 2864, was written in the twelfth century, and probably in Asia Minor. It contains the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, with figures. It has only the beginning of the Eusebian canons, but the numbers of the Ammonian sections are written in the margin. In the Gospels this manuscript follows the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated on Matt. viii.—xiv., Mark i.—iv., and John ii.—v.

264. The CODEX REGIUS 65. (formerly 2862.) was written in the thirteenth century, and (it should seem from the form of the letters) in Egypt. It contains the Gospels, and was collated by Scholz on Matt. xviii.—xxiv. Mark iii.—v. and John iv.—viii.; in other passages he only cursorily examined this manuscript, the text of which is mixed.

265. The CODEX REGIUS 66. (formerly 2858.), of the tenth century, contains the Gospels, the text of which is composed of the Constantinopolitan and Alexandrine families. The following portions were collated; viz. the whole Gospel of St. Matthew, Mark i.—v., Luke xxii.—xxiv., and John v.—viii. The remainder was cursorily examined.

266. The CODEX REGIUS 67. (formerly 877. and 2863.), of the tenth century, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria; it follows the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated on Matt. i.—xi., Mark ii.—v., and John v.—ix. The remainder was cursorily examined.

267. The CODEX REGIUS 69. (formerly 3012., Colbertinus 4631.) contains the Gospels, written in the tenth century, and adapted to ecclesiastical use. It is imperfect in Matt. i. 1—8., Mark i. 1—7., Luke i. 1—8. xxiv. 50., and John i. 12. It follows the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated on Matt. ii.—x. and John vii. viii. The remainder was cursorily examined.

268. The CODEX REGIUS 73. (formerly 531[a]., afterwards 2859.), of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, synaxaria, and figures. It was collated on Matt. xxvi., Mark i.—iv., and John iv.—viii., and it follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

269. The CODEX REGIUS 74. (formerly 171., and afterwards 1042. and 2858.), of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with pictures. The Gospel of St. Matthew was collated, and also Mark i.—iv. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

270. The CODEX REGIUS 75. (formerly 2868.), of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria. It chiefly follows the Constantinopolitan recension, but it also has many Egyptian readings. Most of this manuscript was collated by Scholz.

271. The CODEX REGIUS 75[a]., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons and figures. In Matthew, Luke, and John, it almost entirely follows the Constantinopolitan recension; but in Mark it has a mixed text. The chief part of this manuscript was collated.

272. The CODEX REGIUS 76. (formerly 2865.) contains the Gospels, written in the eleventh century. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated on Matt. vi.—xi., Mark i.—iii., John v.—viii. The remainder was cursorily examined.

273. The CODEX REGIUS 79. (formerly 4480., Colbertinus 3012.) was written, partly on vellum in the twelfth, and partly on cotton paper in the fourteenth century. It contains the Gospels, with an epitome of the evangelical annals, a scholium on Luke vi., the Eusebian canons, the commentaries of Severianus on Luke vii. 37., a table of the parables contained in the Gospels, and a fragment of a synaxarion. The text chiefly follows the Constantinopolitan recension, but it has some Alexandrine readings. This manuscipt was collated in select passages.

274. The CODEX REGIUS 79[a]., very elegantly and correctly written on vellum in the tenth century, contains the Gospels, with figures, synaxaria, and the Eusebian canons. It is imperfect in Mark i. 1—17., John i. 1—20., Mark vi. 21—54. and John iii. 18.—iv. 1., vii. 23—42., ix. 10—27., and xviii. 12—29., which passages have been supplied on paper by a later hand. It mostly agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

275. The CODEX REGIUS 80. (formerly 538, and 2242[a].) contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, prologues, and a portion of a synaxarion, written in the eleventh century. Scholz collated it for the Gospel of St. Matthew, and on Mark i. ii. and John iii.—viii. The remainder was cursorily examined: it agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

276. The CODEX REGIUS 81., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons and figures, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan family. It was collated for the Gospel of St. Matthew, and on Mark i.—vi., Luke iv. and xxii., and John v. and viii.

277. The CODEX REGIUS 81. A., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons and figures. Some passages, which had been omitted, have been supplied by a later hand. Its text mostly follows the Constantinopolitan recension. The chief part of this manuscript was collated by Scholz.

278. The CODEX REGIUS 82. (formerly 3012.) contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, figures, and synaxaria, written in the twelfth century. From some Armenian inscriptions, Dr. Scholz conjectures that it was originally executed in Asia Minor, whence it migrated to an Armenian monastery. Matt. xiii. 43.—xvii. 5. have been supplied by a later hand. Its text follows the Constantinopolitan family: it was collated in select passages.

279. The CODEX REGIUS 86. (formerly 2860., Colbertinus 6051.) was presented to Louis XIV. in the year 1686, by Joseph Georgirene, Archbishop of Samos. It was written in the twelfth century, and contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, synaxaria, and figures. It follows the Con

[1] The Codices Regii, in the royal library at Paris, are copiously described by Scholz in his Biblische Kritische Reise, pp. 1—43.

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stantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

280. The Codex Regius 87., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with a portion of a synaxarion, and prologues. It is imperfect in Mark viii. 3.—xv. 36.; and was collated on Matt. vi.—xii., Mark i.—v., Luke iv. v., and John iv.—viii. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

281. The Codex Regius 88. (formerly 2860., Colbertinus 4766.) contains the Gospels, written in the twelfth century, with figures and the Eusebian canons. It follows the Constantinopolitan family. This manuscript is imperfect in Matt. xxviii. 11. to the end, and Luke i. 1.—ix. It was collated on Matt. vii.—x., Mark i.—v., and John vi.—viii.

282. The Codex Regius 90. (formerly 2860.[2], Colbertinus 6045.), written in the year 1176, contains the Gospels, which for the most part agree with the Constantinopolitan family. It was collated in select passages.

283. The Codex Regius 92. (formerly 3012., Colbertinus 4744.), of the fourteenth century, contains the Gospels. The text follows the Constantinopolitan family. This manuscript was collated in select passages.

284. The Codex Regius 93. (formerly 2862[2].), of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, figures, and synaxaria. The chief part of this manuscript was collated. It follows the Constantinopolitan family.

285. The Codex Regius 95. (formerly 2835[3].), written in the fourteenth century, contains the Gospels, with figures, and follows the Constantinopolitan family. The greater part of it was collated.

286. The Codex Regius 96. (formerly 3011[a. b.], Colbertinus 4556.), written in the year 1432, contains the Gospels, with the paschal canon from 1432 to 1502. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

287. The Codex Regius 98. (formerly 2861., Colbertinus 4916.), contains the Gospels, written in the fifteenth century. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

288. The Codex Regius 99. (formerly 2861[2]., Colbertinus 4885.) contains Saint Luke's Gospel, written in the sixteenth century. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

289. The Codex Regius 100. A., dated February 15, 1625, by one Luke, who calls himself αρχιερευς, *a chief priest*, [archbishop ?], contains the Gospels, which agree with the Constantinopolitan family. It was collated in select passages.

290. The Codex Regius 108[a], of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria. It was collated in select passages, and follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

291. The Codex Regius 113. (formerly 2868[2]., Colbertinus 6162.), of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

292. The Codex Regius 114., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria and figures. It is imperfect in Matt. i. 1.—vii. 14., and in John xix. 14. to the end. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

293. The Codex Regius 117., written in November, 1373, contains the Gospels, with figures and synaxaria; and follows the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated on Matt. v.—x., Mark ii.—vi., Luke ii., and John v.—viii.

294. The Codex Regius 118. (formerly Colbertinus 6629.), of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, with figures. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and is imperfect in Matt. i. 18. to xii. 25. This manuscript was presented to Louis XIV. by Joseph Georgirene, Archbishop of Samos. It was collated in select passages.

295. The Codex Regius 120. (formerly 3426.), of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels: it agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and is imperfect in Matt. i. 1.—xi. It was collated in select passages.

296. The Codex Regius 123., of the sixteenth century, contains the Gospels. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

297. The Codex Regius 140. a., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with figures and synaxaria. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

298. The Codex Regius 175[a]., formerly belonged to the public library of the Jesuits at Lyons. It was written in the twelfth century, and contains the Gospels, with figures and synaxaria. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

299. The Codex Regius 177. (formerly 2242.) was written in the eleventh century, and Dr. Scholz conjectures, from some scholia, by a follower of Theodore of Mopsueste. It contains the Gospels, with prologues, the Eusebian canons, figures, scholia, and fragments of various writers, concerning some particular passages. The text for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan family; but in the Gospels of Saint Mark and Saint Luke there are many peculiar readings, as well as readings which commonly occur in manuscripts of the Alexandrine recension. The whole of this manuscript was collated.

300. The Codex Regius 186. (formerly 750., also 1882.), of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, collated with ancient copies from Jerusalem, deposited on the holy mountain [Athos ?]; together with the Eusebian canons, synaxaria, a catena, additional observations on some select passages, and Theophylact's commentaries written in the outer margin by a later hand. The text follows both the Alexandrine and the Constantinopolitan recensions. It has a few peculiar readings. The whole of this manuscript was collated.

301. The Codex Regius 187. (formerly 537. also 1879.), of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with a catena from the writings of the fathers. It for the most part follows the Constantinopolitan recension, but it also has not a few readings peculiar to the Alexandrine family. This manuscript was collated throughout.

302. The Codex Regius 193. (formerly 1893.), of the sixteenth century, contains a fragment of Saint Matthew and Saint Luke, with a commentary. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

303. The Codex Regius 194. A. contains John i.—iv., of the eleventh century, with Theophylact's commentary on the Gospels, and iambic verses on Matthew and Mark, written on cotton paper in 1255. The text follows the Constantinopolitan recension. Select passages of this manuscript were collated.

304. The Codex Regius 194.,
305. The Codex Regius 195.,
} of the thirteenth century, contain the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, with a catena. Both follow the Constantinopolitan recension, and were collated in select passages.

306. The Codex Regius 197., of the tenth century, contains the Gospels of Matthew and John, with the commentaries of Theophylact. The text is allied to that of the Constantinopolitan recension.

307. The Codex Regius 199., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels of Matthew and John, with a commentary. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

308. The Codex Regius 200., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels of Matthew and John, with a commentary. It is imperfect, follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

309. The Codex Regius 201., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels of Matthew and John, with the commentary of Chrysostom; of Luke, with that of Titus of Bostra; and of Mark, with that of Victor. It follows the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

310. The Codex Regius 202., of the eleventh century, contains Matthew, with a catena: it agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

311. The Codex Regius 203., of the twelfth century, also contains Matthew, with a catena; it agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

312. The Codex Regius 206., written in 1308, contains Mark, with the commentary of Victor. It belongs to the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

313. The Codex Regius 208. (formerly 2440.), of the fourteenth century, contains Luke, with a catena, which is different from that published by Corderius. It is imperfect; agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

314. The Codex Regius 209. (formerly 247. and 2441.), of the twelfth century, contains the Gospel of John, with a commentary. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

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315. The CODEX REGIUS 210. (formerly 2442a., Colbertinus 608.), of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospel of St. John, with a commentary by an unknown author. It is imperfect in xiv. 25.—xv. 16. xxi. 22—25.; agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

316. The CODEX REGIUS 211., which was brought from Constantinople, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It was written in the twelfth century, and contains the Gospels of Luke and John, with commentaries. This manuscript is imperfect, and was collated in select passages.

317. The CODEX REGIUS (formerly Medicæus 1887.), of the twelfth century, contains John x. 9.—xxi. 25., with a catena differing from that published by Corderius. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

318. The CODEX REGIUS 213., of the fourteenth century, contains John vii. 1.—xxi. 25., with a commentary. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

319. The CODEX REGIUS 231., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with a commentary. It is imperfect, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. This manuscript was collated in select passages.

320. The CODEX REGIUS 232., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospel of Luke, with a commentary. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

321. The CODEX REGIUS 303., of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

322. The CODEX REGIUS 315., of the fifteenth century, contains the Gospels. It follows the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

323. The CODEX REGIUS 118a., of the fifteenth century, contains Matt. vi. vii. and also the tales of Kalila and Dimna translated from the Arabic into Greek. The text of St. Matthew agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

324. The CODEX REGIUS 376. (formerly Mazarinianus), of the thirteenth century, on vellum, contains readings from the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles, sections from the Gospels narrating the passion of our Lord; and the Eusebian canons, Gospels, synaxaria (on cotton paper), and a catalogue of emperors from Constantine to Manuel Porphyrogennetus. In the Gospels the text almost always agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. The chief part of this manuscript was collated.

325. The CODEX REGIUS 377. (formerly 3011.), of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels. The text agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated in select passages.

326. The CODEX REGIUS 378., of the fourteenth century, contains an exposition, in the form of homilies, on one or more verses of some sections of the Gospels. The text almost every where agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated in select passages.

327. The CODEX REGIUS 380., of the fifteenth century, contains the Gospels. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

328. The CODEX REGIUS 381., of the sixteenth century, contains the Gospels, with a commentary. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

329. The CODEX COISLINIANUS 19. (formerly 46.), contains the Gospels, with a commentary. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

330. The CODEX COISLINIANUS 196., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, with the Eusebian canons and prologues. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

331. The CODEX COISLINIANUS 331. (formerly 41.) of the tenth century, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

332. The CODEX TAURINENSIS XX. b. IV. 20., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with a commentary, figures, and prologues. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

333. The CODEX TAURINENSIS IV. b. 4.,[1] formerly belonged to Arsenius, archbishop of Monembasia, and afterwards to Gabriel, metropolitan of Philadelphia. It was written in the thirteenth century, and contains Matthew and John, with the same catena of Nicetas, which was published by Cordier and Poussines. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

334. The CODEX TAURINENSIS 43. b. V. 23., of the fourteenth century, contains the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, with prologues, and a commentary. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

335. The CODEX TAURINENSIS 44. b. V. 24., of the sixteenth century, contains the Gospels, with prologues. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

336. The CODEX TAURINENSIS 101. c. IV. 17., of the sixteenth century, contains Luke, with a catena. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

337. The CODEX TAURINENSIS 52. b. V. 32., of the twelfth century, contains portions of St. Matthew's Gospel, with a commentary. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

338. The CODEX TAURINENSIS 335. b. I. 3., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons and figures. It follows the Constantinopolitan family, but has some Alexandrine readings. It was collated in select passages.

339. The CODEX TAURINENSIS 302. c. II. 5., of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, with prologues, the Eusebian canons, synaxaria, and other pieces. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

340. The CODEX TAURINENSIS 344. b. I. 13., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, many passages of which have been corrected by a later hand. This manuscript agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

341. The CODEX TAURINENSIS 350. b. I. 21. was written in the year 1296, and contains the Gospels, with a synaxarium. It follows the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

342. The CODEX TAURINENSIS 149. b. II. 3., of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons; it agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

343. The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 13. (in the Ambrosian library at Milan,)[2] of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons and figures, adapted to ecclesiastical use. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

344. The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 16. contains the Gospels, with synaxaria on vellum, written in the twelfth century. Luke xiii. 21.—xvi. 23. xxii. 12—23. xxi. 12. and xxiii. 45—50. have been written on paper, in the fourteenth century. It is imperfect in John xxi. 12. to the end. This manuscript agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension; the latter part, in particular, with the textus receptus. It was collated in select passages.

345. The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 17., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria. It is imperfect in Matt. i. 1—11. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

346. The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 23., an incorrectly written manuscript of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, the text of which agrees with the Alexandrine family. It is imperfect in John iii. 6.—vii. 52. The entire manuscript was collated.

347. The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 35., of the twelfth century, correctly written by Constantinus Chrysographus, contains the Gospels, with prologues, fitted to ecclesiastical use. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

348. The CODEX AMBROSIANUS B. 56., written in 1023, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria, and the Eusebian canons. It agrees very often with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

349. The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 61., written in 1322, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria, and the Eusebian canons It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

[1] The manuscripts in the royal library at Turin (Nos. 332—342.) are described at length by Joseph Pasini, in his *Catalogus Bibliothecæ Taurinensis*.

[2] The manuscripts in the Ambrosian library are described at length by Dr. Scholz in his Biblisch-Kritische Reise, pp. 70—94.

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350. The Codex Ambrosianus B. 62. contains the Gospels, with figures and synaxaria, written on vellum in the eleventh century. The first four leaves are written on paper in the sixteenth century. It is imperfect in John xxi. 9. to the end. It follows the Alexandrine recension, but often agrees with the Constantinopolitan family. It was collated in select passages.

351. The Codex Ambrosianus 70. is of the eleventh century. Latin words, written in the fifteenth century, are occasionally interspersed among the Greek text. It mostly agrees with the received text, but it also has many peculiar readings. It was collated in select passages.

352. The Codex Ambrosianus B. 93., brought from Calabria in 1607, contains the Gospels, written in the twelfth century. It is imperfect in Matt. i. 1—17. Mark i. 1—15. xvi. 13. to the end, Luke i. 1—7. xxiv. 43. to the end, and John i. 1—10. and xxi. 3. to the end. The faded letters have been restored by a later hand. Indices of lessons, written in the fourteenth century, have been added in the margin. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and has been collated in select passages.

353. The Codex Ambrosianus M. 93. of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with the same commentary as No. 181. It is imperfect in John xxi. 24, 25., and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. The greater part of this manuscript was collated.

354. The Codex Venetus 29. contains the Gospel of Matthew with Theophylact's Commentary, written in the eleventh century. It was collated on Matthew xxiv., and for the most part agrees with the Alexandrine codices.

355. The Codex Venetus 541., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, preceded by the Eusebian canons and the Epistle to Carpianus. It was collated for Matt. xxiv., Mark iv., Luke iv., and John v. It almost always agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

356. The Codex Venetus 545. contains a catena on St. Luke's Gospel, written in the sixteenth century, ascribed to Titus of Bostra; but the text of Luke is rarely cited.

357. The Codex Venetus 28. contains Luke and John, with a catena, written in the eleventh century. Dr. Scholz has given readings from it on Luke i. and John v. Its text agrees with that of the Constantinopolitan recension.

358. The Codex Mutinensis 9. (II. A. 9.), of the fourteenth century, contains the Gospels. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in Matt. vi., Mark iv. v. x., Luke v., and John v. vii. viii.

359. The Codex Mutinensis 242. (MS. III. B. 16.), of the fourteenth century, contains the Gospels. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated on the same chapters as No. 358.

360. The Codex Parmensis (formerly De Rossi 1.), in the library of the Duke of Parma, contains the Gospels, written in the eleventh century. It agrees chiefly with the Constantinopolitan family, but it has numerous Alexandrine readings. This and the following manuscript were collated by De Rossi and Scholz.

361. The Codex Parmensis (formerly De Rossi 2.), of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, but it has numerous Alexandrine readings.

362. The Codex Florentinus, in the library of Santa Maria at Florence, contains the Gospel of Saint Luke, with a catena, of the thirteenth century. This manuscript is cited by Lamy, in his treatise *De Eruditione Apostolorum*, p. 239. Dr. Scholz does not know where it now is deposited.

363. The Codex Florentinus Laurentianus VI. 13. contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, written in the thirteenth century. It follows the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

364. The Codex Laurentianus VI. 24., Dr. Scholz conjectures, from the form of the letters, was written in Sclavonia in the thirteenth century. A few leaves have been added at the beginning and end, which were written in the fourteenth century. It contains the Gospels, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan family. This manuscript was collated in select passages.

365. The Codex Laurentianus VI. 36., of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Psalms. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

366. The Codex Laurentianus 2607. (formerly belonging to the library of Santa Maria) contains the Gospel of Saint Matthew, with a catena. It is imperfect in the beginning: occasionally, annotations are written in the margin by a later hand.

367. The Codex Laurentianus 2708. (also formerly belonging to the same monastery), written in 1332, contains the New Testament, with prologues and synaxaria. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

368. The Codex Richardianus 84., of the fifteenth century, contains the Gospel of Saint John, the Apocalypse, and Epistles, together with Plato's Epistle to Dionysius incorrectly written. The text of St. John's Gospel agrees with the Constantinopolitan MSS. It was collated in select passages.

369. The Codex Richardianus 90., of the twelfth century, contains Mark vi. 25.—ix. 45. x. 17. xvi. 9., and a grammar of the Greek language, together with the Fables of Phædrus. The text of these fragments for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

370. The Codex Richardianus (K. I. 11.), of the fourteenth century, contains the Gospels, with Theophylact's commentary. It is imperfect at the beginning and end. This manuscript is stated by Scholz to have been described by Lamy in his treatise *De Eruditione Apostolorum*, p. 232. *et seq.* It is not known where it is now deposited.

371. The Codex Vaticanus 1159., of the tenth century, contains the Gospels with the Eusebian canons and figures. It follows the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

372. The Codex Vaticanus 1161., very beautifully written in the fifteenth century, contains the Gospels. It is imperfect from John iii. 1. to the end. It agrees with the Alexandrine family, and was collated in select passages.

373. The Codex Vaticanus 1423. formerly belonged to Cardinal Sirlet. It was written in the fifteenth century, and contains the Gospels, with a catena. The end of John is wanting. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

374. The Codex Vaticanus 1445., written in the twelfth century, contains the Gospels with the commentary of Peter of Laodicæa. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

375. The Codex Vaticanus 1533., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

376. The Codex Vaticanus 1539., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels collated with ancient copies at Jerusalem. It follows the Constantinopolitan family, and was also collated in select passages.

377. The Codex Vaticanus 1618., of the fifteenth century, contains Matthew, with a catena, Mark, Luke, and John, with questions and answers. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

378. The Codex Vaticanus 1658., of the fourteenth century, contains fragments of Saint Matthew's Gospel, with the homilies of Chrysostom, and numerous passages from the prophets. The text seldom departs from the received text. It was collated in select passages.

379. The Codex Vaticanus 1769., of the fifteenth century, contains the Gospels, with a perpetual commentary. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

380. The Codex Vaticanus 2139., of the fifteenth century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

381. The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus 20., of the fourteenth century, contains the Gospel of Saint Luke, with a catena. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

382. The Codex Vaticanus 2070. (formerly Basil. 109.), correctly written in the thirteenth century, contains fragments of the Gospels, the leaves of which have been greatly misplaced by the carelessness of the bookbinder. Its text agrees with the Alexandrine family. The greater part of this manuscript was collated by Dr. Scholz.

383, 384, 385., are three manuscripts belonging to the College at Rome, written in the sixteenth century. They severally contain the Gospels with a commentary; follow the Constantinopolitan recension; and were collated in select passages.

386. The Codex Vaticano-Ottobonianus 66., of the fif-

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teenth century, contains the New Testament with synaxaria. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. This and the following manuscripts, Nos. 387. to 397. inclusive, were collated by Dr. Scholz in select passages.

387. The CODEX VATICANO-OTTOBONIANUS 204., of the welfth century, contains the Gospels, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

388. The CODEX VATICANO-OTTOBONIANUS 212., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with figures. It exhibits a mixed text, which often agrees with the Alexandrine recension.

389. The CODEX VATICANO-OTTOBONIANUS 297., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

390. The CODEX VATICANO-OTTOBONIANUS 381. was written in 1252, and contains the Acts, Epistles, Gospels, and Apocalypse, with scholia, synaxaria, and the Eusebian canons. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan text.

391. The CODEX VATICANO-OTTOBONIANUS 432., written in the eleventh century, was presented by the abbot Abachus Andriani, of mount Athos, to Pope Benedict XIII., who commanded it to be deposited in the Vatican Library. It contains the Gospels, with prologues and commentaries. It is imperfect in Matt. i. 1—8. Luke i. 1—80. and John vii. 53.—viii. 11., which passages were added in another handwriting in the fifteenth century. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

392. The CODEX BARBERINIANUS 225., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with the commentary of Theophylact, to which is prefixed the fragment of St. John's Gospel, noticed in page 118. § XXX. under the letter Y. This manuscript agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

393. The CODEX VALLICELLIANUS E. 22., of the sixteenth century, contains the Catholic and Pauline epistles, together with the Gospels. It follows the Constantinopolitan family.

394. The CODEX VALLICELLIANUS F. 17., written by one Michael, a monk, and dated July 14, 1330, contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

395. The CODEX CASANATENSIS A. R. V. 33., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with figures. Corrections and readings are written in the margin. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, but has some Alexandrine readings.

396. The CODEX GHIGIANUS R. IV. 6., of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels. It is imperfect in Matt. i. 1.—xxiii. 27., and agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

397. The CODEX VALLICELLIANUS C. 4., of the fifteenth century, contains the Gospel of St. John, with a catena. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

398. The CODEX TAURINENSIS 92. c. IV. 6., of the thirteenth century, contains select passages of the Gospels, with a catena. It was cursorily collated, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

399. The CODEX TAURINENSIS 109. c. IV. 29., of the fifteenth century, contains a commentary on the Gospels, but the text is not always given. It was cursorily collated, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

400. The CODEX BEROLINENSIS BIBLIOTHECÆ (formerly Diezii 10.), of the fifteenth century, contains Matt. xii. 29.—xiii. 2., the Acts, and Epistles. It is mutilated, and has been damaged both by fire and water. It was described by Aurisillius in 1802; and was again described and collated by G. T. Pappelbaum in 1815.

401. The CODEX NEAPOLITANUS I. C. 24., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark vi. 1.—xvi. to the end, and John i. 1.—xii. 1. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension. This and the nine following manuscripts, to No. 417. inclusive, were collated in select passages.

402. The CODEX NEAPOLITANUS I. C. 28., of the fifteenth century, contains the Gospels, with prologues and figures. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

403. The CODEX NEAPOLITANUS I. C. 29., of the twelfth century, contains Matt. xii. 23.—xix. 12. xxviii., Mark complete, Luke i. 1—5. xxi. 36. to the end, and John i. 1.—xviii. 36., with synaxaria. It follows the Constantinopolitan family.

404. A manuscript belonging to the abate SCOTTI, of Naples, contains the Gospels, with prologues. It was written in the eleventh century, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

405. The CODEX VENETIANÆ BIBLIOTHECÆ, Class I. No. 10. (formerly Nanianus 3.), of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons. The leaves have been so misplaced by the bookbinder that scarcely two or four consecutive pages of the same Gospel are to be found. The text of this manuscript for the most part agrees with the Alexandrine recension, but it contains some Alexandrine readings.[1]

406. The CODEX VENETIANUS, Class I. No. 11. (formerly Nanianus 4.), of the eleventh century, contains the Gospels. It is imperfect in Mark iv. 41.—v. 14. and Luke iii. 16.—iv. 4.; and for the most part agrees with the Alexandrine recension.

407. The CODEX VENETIANUS, Class I. No. 12. (formerly Nanianus 5.), of the eleventh century, contains Luke v. 30. to the end, and John i. 1.—ix. It chiefly follows the Constantinopolitan recension, but has some readings which differ from it.

408. The CODEX VENETIANUS S. MARCI BIBLIOTHECÆ Class I. No. 14., Nanianus 7., formerly belonged to the monastery of Saint John, near the Jordan. It is of the twelfth century, and contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons. It has some peculiar readings, but for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

409. The CODEX VENETIANUS S. MARCI, Class I. No. 15. (formerly Nanianus 8.), of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons and synaxaria. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, but has some peculiar readings.

410. In the CODEX VENETIANUS S. MARCI, Class I. No. 17. (formerly Nanianus 10.), which is written on cotton paper, of the fourteenth century, the early pages (which are on vellum), with the Eusebian canons, are copied from another more ancient manuscript of the twelfth century. The rest of the manuscript was written by one Joasaph, a monk, in the thirteenth century. It contains the Gospels, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

411. The CODEX VENETIANUS BIBLIOTHECÆ NANIANÆ 11., of the fourteenth century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, and synaxaria.

412. The CODEX VENETIANUS S. MARCI, Class I. No. 19. (formerly Nanianus 12.), written in 1301 by Theodore Hagiopetritus, a calligrapher, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons and synaxaria. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

413. The CODEX VENETIANUS S. MARCI, Class I. No. 20. (formerly Nanianus 13.), at one time belonging to the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai. It was elegantly written in 1302 by one Theodore, and contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, figures, and synaxaria. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

414. The CODEX VENETIANUS S. MARCI, Class I. No. 21. (formerly Nanianus 14.), written in the fourteenth century, by one Philip, a monk, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

415. The CODEX VENETIANUS S. MARCI, Class I. No. 22. (formerly Nanianus 15.), written in January, 1356, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria and figures. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

416. The CODEX VENETIANUS S. MARCI, Class I. No. 24. (formerly Nanianus 17.), written in the fourteenth century, contains the Gospels. It is imperfect in Matt. i. 1.—xxv. 35., and John xviii. 7. to the end. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

417. The CODEX VENETIANUS S. MARCI, Class I. No. 25. (formerly Nanianus 18.), of the fourteenth century, contains the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. It is imperfect in the beginning and end. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

418. The CODEX VENETIANUS BIBLIOTHECÆ NANIANÆ 21 contains the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. It is imperfect at the end.

419. A manuscript formerly belonging to the monastery of Saint Michael at Venice, of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels. It is imperfect in John xxi. 7. to the end.

420. The CODEX MESSANENSIS I. of the fourteenth century, was written by different copyists. It contains the Gospels, with critical notes selected from other manuscripts. It was inspected by Dr. Münter. This manuscript is noted 237. in Dr. Schulz's third edition of Griesbach's Greek Testament.

421. The CODEX SYRACUSANUS in the Landolini library, of the twelfth century, contains the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, with the Eusebian canons and prolegomena. It

[1] Select chapters of the MSS. Nos. 405—417. were collated for Scholz by Doctors Wiedmann and J. G. J. Braun

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has a mixed text, and was also inspected by Dr. Münter. Scholz has noted it 238. in his edition of Griesbach's Greek Testament.

422. The Codex Regius Monacensis 210. (in the royal library at Munich) was written for ecclesiastical use in the eleventh century by one Joseph, a monk. It contains the Gospels, with prolegomena and synaxaria; but the Gospel of John appears to have been written by another and later hand. It follows the Constantinopolitan text, but the copyist has transferred into the text a few scholia which were written in the margin; for instance, in Mark i. 10. τοῦ θεοῦ after πνεῦμα. This manuscript was collated in select passages by Dr. Scholz.

423. The Codex Monacensis 36., of the fifteenth century, contains the Gospel of Matthew, with the catena of Nicetas. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

424. The Codex Monacensis 83., of the fifteenth century, besides other works, contains the Gospel of Saint Luke, with the commentary of Titus of Bostra, and of other writers cited by him. It follows the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

425. The Codex Monacensis 37., of the fifteenth century, contains the Gospel of John, with the most copious of all the catenæ of Nicetas which Dr. Scholz has met with. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

426. The Codex Monacensis 473., of the fourteenth century, contains Luke vi. 17.—xi. 26., with the catena of Nicetas. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

427. The Codex Monacensis 465., of the twelfth or thirteenth century, contains the Gospels of Luke and Mark, with the commentary of Theophylact. It seldom deviates from the received text, and was collated in select passages.

428. The Codex Monacensis 381., of the thirteenth century, contains the Gospels, with commentaries and figures. From the subscription it appears that the Gospel of St. Matthew was collated with some ancient manuscripts of Jerusalem preserved on the Holy Mountain (Athos?). From actual collation, Dr. Scholz ascertained that this manuscript is either a transcript of No. 300. (Codex Regius 186.), or of the copy whence that was transcribed. Its readings coincide for the most part with those of No. 300. The chief part of it was collated by Scholz.

429. The Codex Monacensis 208., of the tenth century, contains questions with their solutions, taken from various interpreters, on the Gospels of Matthew and John, with the text, which was written in 979. It further contains Luke i. 1.—ii. 39., with a catena. This manuscript seldom departs from the received text. It was collated in select passages.

430. The Codex Monacensis 437., of the eleventh century, contains the Gospel of John, with the catena of Nicetas. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

431 The Codex Molshemiensis formerly belonged to the College of Jesuits at Molsheim, in Alsace. It was written in the twelfth century, and contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, with prologues and the Eusebian canons. Goldhagen inserted fifty-two various readings from it in his edition of the New Testament printed at Mayence in 1753. Dr. Scholz states that he found very few various readings in this manuscript on the Acts and Epistles, and scarcely any on the Gospels, so that no judgment can be formed concerning its text.

432. The Codex Monacensis 99., of the sixteenth century, contains (besides other treatises on various subjects) the Gospel of Mark, with the commentary of Victor of Antioch. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

433. The Codex Berolinensis is a quarto manuscript, on vellum, of the twelfth century, preserved in the Royal Library at Berlin. It contains the following fragments; viz. Matt. i. 1—21. vi. 12—32. and xxii. 6. to the end of that Gospel; Mark i. 1—5. 29. ix. 21.—xiii. 12. Luke viii. 37. to the end of the Gospel; John i. 1.—ix. 21. and xx. 18. to the end of the Gospel. The various readings contained in this manuscript were published by M. Pappelbaum, archdeacon of Berlin, in his description of it; whence they have been inserted by Dr. Dermout in his Collectanea Critica in Novum Testamentatum,[1] and by Dr. Scholz (who numbers it 239.) in his third edition of Griesbach's Greek Testament. It has a mixed text.

[1] Dermout, Collectanea Critica, p. 22.

434. The Codex Cæsareo-Vindobonensis 71. (Lambecii 42. formerly 279.), of the fourteenth century, contains the Gospel of Luke, with a catalogue. It very seldom deviates from the received text. It was collated in select passages.

435. The Codex Bibliothecæ Lugduno-Batavensis, Gronovii 131., now in the University library at Leyden, contains the Gospels neatly written. It is imperfect in Matt. i. 20.—ii. 13. and xxii. 4—19. John x. 14. to the end of that Gospel is written by a later hand. Neither Dermout, who first collated this manuscript, nor Dr. Scholz, has specified its age. The latter states that its text for the most agrees with the Alexandrine family.

436. The Codex Meermannianus 117. comprises the four Gospels written in the eleventh century. They are arranged conformably to the Liturgy of the Greek church. On the sale of the Meermann library by auction in 1824 this manuscript was purchased by an English bookseller. It is not known who is the present possessor of it.

437. The Codex Bibliothecæ Imperialis Petropolitanæ (in the Imperial library at Petersburgh) was written in the eleventh century, by Michael Cerularius, formerly patriarch of Constantinople.

438. The Codex $\frac{5111}{5112}$ in the British Museum (formerly Askew 621.) contains the Gospels, in two volumes, quarto. It was written about the eleventh century.

439. The Codex 5107. in the British Museum (formerly Askew 622.) contains the Gospels written in 1159 on mount Athos, by the monk Nephon.

440. The Codex Cantabrigiensis Mm. 6. 9. or 2423. contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. The text is composed from both families. It was collated by Dr. Scholz on Matt. vi. ix. x., Mark v. vi., and Luke iv.

441. The Codex Cantabrigiensis ✝ 2622. contains the Old and New Testaments with notes.

442. The Codex Cantabrigiensis ✝ 2537. 2538. contains the New Testament.

443. The Codex Cantabrigiensis, formerly Askew 624., contains the Gospels. It was brought from mount Athos.

444 The Codex Harleianus 5796., in the British Museum, contains the New Testament, except the Apocalypse, neatly and carefully written in the fifteenth century. After the Acts are placed the Catholic Epistles, and then those of Saint Paul. A table of lessons is subjoined to the Gospels, and there is another at the end of the book. This and the five following manuscripts (445—449.) all agree with the Constantinopolitan family, and were collated on Mark v.

445. The Codex Harleianus 5736. was written in 1506, as appears from the subscription. This manuscript was not known to Griesbach.

446. The Codex Harleianus 5777., of the fifteenth century, contains the Gospels, with synaxaria. It is imperfect in Matt. i. 1—17., Mark i. 7—9., Luke i. 1—18., and John i. 1—22. Scholz states, that it is written by a clear but not very skilful or learned hand.

447. The Codex Harleianus 5784., of the fifteenth century, contains the Gospels, with the Eusebian canons, and synaxaria.

448. The Codex Harleianus 5790. contains the Gospels, most beautifully illuminated: it was written, as appears from the inscription at the end of the volume, by one John, a priest at Rome, and it is dated April 25th, 1478.

449. The Codex $\frac{4950}{4951}$ in the British Museum, which formerly belonged to Cæsar de Missy, contains the Gospels, clearly and accurately written, probably in the fourteenth century.

450. The Manuscript belonging to the library of the great monastery of the Greeks at Jerusalem, numbered 1., contains the first three Gospels, with an Arabic version neatly written in 1043, to which are prefixed synaxaria and the Eusebian canons. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

451. Is the manuscript, No. 2., in the same library, written in the twelfth century, and containing the Gospels; which agree with the Constantinopolitan family, and were collated in select passages.

452—455. Are manuscripts in the same library, numbered 3—6., all of which were written in the fourteenth century, and contain the Gospels. They agree with the Constantinopolitan family, and were also collated in select passages.

456. Is a manuscript in the same library, No. 7., containing the Gospels. To the text of Saint Matthew is annexed a commentary, neatly written in the thirteenth century It was collated in select passages.

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457. Is a manuscript belonging to the Greek monastery of Saint Saba (which is two miles distant from Jerusalem), No. 2., written in the thirteenth century. It contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, to which are prefixed synaxaria. This and the nine following manuscripts (Nos. 458—466.) all agree with the Constantinopolitan recension, and were severally collated in select passages.

458. Is a manuscript belonging to the same library, No. 3., and contains the Gospels written in 1278.

459. and 460. Are manuscripts belonging to the same library, Nos. 7. and 8., of the twelfth century, and contain the Gospels.

461. Is a manuscript in the same library, No. 9., neatly written in 835, by one Nicholas, a monk, and contains the Gospels.

462. and 463. Are manuscripts in the same library, Nos. 10. and 11., of the fourteenth century, which contain the Gospels.

464. Is a manuscript in the same library, No. 12., of the eleventh century, and contains the Gospels.

465. Is a manuscript in the same library, No. 19., of the thirteenth century, and contains the Gospels.

466. Is also a manuscript in the same library, of the thirteenth century: it contains the New Testament.

467. Is a manuscript belonging to the library of a monastery in the isle of Patmos. It is of the eleventh century, and contains the Gospels; agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

468. Is a manuscript in the same library, of the twelfth century. It contains the Gospels with a commentary; agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

469. Is also a manuscript belonging to the same library, of the fourteenth century. It contains the Gospels; agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

iv. *Evangelisteria (or Lessons from the Gospels appointed to be read in Divine Service) which have been collated by the Editors of the Greek Testament (especially by Wetstein and Griesbach,) who preceded Dr. Scholz, by whom their Notation has been retained.*[1]

1. The CODEX REGIUS 278. (formerly Colbertinus 700.) is written in uncial letters, in the eighth century: it is imperfect. This evangelisterium was cursorily collated by Wetstein and Scholz: it agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

2. The CODEX REGIUS 280., formerly Colbertinus 2215., of the eighth century, according to Montfaucon and Scholz, but Wetstein does not think it earlier than the ninth century. It was written in uncial characters. It is imperfect, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated by Wetstein and Scholz.

3. The CODEX OXONIENSIS Wheleri 3., of the tenth century, is in uncial characters. It was collated by Dr. Mill, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

4. The CODEX CANTABRIGIENSIS Dd. 8. 49. formerly belonged to Dr. More, bishop of Ely. It was written in the tenth century, in uncial characters. Bishop Marsh thinks it was brought from the East. This evangelisterium was collated by Dr. Mill.

5. The CODEX BODLEIANUS 3. was written in the year 995, in uncial letters. It was collated by Mill and Wetstein.

6. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ LUGDUNO-BATAVÆ, formerly Scaligeri 243., is a Greek-Arabic manuscript, written in uncial letters, in the tenth century. Besides an evangelisterium, it contains lessons from the Acts of the Apostles, Epistles, and Psalms. Wetstein states that it has some peculiar readings, and that it agrees with the Egyptian version. Dr. Dermout, who is the most recent describer and collator of this manuscript, states that he found numerous valuable readings which Wetstein had omitted.[2] The following are the portions of the Gospels which are comprised in this manuscript:—Matt. xx. 17—22. 26.—xxiv. 28. 35.—xxv. 45. xxvi. 3—14. 17. to the end. Mark xi. 1—11. xiv. 26.—xv. 46. xvi. Luke vii. 11—17. ix. 28—35. xix. 25—48. xx. 27—38. xxii. 4.—xxiii. 49. 53.—xxiv. 35. John i. 9—14. ii. 12—25. v. 19—30. (verses 19. to 29. occur twice.) xii. 1.—xx. 31. (xii. 17—19. occur twice.)

[1] Those manuscripts which are not specified as being written in uncial letters are to be understood as being written in cursive or ordinary Greek characters.

[2] Collectanea Critica in Nov. Test. p. 16.

7. The CODEX REGIUS 301. (formerly Colbertinus 614.) was written by one George, a presbyter of the Greek church, in 1205. It was cursorily collated by Wetstein and Scholz, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

8. The CODEX REGIUS 312. (formerly Colbertinus 648.) was written in the fourteenth century by one Cosmas, a monk. It was cursorily collated by Wetstein and Scholz, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

9. The CODEX REGIUS 307. (Colbertinus 681.), of the thirteenth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It was cursorily collated by Wetstein and Scholz. Wetstein states that this manuscript and No. 10. are both imperfect.

10. The CODEX REGIUS 287. (Colbertinus 721.), of the eleventh century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated by Wetstein and Scholz.

11. The CODEX REGIUS 309. (Colbertinus 1265.), of the thirteenth century, is imperfect in the beginning and end. It was cursorily collated by Wetstein and Scholz, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

12. The CODEX REGIUS 310. (Colbertinus 824.), of the thirteenth century, appears to have been written for the use of the church of Constantinople. It is imperfect in the beginning and end, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It was cursorily collated by Wetstein and Scholz.

13. The CODEX COISLINIANUS 31. is substituted by Dr. Scholz for the Colbertinus 1241., which Wetstein (and after him Griesbach) had numbered 13., because that manuscript, which is now the Codex Regius 1982., does *not* contain an evangelisterium. The Codex Coislinianus 31. is very neatly written in gold uncial characters, as far as the seventh leaf; thence to the twenty-second it is written with vermilion; and the rest of the manuscript is written with ink, and ornamented with figures. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated by Scholz.

14. The CODEX REGIUS 315. (Colbertinus 1282.), of the fifteenth century, was cursorily collated by Wetstein and Scholz. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

15. The CODEX REGIUS 302. (Colbertinus 1824.), of the thirteenth century, is defective in the beginning and end. It was cursorily collated by Scholz, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

16. The CODEX REGIUS 297. (Colbertinus 2465.), of the twelfth century, is very imperfect. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated by Wetstein and Scholz.

17. The CODEX REGIUS 279. (formerly Colbertinus), of the twelfth century, is imperfect at the end. It follows the Constantinopolitan text, but has some Alexandrine readings; and was cursorily collated by Scholz.

18. The CODEX LAUDIANUS D. 121. (Bodl. 4. of Dr. Mill's notation) is of the twelfth or thirteenth century according to Griesbach, but of the thirteenth century according to Scholz. It is written in large and elegant characters, in two columns, the initial letters and titles being gilt. It is imperfect in the beginning and end, and some leaves are also lost out of the middle of the volume. Scholz states that its text for the most part agrees with the Alexandrine family: it was collated by Mill, and more accurately by Griesbach, who discovered numerous readings which had been overlooked by Mill.

19. The CODEX BODLEIANUS 5. originally belonged to Parthenius, patriarch of Constantinople, by whom it was given to Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelsea, ambassador to the Porte in 1661. It was presented to the university of Oxford by Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, chancellor of that university. It is very neatly written in the thirteenth century, and for the most part agrees with the Alexandrine recension, and was collated by Mill and Griesbach.

20. The CODEX LAUDIANUS 4. of Dr. Mill, in the Bodleian library marked Laud. C. 79., was written in the year 1047. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated first by Mill, and afterwards by Griesbach, who states that he found scarcely any readings which had not been noticed by Mill and Wetstein.

21. The CODEX SELDENI 4. of Mill, in the Bodleian library 3386., noted Arch. Seld. B. 56., though characterized by Mill as ancient, cannot be dated earlier than the thirteenth century. A few fragments only of this manuscript now remain. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated by Mill and Griesbach.

22. The CODEX SELDENI 5. of Mill, in the Bodleian library 3384., noted Arch. Seld. B. 54., is of the twelfth century. The chief part of this manuscript consists of homilies of the

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fathers, especially of Gregory Nazianzen; to which are annexed some fragments of an evangelisterium. This manuscript was collated by Mill and Wetstein, and subsequently by Griesbach, who collated many readings of which they had taken no notice.

23. The CODEX MEADII, which successively was the property of Dr. Askew, and of M. d'Eon, by whom it was sent into France, was seen by Wetstein, who, however, has not specified its date.

24. The CODEX MONACENSIS 333. (Augustanus 4. of Bengel), of the tenth century, is correctly written, and is imperfect in John i. 1—14. Luke xxiv. 23—35., and Matt. xviii. 14—30. It was inspected by Bengel, and minutely examined by Scholz.

25. The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5650. in the British Museum, of the twelfth century, is a codex rescriptus, but very few traces of the ancient writing are legible.

25*. According to Griesbach is part of the same manuscript, written by another hand, in a smaller and more elegant character, and containing lessons concerning the resurrection of Christ. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated by Griesbach.

26. The CODEX BODLEIANUS 3390. noted *sup. Seld.* 2. was written, or rather re-written, in the fifteenth century; but almost every vestige of the more ancient writing (which seems to have been of the ninth or tenth century) has disappeared. Some lessons are added from the Acts and Epistles. The text of this manuscript is mixed: it was collated by Griesbach, who has described it at great length.

27. The CODEX BODLEIANUS 3391. noted *sup. Seld.* 3. is of the thirteenth or fourteenth century according to Griesbach, but of the fourteenth century according to Scholz. It was written in large characters by some illiterate monk over a more ancient evangelisterium, in uncial letters of the ninth century. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was first collated and described by Griesbach.

28. The CODEX MARSHI 22., now in the Bodleian library, was written in the thirteenth century by two different hands, neither of whom was very careful or accurate. It is imperfect at the end, and has a mixed text. Both this and the following manuscript were collated and minutely described by Griesbach.

29. The CODEX MARSHI 23., also in the Bodleian library, was elegantly written in the thirteenth century, but the letters have become so faint as to be legible with difficulty. It is imperfect at the end, and follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

30. The CODEX BODLEIANUS 296., now marked Cromwelli 117., from Oliver Cromwell, to whom it formerly belonged, and with the rest of whose manuscripts it came into the Bodleian library, was written in the year 1225. It contains Greek liturgies and forms of public prayers. At page 149 commence sections of the Gospels and Epistles. Scholz has not stated with what recension its text coincides: but as it was written in Greece, we may conclude that it follows the Constantinopolitan family.

31. The CODEX NORIMBERGENSIS is of the twelfth century: it was collated by Doederlein. Michaelis states that its readings have a great conformity with those of the Codices Cantabrigiensis, Stephani η, Basileensis γ, and Leicestrensis.

32. The CODEX GOTHANUS, now in the library of the Duke of Saxe-Gotha, was written by a careless and illiterate Greek scribe. This manuscript was collated and described in a treatise published at Leipzig in 1791. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

33. Is an EVANGELISTERIUM, belonging to Cardinal Alessandro Albani, written in the ninth century, in uncial characters. It was edited in 1788 by Stefano Antonio Morceli, at Rome, and belongs to the Constantinopolitan recension.

34. The CODEX MONACENSIS 229., formerly Evangelisterium Mannhemense 19., is in three volumes quarto, which were written in uncial characters in the ninth century, and, in Dr. Scholz's opinion, founded on internal evidence, for the use of some monastery on mount Athos. After a careful collation, he found very few readings different from the received text.

35. The CODEX VATICANUS 351. was written in the year 949, by one Michael, a monk: it follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated by Birch.

36. The CODEX VATICANUS 1067. contains lessons from the Gospels, very correctly written in uncial characters, in the tenth century.

37. A manuscript numbered 287., in the library of the college of the Propaganda, at Rome, contains sections from the Gospels and Epistles, written in the eleventh century. It agrees for the most part with the Alexandrine family, and was collated by Dr. Birch.

38. and 39. The CODICES, Florentinus 1. and 2., were collated by Birch.

40. The CODEX ESCURIALENSIS 1. is an evangelisterium, supposed by Moldenhawer (by whom this and the other manuscripts in the Escurial were collated for Birch) to be written in the tenth century. It is in uncial characters.

41. The CODEX ESCURIALENSIS X. III. 12., written in the tenth century, in uncial characters, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

42. The CODEX ESCURIALENSIS X. III. 13., of the tenth century, contains an evangelisterium written in uncial characters in the tenth century. It is imperfect in the beginning; follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

43. The CODEX ESCURIALENSIS X. III. 16., of the eleventh century, was written for the use of some church in Constantinople. It is imperfect in the beginning.

44. The CODEX HAUNIENSIS 3., of the fifteenth century, contains an imperfect evangelisterium. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

45. The CODEX VINDOBONENSIS, Lambecii 15., among the Greek law MSS., is a fragment of an evangelisterium, consisting of six leaves, and written in uncial characters in the eight century.

46. The CODEX CÆSAREUS or VINDOBONENSIS (Kollarii 7., Forlosia 23.) contains fragments of an evangelisterium, written on purple vellum in the ninth century.

47. A manuscript in the LIBRARY OF THE HOLY SYNOD at Moscow, numbered 23. (b. of Matthaei's notation), is in uncial characters, written in the eighth century. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family. This and the ten evangelisteria following (to No. 57. inclusive) were collated by Matthaei for his critical edition of the Greek Testament.

48. A manuscript in the LIBRARY OF THE HOLY SYNOD, No. 44. (c. of Matthaei), was written in 1056 by one Peter, a monk: it subsequently belonged to Nicephorus, metropolitan of the island of Crete, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan text.

49. Is a manuscript in the library connected with the PRINTING OFFICE of the Holy Synod, No. 11. (f. of Matthaei.) The former part of it is of the tenth century; the latter part is of a later date. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

50. Is a very ancient manuscript, probably of the eighth century, in the same library, No. 12. (h. of Matthaei): it is written in uncial characters, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

51. Is a manuscript in the same library, No. 9. (t. of Matthaei): it is of the sixteenth century, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It contains part of an evangelisterium.

52. A manuscript in the LIBRARY OF THE HOLY SYNOD, No. 266. (ξ. of Matthaei), written in the fourteenth century, contains lessons from other parts of the New Testament, besides an evangelisterium or lessons from the Gospels.

53. A manuscript in the same library, No. 267. (χ. of Matthaei), of the fifteenth century, contains an euchologium, or collection of Greek prayers, and lessons from the New Testament.

54. A manuscript in the same library, No. 268. (ψ. of Matthaei), written in 1470, also contains an euchologium, and lessons from the New Testament.

55. Is a manuscript in the library connected with the PRINTING OFFICE of the Holy Synod, No. 47. (ω. of Matthaei): it was transcribed by an ignorant and very careless copyist from a more ancient manuscript, and contains an euchologium, with lessons from the New Testament.

56. Is a manuscript in the same library, No. 9. (16. of Matthaei), of the fifteenth century. It contains fragments of ecclesiastical lessons from the New Testament.

57. Is a manuscript in the LIBRARY AT DRESDEN, No. 256. (19. of Matthaei), of the fifteenth century. It formerly belonged to Count Bruhl, and contains an euchologium, in which are many lessons from the New Testament.

v. *Evangelisteria, first collated by Dr. Scholz for his critica Edition of the New Testament.*

58. The CODEX REGIUS 50. a., of the fifteenth century, was written for the use of some church in Greece. It agrees

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with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated by Scholz.

59. The CODEX REGIUS 100. A., of the seventeenth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

60. The CODEX REGIUS 375 (formerly $^{2572.}_{2.\ 2.}$, Colbertinus 4954.) was written in 1022. It contains lessons from the New Testament, and agrees with the Alexandrine recension. The whole of this manuscript was collated.

61. The CODEX REGIUS 182. contains fragments of the Gospels, viz. Matt. xxvi. 67. to the end, and John xix. 10—20. It is written in uncial characters, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

62. The CODEX REGIUS 194. A., of the thirteenth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

63. The CODEX REGIUS 277., formerly 2493., was brought from the East into the royal library at Paris. It was written in the ninth century in uncial characters, and is mutilated at the beginning and end. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

64. The CODEX REGIUS 281. was also brought from Constantinople; it is written in uncial letters of the ninth century, and many of the leaves are torn. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, but has a few Alexandrine readings. Very many sections of it were collated.

65. and 66. The CODICES REGII 282. and 283. are both palimpsest manuscripts, the more ancient writing of which appears to have been an evangelisterium written in uncial characters in the ninth century. Over this an ecclesiastical office was written in the thirteenth century: its text agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. The ecclesiastical office in No. 293. is imperfect at the end. Dr. Scholz states that he collated these two manuscripts with great labour, but discovered very few readings different from those of the received text.

67. The CODEX REGIUS 284., of the eleventh century, is written in uncial letters: it very rarely departs from the received text.

68. The CODEX REGIUS 285., formerly $^{1884.}_{5.\ 5.}$ (Colbertinus 3006.), of the eleventh century, is imperfect at the beginning and end. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was cursorily collated by Scholz.

69. The CODEX REGIUS 286., of the eleventh century, is imperfect at the end. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

70. The CODEX REGIUS 288., of the eleventh century, on vellum, was brought from the East in 1669. A few leaves at the beginning and end have been written by a later hand. This manuscript was cursorily collated.

71. The CODEX REGIUS 289., formerly $^{2466.}_{5.\ 5.}$ (Colbertinus 4123.), written in 1066, is partly on vellum and partly on cotton paper. It agrees with the Alexandrine recension, and was collated in select passages.

72. The CODEX REGIUS 290., written in 1257, follows the Constantinopolitan recension. Three leaves annexed to this manuscript, and containing John v. 1—11. vi. 61—69. and vii. 1—15., are written in uncial characters, of the ninth century. The text of these fragments also corresponds with the Constantinopolitan recension.

73. The CODEX REGIUS 291., of the twelfth century, is imperfect. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

74, 75, 76, and 77. The CODICES REGII, 292 (formerly 2466.) 293, 295, and 296., are all of the twelfth century, and agree with the Constantinopolitan recension: they were cursorily collated by Dr. Scholz.

78. The CODEX REGIUS 298., formerly $^{2466.}_{5.\ 5.}$ (Colbertinus 4123.) is written on vellum, in the twelfth century: a few chasms are supplied on cotton paper. This manuscript for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, but it has some peculiar readings.

79. and 80. The CODICES REGII 299. and 300. (formerly 2467.) are both of the twelfth century: they follow the Constantinopolitan family, and were cursorily collated.

81. The CODEX REGIUS 305., on vellum, Dr. Scholz thinks was written in Egypt; but it has supplements added on paper, of the fifteenth century. Its text for the most part agrees with the Alexandrine recension, and the greater part of it was collated

82. The CODEX REGIUS 276., of the fifteenth century, on paper, contains lessons from the prophets, as well as from the New Testament. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

83. The CODEX REGIUS 294., of the eleventh century, contains lessons from the New Testament. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

84. and 85. The CODICES REGII 32. a. and 33. a. are both of the twelfth century, and contain lessons from the Old and New Testaments. They agree with the Constantinopolitan recension, and were cursorily collated.

86. The CODEX REGIUS 311., formerly 1884. and 548., was written in 1336, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. The chief part of this manuscript was collated by Dr. Scholz. At the end is placed the section concerning the adulterous woman, with obelisks before each line, but without any indication of the holiday on which it was read.

87, 88, and 89. The CODICES REGII 313, 314. (formerly 2466. Colbertinus 3715.) and 316. (formerly 2464. and 4266.) are respectively of the fourteenth century. They agree with the Constantinopolitan recension, and were cursorily collated. Numbers 88. and 89. are both imperfect.

90. The CODEX REGIUS 317. (formerly $^{2494.}_{2.}$ Colbertinus 638.) was written in 1533. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

91. The CODEX REGIUS 318. (formerly $^{2468.}_{2.\ 4.}$ Colbertinus 3017.) was written in the eleventh century. The subscription and other additions, which were made by Leontius, a monk, in the isle of Cyprus, may be seen in Montfaucon's Palæographia Græca, p. 89. This manuscript agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

92. The CODEX REGIUS 324. (No. 35. of the Lectionaria collated by Scholz) contains lessons from the New Testament, with fragments of the liturgy of Basil. Its text agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

93. The CODEX REGIUS 326. (No. 36. of the Lectionaria collated by Scholz), of the fourteenth century, contains lessons from the New Testament; the text of which agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated. This manuscript also contains the liturgies of Chrysostom and Basil.

94. The CODEX REGIUS 330., of the thirteenth century, contains lessons from the New Testament, together with an euchologium. It follows the Constantinopolitan family, and was cursorily collated.

95. The CODEX REGIUS 374., of the fourteenth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

96. The CODEX REGIUS 115a., of the twelfth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated. It is imperfect at the beginning and end.

97. The CODEX REGIUS 376. (No. 32. of the Lectionaria collated by Scholz) almost always agrees with the received text in the sections relating to the passion of Jesus Christ.

98. The CODEX REGIUS 377. (formerly 3011.) is of the thirteenth century. Part of this manuscript is rewritten, and the ancient writing appears to exhibit sections of the Gospels. The text very seldom departs from the received text: it was cursorily collated.

99. The CODEX REGIUS 380., formerly $^{3012.}_{2.\ 2.}$ (Colbertinus 4691.), of the fifteenth century, was cursorily collated.

100. The CODEX REGIUS 381., formerly $^{3012.}_{5.\ 5.}$ (Colbertinus 4588.), was written in 1550, by one Michael Maurice, as appears from the subscription. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

101. The CODEX REGIUS 303. is of the thirteenth century. Dr. Scholz has not indicated what recension it follows.

102. The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 62., in the Ambrosian library at Milan, was written on paper in 1381. it contains an evangelisterium, with a commentary, and other lessons. At the beginning and end, respectively, there are two leaves of vellum. This manuscript agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

103. The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 67., of the thirteenth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated in select passages.

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104. The Codex Ambrosianus 72., of the twelfth century, contains an evangelisterium and other lessons from the New Testament. It is imperfect at the beginning and end, and was collated in select passages.

105. The Codex Ambrosianus 81., of the thirteenth century, is well and correctly written on vellum, with the exception of the first nineteen leaves, which are written on paper, in the sixteenth century. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

106. The Codex Ambrosianus 91., of the thirteenth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

107, 108, 109, and 110. The Codices Venetiani 548—551. are all of the thirteenth century. Dr. Scholz has not specified to what recension they belong.

111. The Codex Mutinensis 27. is an evangelisterium, written in uncial characters in the tenth century. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

112. The Codex Laurentianus 2742. (No. 48. of the Lectionaria cited by Scholz) contains lessons from the New Testament, neatly written in the thirteenth century. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

113. Of the Codex Laurentianus VI. 2. the former part, as far as the two hundred and thirteenth leaf, was written in the twelfth century, and the latter part, to the end, in the fourteenth century. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

114. The Codex Laurentianus VI. 7., of the twelfth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

115. The Codex Laurentianus VI. 21., elegantly written in uncial characters in the eleventh century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It was cursorily collated.

116. The Codex Laurentianus VI. 31., elegantly written in uncial characters, in the tenth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was cursorily collated.

117. The Codex Laurentianus 244., beautifully written with gold cursive letters, in the twelfth century, with illuminations, follows the Constantinopolitan recension. It was cursorily collated.[1]

118. The Codex Laurentianus (not numbered) is elegantly written in uncial characters, in the twelfth century. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.[1]

119, 120, and 121. The Codices Vaticani 1155. 1256. and 1157. are all of the thirteenth century, and agree with the Constantinopolitan family. They were collated in select passages.

122. The Codex Vaticanus 1168., written in 1175, agrees with the Constantinopolitan family. It was collated in select passages.

123. The Codex Vaticanus 1522., very correctly written in uncial characters, in the eleventh century, without any points, was collated in select passages.

124. The Codex Vaticanus 1988. (Basil. 27.), of the thirteenth century, is imperfect at the beginning and end. It was collated in select passages.

125. The Codex Vaticanus 2017. (Basil. 56.) is of the twelfth century.

126. The Codex Vaticanus 2041. (Basil. 80.), of the twelfth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan family. It was collated in select passages.

127. The Codex Vaticanus 2063. (Basil. 102.), of the ninth century, is in uncial characters: it is imperfect in the beginning. The leaves at the commencement of the second part (a menologium) are of the fourteenth century. This evangelisterium agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

128. The Codex Vaticanus 2133., of the fourteenth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

129. The Codex Alexandrino-Vaticanus 12., which formerly belonged to Christina, Queen of Sweden, was written by two different hands. The first forty leaves are of the thirteenth century: the hundred and eight following leaves were written by another hand, in the same century; and the seventy-one leaves following to the end (Dr. Scholz thinks) were added in the fifteenth century. The first forty leaves exhibit the Alexandrine text, and appear to have been written in France. The remainder agrees with the Constantinopolitan text. This evangelisterium was collated in select passages.

130. The Codex Vaticano-Ottobonianus 2. is beautifully written in uncial letters of the ninth century. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

131. The Codex Vaticano-Ottobonianus 175., of the fourteenth century, contains part of an evangelisterium. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

132. The Codex Vaticano-Ottobonianus 326., written in silver characters, in the fifteenth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

133. The Codex Vaticano-Ottobonianus 416. is a lectionarium of the fourteenth century.

134. The Codex Barberinianus 15., of the thirteenth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan family. The first eight and last three leaves are written on paper; the remainder on vellum. This manuscript agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

135. The Codex Barberinianus 16. is a palimpsest manuscript of the sixth century, in uncial letters.

136. Is the later writing of the twelfth century, superadded to the more ancient writing of the same manuscript. Both these manuscripts contain lessons from the Gospels.

137. The Codex Vallicellianus D. 63., of the twelfth century, is imperfect in the beginning. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

138. The Codex Neapolitanus 1. B. 14., of the fifteenth century, was presented to the church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul at Naples, by Christopher Palæologus, May 7th, 1584.

139. The Codex Venetianus 12. is an evangelisterium of the tenth century.

140. The Codex Venetianus 626. is an evangelisterium of the thirteenth century

141. The Codex Bibliothecæ Nanianæ 2. at Venice, is of the eleventh century.

142. The Codex Bibliothecæ Nanianæ 16. is of the fourteenth century, and imperfect.

143. Is an evangelisterium, formerly belonging to the monastery of St. Michael, Venice, and numbered 29.: it is imperfect.

144. The Codex Bibliothecæ Malatestianæ Cæsenatis XXVII. 4. is written in uncial letters of the tenth or (as Dr. Scholz thinks) of the twelfth century.

145. The Codex Bibliothecæ Malatestianæ Cæsenatis XXIX. 2. is of the twelfth century. Scholz has not indicated to what class of recensions Nos. 143—145. belong.

146. The Codex Cantabrigiensis Dd. VIII. 23. is neatly written in the eleventh century, for the use of the church at Constantinople.

147. The Codex Harleianus 2970. is an evangelisterium of the eleventh century, with pictures of the four evangelists, and elegant ornaments of a gold and purple colour.

148. The Codex Harleianus 2994. is of the eleventh century.

149. The Codex Harleianus 5538. is of the fourteenth century.

150. The Codex Harleianus 5598. is a splendid evangelisterium in uncial letters, written in 995. See it more fully described in pp. 237, 238. *supra*.

151. The Codex Harleianus 5785. is beautifully written in cursive letters, of the tenth century. It has pictures and ornaments prefixed to the different sections; and the initial letter of each section is gilt.

152. The Codex Harleianus 5787., of the eleventh century, is in uncial letters, not unlike those in No. 150. It is defective in the beginning and in various other parts.

153. The Codex Meermannianus 117. is of the eleventh century.

154. The Codex Monacensis 326. (formerly Mannhemensis 20.), written in small and neat characters in the thirteenth century, contains that part of a synaxarion which exhibits the sections which are to be read during Lent and at Easter, and part of a menologium from September to December. Dr. Scholz is of opinion that this manuscript was written for the use of the Constantinopolitan church

[1] Both these evangelisteria, which are among the most precious in the library of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, were specially described by the canon Angelo Bandini, in a volume intituled "Illustrazione di due Evangelisteri Greci del Secolo XI." Venezia, 1787, 4to

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155. The CODEX CÆSAREO-VINDOBONENSIS, Nessel. Theol. 209. Lambecii 41., is a codex rescriptus of the tenth century for the more ancient writing. The later writing, which is of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, is a commentary on the Gospel of Saint Matthew.

156. The CODEX ROMANO-VALLICELLIANUS D. 4. I. is an evangelisterium, which is fully described by Blanchini in his Evangeliarium Quadruplex, part i. pp. 537, *et seq.* Dr. Scholz does not know where it is now preserved.

157. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ BODLEIANÆ Clarkii 8. is imperfect at the beginning and end.

158. Is a manuscript belonging to the library of the great monastery of the Greeks at Jerusalem. It was written in the fourteenth century.

159. Is a manuscript belonging to the Library of the Virgin, *της μεγαλης παναγιας*, erected by Saint Melana. It was written in the thirteenth century, and not in the eighth, as the recluses imagine.

160. Is a manuscript in the LIBRARY OF THE MONASTERY OF SAINT SABA, numbered 4., and written in the same monastery in the fourteenth century. It contains lessons from the whole of the New Testament.

161. and 162. Are manuscripts in the same library, numbered 5. and 6., both of the fourteenth century. No. 161. contains lessons from the New Testament and sections of the Gospels; No. 162. is an evangelisterium.

163. Is a manuscript in the same library, numbered 13., of the thirteenth century. This and the eight following manuscripts were written for the use of some monastery in Palestine.

164. Is a manuscript in the same library, numbered 14., written in the fourteenth century.

165. Is a manuscript in the same library, numbered 17., written in the fifteenth century.

166. Is a manuscript in the same library, numbered 21., of the thirteenth century.

167. Is a manuscript in the same library, numbered 22., of the fourteenth century.

168, 169, and 170. Are manuscripts in the same library, numbered 23—25., and all of the thirteenth century.

171. Is a manuscript in the same library, written in 1059.

172. Is a manuscript in the library of a monastery in the isle of Patmos, written in uncial letters, and (according to Scholz) in the fourth century.

173. Is a manuscript in the same library, of the ninth century, and in uncial letters.

174. and 175. Are manuscripts in the same library, of the tenth century, both of which are written in uncial letters.

176. Is a manuscript in the same library, of the twelfth century.

177. Is a manuscript in the same library, of the thirteenth century.

178. Is a manuscript in the same library, of the fourteenth century.

179. (Lectionary 55.) The CODEX S. SIMEONIS in the Library of the Cathedral of Triers, in Germany, is written on vellum in uncial letters, and (Dr. Scholz thinks) in the tenth century. In the beginning it has some sections of the gospels, and at the end there are some lessons taken from the epistles of Peter and the first epistle of John; but in the middle it contains lessons from the Old Testament. This manuscript has many readings in common with the Alexandrine recension; but for the most part it agrees with the Constantinopolitan text. This manuscript derives its name from a St. Simeon, by whom it is said to have been written, and who (it is further reported) brought it to Triers, in the eleventh century. Scholz collated this manuscript in select passages, and the whole of it was published by B. Mar. Steininger, in a quarto volume, intituled: *Codex Sancti Simeonis, exhibens Lectionarium Ecclesiæ Græcæ DCCC annorum vetustate insigne. Augustæ Trevirorum*, 1834.

180. The CODEX CÆSAREO-VINDOBONENSIS THEOLOGICUS GRÆCUS, No. CCIX., is a Codex Rescriptus, on vellum, and contains a Greek Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew. The ancient writing contains sections from the Gospels, written (Dr. Scholz conjectures) in the ninth century. The initial letters of the sections from the gospels, as well as the indexes of the lessons from the Acts and Epistles are written with red ink. This manuscript for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated by Scholz in some select passages; but Dr. Stephen Francis Ladislaus Endlicher communicated to him a copious collection of various readings from it, which (when he understood its value) he has printed in the second volume of his critical edition of the New Testament, pp. lv—lxiii.

181. The CODEX WAKIANUS 1., in the Library of Christ's College, Oxford, is described in page 274*. No. 26., *infrà*, among the manuscripts collated for the Apocalypse.

§ 5. MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES AND THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES; WHICH, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT NOTED BY THE LETTER H., AND OF THOSE NUMBERED 56., AND 58., HAVE BEEN COLLATED AND CITED BY EDITORS OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT WHO PRECEDED DR. SCHOLZ, BY WHOM THEIR NOTATION HAS BEEN RETAINED.

i. *Manuscripts written in Uncial or Capital Letters.*

I.—*A.* of Scholz, and A* of Griesbach:—the CODEX ALEXANDRINUS in the British Museum. (It is noted A. in the Catalogue of Manuscripts containing the Gospels, which are described in the preceding pages, and also A. among those containing the epistles of Saint Paul, of which a catalogue is given in pp. 268* *et seq. infrà.*) This manuscript is the standard of the Alexandrine Text. See an account of it in pp. 222—224. *suprà.*

II.—*B.* The CODEX VATICANUS 1209. (Gospels, B. Pauline Epistles, B.) It agrees with the manuscripts of the Alexandrine recension, and is described in pp. 224—226.

III.—*C.* of Scholz, and *C. of Griesbach:—The CODEX EPHREMI, or CODEX REGIUS PARISIENSIS 1905. [at present 9.] (Gospels, C. Pauline Epistles, C.) It is described in pp. 229, 230. *suprà*, and agrees with the Alexandrine recension. This manuscript is mutilated in Acts iv. 3.—v. 34.; x. 43.—xiii. 1.; xvi. 36.—xx. 10.; xxi. 31.—xxii. 20.; xxiii. 18.—xxiv. 14.; xxvi. 20.—xxvii. 16.; xxviii. 5. to the end of the Acts; James iv. 3. to the end; 1 Peter iv. 5. to the end; 1 John iv. 3. to the end.

IV.—*D.* of Scholz, and *D. of Griesbach:—the CODEX BEZÆ OF CANTABRIGIENSIS. (Gospels, D.) Of the Catholic Epistles, which this Greek and Latin manuscript formerly contained, only 3 John 11—15. remains in Latin. It is imperfect in Acts viii. 29.—x. 14.; xxi. 2—10; xxii. 10—20 and from 29. to the end. It agrees with the Alexandrine recension, but has also many readings peculiar to itself. See it described in pp. 230, 231. *suprà.*

V.—*E.* of Scholz, and *E. of Griesbach. The CODEX LAUDIANUS 3. which is described in pp. 232, 233. It follows the Alexandrine recension.

VI.—*F.* The CODEX COISLINIANUS 1., in the Royal Library at Paris, contains the Octateuch according to the Septuagint version; but has Acts ix. 24, 25. written in the margin, and in the same handwriting as the rest of the Manuscript. Michaelis refers it to the eighth, and Wetstein to the seventh, century. But Montfaucon, who has minutely described it in his Catalogus Bibliothecæ Coislinianæ (pp. 1—32.), says that it was written in the sixth, or at the latest, in the seventh century.

VII.—*G.* (Paul. Ep. I.) The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ ANGELICÆ, A. 2. 15. at Rome, formerly belonged to Cardinal Passionei. It is written on vellum in quarto, according to Montfaucon in the ninth century, but Blanchini assigns it to the eighth or even to the seventh century. Scholz however refers it to the ninth *or* tenth century. This manuscript contains the Acts of the Apostles beginning with chap. vii. 10., the Catholic Epistles, and those of Saint Paul, as far as Heb. xiii. 10. Blanchini gave several readings from it which Wetstein printed in his edition of the Greek Testament: but Dr. Scholz collated it throughout. It chiefly follows the Constantinopolitan recension, but has many readings which agree with the Alexandrine family.

VIII.—*H.* (Paul. Ep. 179.) The CODEX MUTINENSIS BIBLIOTHECÆ 196., (Ms. II. g. 3.) at Modena, is a folio manuscript on vellum, of the highest character; containing the Acts of the Apostles written in Uncial Letters in the ninth century, but mutilated from chap. i. 1. to v. 9. (which chasm has been supplied in cursive or ordinary

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Greek characters in the eleventh century), and also the epistles of Saint Paul written in cursive Greek characters with a commentary, in the twelfth century. The text of this manuscript agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension: it was collated throughout, for the first time, by Dr. Scholz.

ii. *Manuscripts written in cursive or ordinary Greek Characters.*

1. (Gosp. 1. Paul. Ep. 1.) The Codex Basileensis B. VI. 27. (described in p. 238.) of the tenth century: its text for the most part agrees with the Alexandrine recension.[1]

2. (Paul. Ep. 1.) The Codex Basileensis B. IX. (B. 2. of Dr. Mill's Notation, and the Codex Amerbachii of Wetstein) formerly belonged to the celebrated printer Amerbach, of Basle. It was used by Erasmus for his edition. No date is given to this manuscript by Scholz, but Wetstein says that it is more ancient than the Codex Basileensis B. VI. 25. (see p. 238. No. 2.), which is of the fifteenth century. Its text seldom varies from that of the Constantinopolitan recension.

3. (Gosp. 3. Paul. Ep. 3.) The Codex Forlosianus 15. in the Imperial Library at Vienna, formerly the Codex Conservanceensis: it is described in page 238. No. 3., and follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

4. (Paul. Ep. 4.) The Codex Basileensis B. X. 20. (P 3. of Dr. Mill's Notation) is an elegantly written manuscript on vellum, of the fifteenth century, containing the Acts of the Apostles and all the Epistles, not in the same order as in the Greek manuscripts, but according to the Latin arrangement, St. Paul's epistles being preceded by the Acts and followed by the Catholic Epistles. Wetstein classes it among the Latinising Manuscripts: it chiefly agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

5. (Gosp. 5. Paul. Ep. 5.) The Codex Regius 106., described in p. 238. No. 5., for the most part agrees with B. or the Codex Vaticanus, that is with the Alexandrine recension.

6. (Gosp. 6. Paul. Ep. 6.) The Codex Regius 112., described in p. 238. No. 6. follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

7. (Paul. Ep. 9.) The Codex Regius 102., formerly 2970. (Stephani ι) is written on vellum, and, in the opinions of Griesbach and Scholz, in the tenth century: it contains the Constantinopolitan text.

8. (Paul. Ep. 10.) The Codex Stephani κα, according to Michaelis, undoubtedly contained the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, being quoted in these books nearly four hundred times by Stephens, as we are assured by Dr. Mill. It is not known what has become of this manuscript.

9. (Paul. Ep. 11.) The Codex Stephani γ'. Bishop Marsh has discovered this manuscript in the University Library at Cambridge, where it is marked Kk. 6. 4. It is written on vellum in the eleventh century, contains the Acts and the Epistles, and follows the Constantinopolitan recension. Bishop Marsh has proved that this is the identical manuscript which once belonged to Vatablus, the learned and intimate friend of Robert Stephens, who collated it for his celebrated critical edition of the New Testament printed at Paris in the year 1546.

10. (Paul. Ep. 12. Apoc. 2.) The Codex Regius 237., formerly 2869., (Stephani κ), is neatly and correctly written on vellum in quarto, in the tenth century, and contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, with prologues, scholia, and the treatise of Dorotheus Bishop of Tyre concerning the twelve apostles and seventy-two disciples. The text for the most part follows the Constantinopolitan recension. This manuscript was discovered by father Le Long. Some various readings were taken from it by Robert Stephens: it was collated anew by Wetstein and by Scholz.

11. (Paul. Ep. 140.) The Codex Regius 103., formerly 2872., is written on vellum in 8vo., of the tenth century; and contains the Acts and Epistles with scholia and prologues: it is imperfect in Acts ii. from v. 20. to v. 31., and has the Constantinopolitan text.

[1] So Dr. Scholz states in his catalogue of MSS. collated for the Acts and Catholic Epistles (Nov. Test. Vol. II. Prol. p. iv.). But in his catalogue of MSS. containing the Gospels (Vol. I. p. xliv.) he states that in these Books it agrees with the Constantinopolitan Recension.

12. (Paul. Ep. 16. Apoc. 4.) The Codex Regius 219., formerly 1886., is referred to the tenth century by Montfaucon, and to the eleventh by Scholz. It is written on vellum, and contains the Acts and Epistles with the commentary of Oecumenius, and the Apocalypse with that of Arethas. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated by Griesbach and by Scholz.

13. (Gosp. 33. Paul. Ep. 17.) The Codex Regius 14., described in page 240. No. 33., follows the Alexandrine recension. It was collated for the Acts by Scholz.

14. (Gosp. 35. Paul. Ep. 18. Apoc. 17.) The Codex Coislinianus 199., described in page 240. No. 35., has the Constantinopolitan text.

15. The Codex Coislinianus 25. contains the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic Epistles: it was written on vellum in the eleventh century, and was collated by Wetstein.

16. (Paul. Ep. 19.) The Codex Coislinianus 26. formerly belonged to the monastery of St. Athanasius on Mount Athos: it contains the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles, with commentaries, written in the eleventh century, on vellum; and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

17. (Paul. Ep. 21. Apoc. 19.) The Codex Coislinianus 205. contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, with the following chasms according to Michaelis: 1 Cor. xvi. 17.—2 Cor. i. 7.; Heb. xiii. 15. to the end of the epistle; and Rev. i.—ii. 5., though the last chasm has been filled up by a modern hand. It was written in the eleventh century, and follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

18. (Paul. Ep. 22. Apoc. 18.) The Codex Coislinianus 202.[2] contains the Acts, Catholic Epistles with scholia, and the Apocalypse with the commentary of Andreas, and the Pauline Epistles with prologues. The first twenty-six folios are written on vellum, of the eleventh century, the remainder on cotton paper of the thirteenth century. Its text is that of the Constantinopolitan recension: it was collated by Wetstein.

19. (Gosp. 38. Apoc. 23.) The Codex Coislinianus 200., described in page 240. No. 38., follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

20. (Paul. Ep. 25.) The Codex Westmonasteriensis 935. is a manuscript of the Acts and Epistles preserved among the Royal Manuscripts in the British Museum, in which collection it is noted I. B. I. It is of the fourteenth century, and has the Constantinopolitan text. It was collated by Wetstein.

21. (Paul. Ep. 26.) Codex Cantabrigiensis Dd. XI. 90., formerly 495., contains the Acts and Epistles of St. Paul, written on vellum in the twelfth century. The first eleven chapters of the Acts are wanting; likewise xiv. 13.—xv. 10.; Rom. xi. 22—33.; the first three chapters of 1 Cor.; 1 Tim. i. and iii.; Titus i. 1—8. and ii. 1. to the end; with the epistles to Philemon and the Hebrews. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

22. (Gosp. 109. Paul. Ep. 75.) The Codex 5115. in the British Museum, described in page 245. No. 109., contains the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic Epistles, written on vellum, according to Scholz of the ninth century: but it should seem that this is a mistake, and that the date of 1326, which he assigned to it in the prolegomena to the first volume of his edition of the New Testament, is the true date.[2] It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

23. (Paul. Ep. 28. Apoc. 6.) The Codex Baroccianus 3. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, written on vellum, of the twelfth or thirteenth century, contains the Acts of the Apostles from ch. xi. 13., the Catholic Epistles except 1 Pet. iii. 7—23., and those of St. Paul, with the Apocalypse, the three last chapters of which are wanting. It has scholia on the epistles and the Commentary of Arethas on the Apocalypse. It has the Constantinopolitan text.

24. (Paul. Ep. 29.) The Codex Collegii Christi Cantabrigiensis 2. (Cant. 2. of Dr. Mill's Notation) is a manuscript written on vellum in the eleventh or twelfth century, in quarto, not in octavo as Scholz after Michaelis has erroneously stated. It contains the Acts, Epistles of

[2] See Bp. Marsh's Translation of Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. p. 200

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Saint Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Catholic Epistles; with the following chasms, viz. Acts i. 1—10.; xviii. 20.—xx. 14.; James v. 14. to the end of the epistle; 1 Pet. i. 1.—iii. and 2 Pet. i. 1—2. iii. Its text is that of the Constantinopolitan recension.

25. (Paul. Ep. 31. Apoc. 7.) The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5537., formerly Covellianus 2., is a manuscript of the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, written in the year 1087. It is imperfect from 1 John v. 14. to 2 John 6. This manuscript, which was collated and described by Griesbach, for the most part agrees with the Alexandrine recension.

26. (Paul. Ep. 32.) The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5557., formerly Covellianus 3., contains the Acts of the Apostles beginning with chap. i. 11., and all the Epistles. It was written in the twelfth century, and was collated by Dr. Mill: it agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

27. (Paul. Ep. 33.) The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5620., formerly Covellianus 4., contains the Acts and Epistles written on paper in a very small hand, in the fifteenth century. Griesbach says that it frequently agrees with the Codex Laudianus 2. (described in page 240. No. 51.), and with the Complutensian edition of the New Testament. Its text follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

28. (Paul. Ep. 34. Apoc. 8.) The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5778., formerly called Covellianus Sinaiticus, because Dr. Covell brought it from Mount Sinai, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, written in the twelfth century. It has been mutilated and rendered illegible in very many passages by the dampness of the place where it was formerly kept. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

29. (Paul. Ep. 35.) The CODEX GENEVENSIS 20., on vellum of the eleventh or twelfth century, was cursorily collated by Scholz. It contains the Acts and Epistles, and follows the Constantinopolitan recension, though it has some Alexandrine readings.

30. (Paul. Ep. 36. Apoc. 9.) The CODEX BODLEIANUS 131., formerly Huntingtonianus 1., was brought from the east by Dr. Robert Huntington. It contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, and was written in the thirteenth century, according to Griesbach and Scholz; but Dr. Mill considered it to be seven hundred years old, or about the tenth century. This manuscript is defective as far as Acts xv. 19.: it follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

31. (Gosp. 69. Paul. Ep. 37. Apoc. 14.) The CODEX LEICESTRENSIS, described in page 242. No. 69., is of the fourteenth century: it has the Alexandrine text.

32. (Gosp. 51. Paul. Ep. 38.) The CODEX BODLEIANUS, LAUDIANUS C. 715., described in page 240. No. 51., is of the thirteenth, and appears to have the Constantinopolitan text.

33. (Paul. Ep. 39.) The CODEX LINCOLNIENSIS is a manuscript of the eleventh century on vellum, belonging to Lincoln College, Oxford: it contains the Acts and Epistles, and is imperfect in 2 Pet. i. 1—15.

34. (Gosp. 61. Paul. Ep. 40.) The CODEX MONTFORTIANUS, in Trinity College, Dublin, described in pp. 241, 242. No. 61. is of the fifteenth century, and appears to follow the Constantinopolitan text.

35. (Gosp. 57. Paul. Ep. 41.) The CODEX MAGDALENSIS 1., described in page 241. No. 57., is of the eleventh century.

36. The CODEX NOVI COLLEGII, Oxon. N. 2. as noted in the London Polyglott and in Dr. Mill's Index, but N. 1. in his various readings, is a manuscript of the thirteenth century, containing the Acts and the Catholic Epistles, with a Catena: it agrees with the Alexandrine text.

37. (Paul. Ep. 43.) The CODEX NOVI COLLEGII, Oxon., No. 1. in the London Polyglott and Nov. 2. or N. 2. in Mill, is also of the thirteenth century, and contains the Acts and Epistles with a Commentary. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

38. (Paul. Ep. 44.) The CODEX LUGDUNO-BATAVUS 77. in the University Library at Leyden, is cited by Mill as PETAVIANUS 1. from the name of its former possessor Paul Petau, a senator of the Parliament of Paris: it is written on vellum, of the thirteenth century, and contains the Acts and Epistles entire. Various readings from this manuscript were printed by Dr. Mill: it was collated anew by Wetstein, and more recently and accurately by Dr. Dermout, who has printed its principal various readings in his *Collectanea Critica in Novum Testamentum*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1825. 8vo.

39. (Paul. Ep. 45. Apoc. 11.) The CODEX PETAVIANUS 2. contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelations, but it wants 1 Cor. iii. 16.—x. 13., the entire epistle of James except the last four verses, 3 John 9. to the end, and the epistle of Jude. No date has been assigned to this manuscript, which for the most part follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

40. (Paul. Ep. 46. Apoc. 46.) The CODEX ALEXANDRINO-VATICANUS 179., formerly noted PETAVIANUS 3., is of the eleventh century, and contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation. On the death of Petau it was purchased by Christina Queen of Sweden, after whose decease it passed, with the rest of her books, into the Vatican Library. The end of the epistle to Titus, Philemon, and the Revelation, have been added by a later hand. This manuscript frequently agrees with the Constantinopolitan text, but it has very many Alexandrine readings.

41. (Gosp. 175. Paul. Ep. 194. Apoc. 20.) The CODEX VATICANUS 2080., described in page 247. No. 175., agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, but it also has many Alexandrine readings.

42. (Paul. Ep. 48. Apoc. 13.) The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ GYMNASII FRANCOFURTENSIS AD VIADRUM (Frankfort on the Oder), formerly SEIDELIANUS (it having been brought from the east by Andrew Erasmus Seidel), is of the eleventh century, and contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation: it is imperfect from Acts ii. 3—34.; 2 Pet. i. 1.—ii.; 1 John v. 11. to the end; and Apoc. xviii. 3—13. The leaf containing Acts xxvii. 19—34. was written by a later hand. For the most part this manuscript agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, though it has some peculiar readings. It has been twice collated, first inaccurately by Nicholas Westermann, who communicated his extracts to Wetstein, and again minutely by Henry Middledorpff, who printed the various readings which he discovered in E. F. C. Rosenmüller's Commentationes Theologicæ, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 167, *et seq.* These readings are inserted by Scholz in his critical edition of the Greek Testament.

43. (Gosp. 76. Paul. Ep. 49.) The CODEX CÆSAREUS VINDOBONENSIS, of the eleventh century. See it noticed in p. 242. No. 76.

44. (Gosp. 82. Paul. Ep. 51. Apoc. 5.) The manuscripts cited by LAURENTIUS VALLA. See a notice of them in p. 243. No. 82.

45. (Paul. Ep. 52. Apoc. 16.) The CODEX UFFENBACHIANUS 2. (of Bengel, 1. of Wetstein), written on paper in the fifteenth century, contains the Catholic Epistles, the Revelation of St. John, and the Acts of the Apostles: it was collated by Bengel and by Wetstein, and the former has observed that it harmonizes with the Cod. Covell. 2. (No. 25. *supra*); consequently it agrees with the text of the Alexandrine recension.

46. (Paul. Ep. 55.) The CODEX MONACENSIS 375., formerly AUGUSTANUS 6., was written on vellum in the eleventh century. It contains the Acts and Epistles with a commentary, and for the most part agrees with the received text, though it has some peculiar readings, a few of which harmonize with the Alexandrine recension. This manuscript was collated by Scholz for Acts iii.—xx. and 1 Cor. i. 1—3.

47. (Gosp. 90. Paul. Ep. 14.) The CODEX WOLFII, formerly JOANNIS FABRI Daventriensis. See p. 243. No. 90.

48. (Gosp. 105. Paul. Ep. 24.) The CODEX EBNERIANUS, now in the Bodleian Library. See a description of it in pp. 244. with a fac-simile. Scholz collated it for the Epistles only on 1 John v. 7.

49. (Gosp. 92.) The CODEX ANDREÆ FARSCHII 1. contains a commentary on the Catholic Epistles. See p. 243. No. 92.

50. (Paul. Ep. 8.) CODEX STEPHANI ζ, is now unknown: it is cited five times only in the Acts and Catholic Epistles: what is cited in the Gospels as Stephani ζ, formerly Regius 2242., and afterwards 49., contains only the four Gospels.

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51. (Paul. Ep. 133. Ap. 52.) The Codex Regius 56., formerly 2248., is a manuscript of the twelfth century, on vellum, containing the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse: it wants a few verses towards the end, and follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

52. (Paul. Ep. 50.) The Codex Rhodiensis, derives its name from the island of Rhodes, whence it was brought. It is said to have been principally used in the edition of the Complutensian Polyglott, and is often quoted by Stunica as a very ancient manuscript, but by Erasmus it was supposed to Latinise. It is not known where this manuscript now is, nor can any conjecture be offered as to its age.

53. (Paul. Ep. 36.) The Codex Cantabrigiensis 3., (in the London Polyglott Codex Em.) is a manuscript of the twelfth century, belonging to Emanuel College, Cambridge. Besides the epistles of St. Paul it has fragments of the Catholic Epistles, viz. 2 Pet. ii. 4.—iii. 18. and 1 John i. 1.—iii. 20. It has likewise the two following chasms, viz. 1 Cor. xi. 7.—xv. 56. and from Heb. xi. 27. to the end of the epistle.

54. (Gosp. 43. Paul. Ep. 129.) The Codex Græcus 4., in the Library of the Arsenal at Paris (see page 240. No. 43.), of the eleventh or twelfth century, follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages by Scholz.

55. Another copy of the Epistle of Jude contained in Cod. 47.

56. (Paul. Ep. 227.) The Codex Clarkii 4., in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, contains the Acts and Epistles, with prologues, and appears to follow the Constantinopolitan text. Scholz collated it in some select passages, and has put this Manuscript in the place of four Medicean MSS. the readings of which (written in the margin of Raphelenq's edition of 1591, by some unknown Dutchman) Wetstein had noted with this number. In the judgment of Professor Birch, of Copenhagen, these four Medicean Manuscripts appear to be those numbered 84. 87. 88. and 89. p. 264*. *infrâ*.

57. (Gosp. 234. Paul. Ep. 72.) The Codex Havniensis 1. (described in page 249. No. 234.) was written in 1278.

58. (Paul. Ep. 224.) Codex Clarkii 9., in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Catholic Epistles, and mostly agrees with the textus receptus. It was collated by Scholz in Acts v., viii. Wetstein has erroneously numbered 58. the manuscript already described at No. 22. page 261*.

59. (Paul. Ep. 62.) The Codex Harleianus 5588., in the British Museum, of the thirteenth century, contains the Acts and Epistles. Its text is of a mixed character: it was collated by Griesbach, in Acts xi. xii. and xiii. and in the first epistle of Peter.

60. (Paul. Ep. 63. Apoc. 29.) The Codex Harleianus 5613., was written A. D. 1407 on paper: it contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. Griesbach collated Acts i.—viii., the epistle to the Romans, the first to the Corinthians, and the third chapter of the second, and the epistle to the Ephesians. According to Scholz, this manuscript agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

61. (Paul. Ep. 61.) An unknown manuscript, the readings of which marked *Hal.* are written in the margin of a copy of Dr. Mill's Critical Edition of the New Testament, preserved in the Bodleian Library. Griesbach transcribed them, and inserted them in his Symbolæ Criticæ, vol. i. pp. 247—304.

62. (Paul. Ep. 65.) The Codex Regius 60. (formerly 1886., Colbertinus 871.,) was written in the fourteenth century according to Scholz, or according to Griesbach in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. He collated it in 1 John v., and some select passages of the same epistle: and it was cursorily exam ned by Scholz.

63. (Paul. Ep. 68.) The Codex Cæsareus Lambecii 35., in the Imperial Library at Vienna, contains the Acts and Epistles, written in the twelfth century according to Treschow, in the thirteenth according to Griesbach, and in the fourteenth according to Scholz. Alter has given extracts from it in his edition of the Greek Testament, vol. ii. pp. 741—788. Michaelis states that its readings are not important, and that he has found many of them in the Complutensian Polyglott.

64. (Paul. Ep. 69.) The Codex Cæsareus Vindobonensis, Nesselii Theol. 303. Lambecii 36. was written in the twelfth century according to Scholz, or according to Griesbach in the twelfth or thirteenth century. It was brought by Busbeck from Constantinople, and contains the Acts and Epistles with a synaxarium and prologues. Its readings were published by Treschow, Birch, and Alter.

65. (Gosp. 218. Paul. Ep. 57. Apoc. 33.) The Codex Cæsareo-Vindobonensis 23. (Lambecii 1.) See it described in pp. 248, 249. No. 218.

66. (Paul. Ep. 67. Apoc. 64.) The Codex Cæsareo-Vindobonensis, 302. (Lambecii 34.) is a manuscript of the eleventh or twelfth century, containing the Acts, Epistles, and the Apocalypse. Three distinct emendators of this manuscript may be traced. It was described by A. C. Hwiid, who gave minute extracts from it in the Acts of the Apostles in his "Libellus Criticus de indole Codicis Lambecii XXXIV. Havniæ, 1785. 8vo." Extracts from this manuscript are given in Alter's Greek Testament, vol. ii. pp. 415—558. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

67. (Paul. Ep. 70.) The Codex Cæsareo-Vindobonensis theologicus 221. (Lambecii 37.), written in 1331, and brought from Constantinople by Busbeck, contains the Acts and Epistles. Complete extracts from it are printed by Alter, vol. ii. pp. 689—740.

68. (Paul. Ep. 73.) The Codex Upsaliensis, Sparwenfeldianus 42., consists of two parts. The first contains the Acts, Epistle to the Romans, and 1 Cor. to xv. 38., written in the twelfth century. The second part, containing 1 Cor. xiii. 6. to the end, and the rest of St. Paul's Epistles, together with the Catholic Epistles, appears to have been written in the eleventh century. The portion comprised in 1 Cor. xiii. 6. to xv. 38. is twice transcribed, and from different copies which have discrepant readings.

69. (Paul. Ep. 74. Apoc. 30.) The Codex Guelpherbytanus XVI. 7. appears to have been written in the twelfth or thirteenth century by two different copyists. It contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, with marginal readings, and follows the Constantinopolitan recension, but it also has many readings peculiar to itself.

70. (Gosp. 131. Paul. Ep. 77. Apoc. 66.) The Codex Vaticanus 360., of the eleventh century, is described in page 246. No. 131.: it appears to have the Constantinopolitan text, and was collated by Birch and by Scholz in select passages.

71. (Gosp. 133. Paul. Ep. 78.) The Codex Vaticanus 363., of the eleventh century, also appears to have the Constantinopolitan text: it was collated in select passages by Birch and by Scholz.

72. (Paul. Ep. 79. Apoc. 37.) The Codex Vaticanus 366., of the twelfth century, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. It appears to have the Constantinopolitan text, and was collated by Birch and Scholz.

73. (Paul. Ep. 80.) The Codex Vaticanus 367., of the eleventh century, follows the Alexandrine recension. It was collated by Birch, and in select passages by Scholz.

74. The Codex Vaticanus 760., of the twelfth century, contains the Acts with a catena: this and the three following manuscripts were collated in select passages by Scholz.

75. (Gosp. 141. Paul. Ep. 86. Apoc. 40.) The Codex Vaticanus 1160., of the thirteenth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

76. (Gosp. 142. Paul. Ep. 87.) The Codex Vaticanus 1210., of the eleventh century, is briefly described in page 247. No. 142.

77. (Gosp. 149. Paul. Ep. 88. Apoc. 25.) The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus 171. is a manuscript of the fourteenth century.

78. (Paul. Ep. 89.) The Codex Alexandrino-Vaticanus 29., of the twelfth century, contains the Acts and Catholic Epistles, Rom. i. 2. Cor. Gal. and Eph. i. 1—9. It is imperfect from 2 Cor. xi. 15. to xii. 1. Scholz states that it is a manuscript of good character, agreeing with the Constantinopolitan recension. This and the two following manuscripts were collated in select passages by Birch and by Scholz.

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79. (Paul. Ep. 90.) The CODEX URBINO-VATICANUS 3., of the eleventh century, contains the Acts and Epistles.

80. (Paul. 91. Ap. 42.) The CODEX PIO-VATICANUS 50., of the twelfth century, contains the Acts and Epistles. It frequently agrees with the Alexandrine recension.

81. The CODEX BARBERINUS 377., of the eleventh century, contains the Acts and the Catholic Epistles, and follows the Alexandrine recension. It was collated in select passages by Birch.

82. (Gosp. 180. Paul. Ep. 92. Apoc. 44.) The manuscript in the Library of the College of the PROPAGANDA, No. 250., (formerly Borgiæ 4.), written towards the close of the thirteenth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan text: it was collated in select passages by Scholz.

83. (Paul. Ep. 93.) The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ BORBONICÆ REGIÆ NEAPOLITANÆ I. B. 12. (formerly 223.), of the tenth century, mostly agrees with the Alexandrine recension; but it has many readings in common with the Constantinopolitan text. It was collated in select passages by Birch and Scholz.

84. (Paul. Ep. 94.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS IV. 1., of the tenth century, contains the Acts and Epistles, with the commentary of Chrysostom on the Acts, and of Nicetas on the Epistles. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension: this and the eight following manuscripts were collated in select passages by Birch and by Scholz.

85. (Paul. Ep. 95.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS IV. 5., of the thirteenth century, contains the Acts and Epistles, with the commentary of Theophylact.

86. (Paul. Ep. 96.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS IV. 20., of the eleventh century, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse: it appears to agree with the Constantinopolitan recension.

87. (Paul. Ep. 97.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS IV. 29., of the tenth century, contains the Acts and Epistles, with scholia, prologues, and an interlineary Latin version of the Epistles, evidently written by a later hand, and for the use of learners. The text agrees with that of the Constantinopolitan recension.

88. (Paul. Ep. 98.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS IV. 31., of the eleventh century, contains the Acts and Epistles, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

89. (Paul. Ep. 99. Apoc. 45.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS IV. 32., written A. D. 1093, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, with a prologue and the treatise of Dorotheus on the seventy disciples and on the twelve apostles: it agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

90. (Gosp. 197.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VIII. 14., described in page 248. No. 197., agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

91. (Gosp. 201. Paul. Ep. 104.) The CODEX 701. formerly belonging to the friars-preachers of Saint Mark at Florence, described in page 248. No. 201., agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

92. (Gosp. 204. Paul. Ep. 105.) The CODEX BONONIENSIS 640., noticed in p. 248. No. 204., coincides with the Constantinopolitan text.

93. (Gosp. 205. Paul. Ep. 106. Apoc. 88.) The CODEX VENETUS 5., noticed in page 248. No. 205., was written in the fifteenth century; it is a transcript of No. 95. in the Gospels; but in the Acts both manuscripts differ. This MS. was collated by Rink, who has given the results of his examination in his *Lucubratio Critica in Acta Apostolorum, Epistolas Catholicas et Paulinas.* (Basileæ, 1830. 8vo.) It mostly agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

94. (Gosp. 206. Paul. Ep. 207.) The CODEX VENETUS 6., noticed in p. 248. No. 206., is also a transcript of No. 95., and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated by Rink.

95. (Gosp. 209. Paul. Ep. 108. Apoc. 46.) The CODEX VENETIANUS 10., of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, is described in p. 248. No. 209. It agrees chiefly with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was also collated by Rink.

96. (Paul. Ep. 109.) The CODEX VENETIANUS 11., which formerly belonged to the monastery of St. Michael de Troyna (in Sicily) is written on vellum in the eleventh century. It contains the Acts and Epistles, with a Latin and Arabic version, and is imperfect in Acts i. 1—12. xxv. 21.—xxvi. 18. and in the Epistle to Philemon. This manuscript mostly agrees with the Alexandrine recension, but it has many peculiar readings in common with No. 142. p. 266*. *infrd.* It was collated anew by Rink.

97. (Paul. Ep. 241.) The CODEX GUDIANUS, gr. 104. 2., in the Wolfenbuttel Library, is a manuscript on vellum of the twelfth century, and contains the Acts and Epistles with marginal scholia extracted from Chrysostom and Oecumenius At the end there are some prayers and dialogues. It is imperfect from Acts xvi. 39. to xviii. 18. and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

98. (Paul. Ep. 113.) The CODEX MOSQUENSIS noted by Matthaei a. of the tenth or eleventh century, consists of three parts: 1. Ecclesiastical lessons from the Acts, with various readings in the margin, and scholia; 2. The text of all the Epistles, also with various readings in the margin, and scholia; and 3. Lessons from the Acts and Epistles for every day in the whole year. When this manuscript is quoted among the various readings, its three parts are distinguished by a^1. a^2. (or a. only), and a^3. This manuscript agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, as also do the following Nos. 99. to 106. All the Moscow manuscripts were collated by Matthaei.

99. (Paul. Ep. 114.) The CODEX S. SYNODI MOSQUENSIS 5. (in the library of the Holy Synod at Moscow), by Matthaei noted c., is a manuscript on paper, written (but not accurately) in the month of April A. D. 1445, by Theognostus, metropolitan of Perga and Attalia: it contains the Acts and Epistles with prologue and synaxarion, and various orations of the Greek Fathers.

100. (Paul. Ep. 115.) The CODEX S. SYNODI 334. (d. of Matthaei), of the eleventh century, on vellum, contains the Acts and Epistles, with a catena and scholia.

101. (Paul. Ep. 116.) The CODEX S. SYNODI 333. (f. of Matthaei), written on cotton paper in the thirteenth century, contains the Acts with scholia, and the Epistles with a prologue. Bishop Marsh, after Matthaei, states that it has many remarkable readings, but in the Epistles of Saint Paul, which were written by a different copyist, they are of less value.

102. (Paul. Ep. 117.) The CODEX S. SYNODI 98. (g. of Matthaei), which formerly belonged to the monastery of St. Dionysius on mount Athos, contains all the Epistles with a catena, written on vellum in the ninth century; the text, in uncial letters; and the catena, in small letters. It is imperfect from Rom. x. 18. to the end, and from 1 Cor. i. 1. to vi. 13., and in viii. 7—12.

103. (Paul. Ep. 118.) The CODEX S. SYNODI 193. (h. of Matthaei), on vellum, of the tenth century, contains fragments of the Acts and Epistles with scholia.

104. (Gosp. 241. Paul. Ep. 120. Apoc. 47.) The CODEX DRESDENSIS (k. of Matthaei), is described in page 249. No. 241.

105. (Gosp. 242. Paul. Ep. 121. Apoc. 48.) The CODEX S. SYNODI, (l. of Matthaei), is described in page 249. No. 242.[1]

106. (Paul. Ep. 122.) The CODEX S. SYNODI 328. (m. of Matthaei), contains the Acts and Epistles, written on vellum in the eleventh century, with a prologue, synaxarion, and the Psalms.

107. The CODEX DRESDENSIS 252. follows the Constantinopolitan recension. It is noted 19. by Matthaei by whom it was collated, and who has described the MSS. Nos. 98—107. in the prefaces to his Critical Edition of the New Testament.

108. (Gosp. 226. Paul. Ep. 228.) The CODEX ESCURIALENSIS χ. IV. 17. described in page 249. No. 226., and

109. (Gosp. 228. Paul. Ep. 229.) The CODEX ESCURIALENSIS χ. IV. 12. described in page 249. No. 228., both agree with the Constantinopolitan recension, and were collated by Moldenhaur.

[1] Scholz (Nov. Test. vol. i. Proleg. p. lxxvi.) states that this manuscript agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension: but in vol. ii. Proleg. p. xiii. he says that its text for the most part agrees with the Alexandrine recension. But this last statement must be a mistake, as he says in p. xxviii that it agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

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iii. *Manuscripts first collated by Dr. Scholz, for his Critical Edition of the New Testament.*

110. The Codex Cantabrigiensis 2622., contains the Old and New Testaments. [Though indicated by Scholz as a manuscript, this is a copy of the Greek Septuagint and New Testament, printed at Basil by John Hervag, in 1545, with a Latin Preface by Melancthon, and *manuscript notes in the margin.*]

111. (Gosp. 440. Paul. Ep. 221.) The Codex Cantabrigiensis, Mm. 6. 9. See it noticed in page 255. No. 440.

112. The Codex Cantabrigiensis 2068. contains the Acts and Epistles. [This manuscript, which is enumerated by Scholz as being for the first time collated by him, is also marked Kk. vi. 4.[2] in the University Library; and as it has the name of Vatablus written both at the beginning and end of the manuscript, it consequently is the same manuscript which has been noticed in page 261*. No. 9.]

113. (Gosp. 18. Paul. Ep. 132. Apoc. 51.) The Codex Regius 47. (described in page 239. No. 18.) closely follows the Alexandrine recension: Dr. Scholz collated it throughout for the Acts, and cursorily for the Epistles.

114. (Paul. Ep. 134.) The Codex Regius 57., formerly 1253., on vellum, was written in the thirteenth century: it contains the Acts and Epistles with prologues, synaxarion, the Book of Ecclesiastes, the apocryphal book of Wisdom, the Proverbs, and Song of Solomon, and fragments of prayers for the use of the Greek Church. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

115. (Paul. Ep. 135.) The Codex Regius 58., formerly 2293. (Colbertinus 5107.), written on vellum in the thirteenth century, contains the Acts and Epistles: it is imperfect from Acts i. 1. to xiv. 27. This manuscript does not appear to have been used in the service of the church, as no lessons are indicated: its text is of a mixed character. It was collated throughout by Scholz.

116. (Paul. Ep. 36. Apoc. 53.) The Codex Regius 59., formerly Tellerianus, was written on paper in the sixteenth century: it contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, with prologues, and with scholia on the Catholic Epistles. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

117. (Gosp. 263. Paul. Ep. 137.) The Codex Regius 61.: it is described in page 250. No. 263., and was collated by Scholz in the former part of the Acts and in select passages of the Catholic Epistles.

118. (Paul. Ep. 138. Apoc. 55.) The Codex Regius 101., formerly $\frac{2869}{3}$ (Colbertinus 4785.), written on cotton paper in the thirteenth century, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, with prologues and scholia, and an encomium on St. Paul, compiled from various passages of Chrysostom's writings. It is imperfect in Acts xix. 18. to xxii. 17. and follows the Constantinopolitan recension. Dr. Scholz collated it for 1 Tim. and 2 Thess., for the principal part of the Acts and Catholic Epistles, and in select passages of the remainder of the Epistles and the Apocalypse.

119. (Paul. Ep. 139. Apoc. 56.) The Codex Regius 102. A., written on vellum in the tenth century (but the Apocalypse in the thirteenth century), contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, with prologues and an index of ecclesiastical lessons. It is imperfect from 2 Cor. i. 8. to ii. 4. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

120. (Paul. Ep. 141.) The Codex Regius 103. A., written on vellum in the eleventh century, contains the Acts and Epistles with prologues. There are numerous chasms in this manuscript; part of which, containing Acts v. 38. to vi. 7. vii. 6. to 16. and 32. to x. 25. &c., is written on cotton paper in the thirteenth century. The text mostly agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension: the chief part of this manuscript was collated.

121. (Paul. Ep. 142.) The Codex Regius 104., formerly $\frac{2869}{33}$. (Colbertinus 6123.), written on cotton paper in the thirteenth century, contains the Acts and Epistles, with an index of lessons and synaxarion. It chiefly agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension: the chief part of it was collated.

122. The Codex Regius 105. formerly $\frac{2871}{22}$. (Colbertinus 5259.), is correctly written on vellum, in the eleventh century. It contains various fragments of the Acts and Epistles, most of which were collated, and it seldom differs from the Constantinopolitan recension.

123. (Paul. Ep. 144.) The Codex Regius 106. A., on cotton paper, and written in the fourteenth century, contains the Acts and Epistles, with prologues, scholia, and some hymns of the Greek Church. It is imperfect from 1 Pet. i. 9. to ii. 7., and follows the Constantinopolitan recension. The chief part of this manuscript was collated.

124. (Paul. Ep. 149. Apoc. 57.) The Codex Regius 124. (formerly Colbertinus), is elegantly written on vellum, in the sixteenth century, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse: it agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

125. (Paul. Ep. 150.) The Codex Regius 125. was brought directly from Constantinople to the Royal Library at Paris: it rarely deviates from the Constantinopolitan recension: it was written on vellum in the fourteenth century, and contains the Acts and Epistles. Dr. Scholz collated it cursorily.

126. (Paul. Ep. 153.) The Codex Regius 216., formerly 705. (and Medicæus 1885.), was elegantly written on vellum in the tenth century, and, Dr. Scholz thinks, at Constantinople. It contains the Acts and Epistles, with prologues and scholia extracted from the commentaries of Chrysostom, Ammonius, Apollinaris, Didymus, Isidore, Origen, and others. Some parts of these scholia are written in uncial letters; others, especially the scholia on the Epistle to the Hebrews, have been added in the sixteenth century. The text of this manuscript mostly agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension: the chief part of it was collated by Scholz.

127. (Paul. Ep. 154.) The Codex Regius 217. in vellum, of the eleventh century, contains the Acts with a catena thereon, and the Epistles, with Theophylact's commentary on those of St. Paul, and scholia on the Catholic Epistles. The greater part of this manuscript was collated by Dr. Scholz: its text mostly agrees with the Alexandrine recension.

128. (Paul. Ep. 155.) The Codex Regius 218. (formerly Colbertinus), written on vellum in the eleventh century, contains the Acts and Epistles with a catena, and follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

129. (Paul. Ep. 156.) The Codex Regius 220., formerly Colbertinus, written in the thirteenth century on vellum, contains the Acts and Epistles with a commentary; but the text is frequently omitted. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

130. The Codex Regius 221., which was brought from the East into the Royal Library at Paris, contains the Acts and Catholic Epistles with a catena, written on vellum in the twelfth century. It is imperfect in Acts xx. 38. to xxii. 3.; 2 Pet. i. 14. to the end; 1 John iv. 11. to the end; 2 John; 3 John; and Jude 1—8. The text mostly agrees with that of the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

131. (Paul. Ep. 158.) The Codex Regius 223., formerly 2246. and also 505. (formerly Codex Boistallerianus) is written on vellum in folio. The first part, containing the Epistles of St. Paul with a prologue and catena, was written A. D. 1045 by the Reader and Calligrapher Theopemptus; and the second part, containing the Acts and Catholic Epistles, was written in the thirteenth century. It mostly agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension: the chief part of it was collated.

132. (Gosp. 330. Paul. Ep. 131.) The Codex Coislinianus 195. See it described in page 252. No. 330.

133. (Paul. Ep. 166.) The Codex Taurinensis 285. c I. 40., written on paper in the thirteenth century, contains the Acts and Epistles, with figures and prologues. It mostly

[1] For the information respecting the Cambridge MSS. Nos. 110. and 112. the author is indebted to the researches of the Rev. William Mandell, M. A. Fellow of Queen's College in that University.

[2] The following is a transcript of the article in the catalogue of Manuscripts in the University Library at Cambridge:—

"Kk. VI. 4. 2068.

"Codex est Græcus in 4to. minore, manu vetusta, in membranis scriptus, fine mutilus, in quo continentur Actus Apostolorum et Epistolæ Catholicæ et Paulinæ."

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agrees with the received text, but it has many Alexandrine readings. It was accurately collated by Dr. Scholz.

134. (Paul. Ep. 167.) The CODEX TAURINENSIS 315. (now 19.) c. II. 17., written in the eleventh century on vellum, contains the Acts and Epistles with prologues. It is imperfect in Acts i. ii. The text follows the Constantinopolitan recension. Dr. Scholz collated this manuscript in Acts iii.—vii. Rom. x. and some other select passages.

135. (Gosp. 339. Paul. Ep. 170. Apoc. 83.) The CODEX TAURINENSIS 302. c. II. 5., described in page 252. No. 339., agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

136. (Paul. Ep. 169.) The CODEX TAURINENSIS 328. c. II., 31., written on vellum in the thirteenth century, contains the Acts and Epistles; and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It is imperfect in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

137. (Paul. Ep. 176.) The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 97., written on vellum in the eleventh century, was purchased on the Island of Corcyra: it contains the Acts and Epistles with prologues, and an index of ecclesiastical lessons. The text agrees generally with that of the Alexandrine recension, but frequently also with that of the Constantinopolitan recension. Dr. Scholz collated nearly the whole of this manuscript in the Acts and Catholic Epistles.

138. (Paul. Ep. 173.) The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 102., which formerly belonged to J. V. Penelli, is written on paper in the fourteenth century, and contains all the Epistles. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

139. (Paul. Ep. 174.) The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 104., written on paper A. D. 1434, contains the Acts and Epistles: it was cursorily collated, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

140. (Paul. Ep. 215. Apoc. 74.) The CODEX VENETUS 546. is written, partly on vellum in the eleventh century, and partly on paper: it contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, with a catena on the Epistles, and a commentary on the Apocalypse. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

141. (Gosp. 189. Paul. Ep. 239.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 27. of the twelfth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

142. (Paul. Ep. 178.) The CODEX MUTINENSIS 243. (Ms. III. B. 17.) on vellum of the twelfth century, contains the Acts and Epistles, and follows the Constantinopolitan recension. In the Acts it agrees with No. 96. (page 264*. *suprà*): Dr. Scholz collated it in select passages.

143. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 5., besides other portions of the New Testament, contains the Catholic Epistles. This and the six following manuscripts agree with the Constantinopolitan recension.

144. (Gosp. 363. Paul. Ep. 180.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 13. is described in page 253. No. 363.

145. (Gosp. 365. Paul. Ep. 181.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 36., both written in the thirteenth century, were collated in select passages.

146. (Gosp. 367. Paul. Ep. 182.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS 2708., written in the fourteenth century, was collated in select passages.

147. (Paul. Ep. 183.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS IV. 30., written in the twelfth century, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, with prologues: it was cursorily collated, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

148. (Paul. Ep. 184.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS 2574., written on vellum A. D. 974, Indiction XII. by one Theophylact, a presbyter and doctor of law, contains the Acts and Epistles with prologues: it agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

149. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS 176., written on vellum in the thirteenth century, contains the Catholic Epistles with the Latin version.

150. (Gosp. 368. Paul. Ep. 230. Apoc. 84.) The CODEX RICHARDIANUS 84., a very incorrectly written manuscript of the fifteenth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages. There are numerous corrections of the copyist's blunders.

151. (Gosp. 386. Paul. Ep. 199. Apoc. 71.) The CODEX VATICANO-OTTOBONIANUS 66. is described in pp. 253, 254. No. 386.

152. (Gosp. 442. Paul. Ep. 223.) The CODEX CANTABRIGIENSIS ✝ 2537, 2538. Dr. Scholz has not indicated its age, nor to what class of recensions it belongs.

153. (Gosp. 444. Paul. Ep. 240.) The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5796. is described in page 255. No. 444.

154. (Paul. Ep. 187.) The CODEX VATICANUS 1270., written on vellum in the fifteenth century, contains the Acts, the Catholic Epistles, Romans, and 1 Corinthians; and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated in select passages.

155. (Paul. Ep. 188.) The CODEX VATICANUS 1430., written in the twelfth century on vellum, contains all the Epistles, with a commentary written by a different hand. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

156. (Paul. Ep. 190.) The CODEX VATICANUS 1650. was written on vellum in the month of January, A. D. 1073, at the command of Nicholas archbishop of Calabria, by one Theodore, a clergyman. It contains the Acts and Epistles, with a commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul. This manuscript is imperfect in Acts i. 1. to v. 4.: it agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

157. (Paul. Ep. 191.) The CODEX VATICANUS 1714. on vellum, written in the twelfth century, contains fragments of the Acts and Epistles in the following order:—1 Cor. i. 1—28., heads and arguments; the Epistle of Jude; Rom. viii. 2—32.; James iii. 1. iv. 11.; Rom. vi. 22. *et seq.*; Acts xxv. 8. to xxvi. 23.; Rom. xiv. 20. to xv. 23.; James iv. 11. to the end; Rom. xiii. 4. to xiv. 20.; 1 Cor. i. 28. to iii. 12.; Acts xxiv. 11. to xxv. 7.: Rom. xi. 31. to xiii. 4.; Acts xviii. 14. to xix. 9.; 3 John. This manuscript for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension: it was collated in select passages.

158. The CODEX VATICANUS 1761., written on vellum in the eleventh century, contains the Acts and Epistles, with prologues. It was collated in select passages, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

159. The CODEX VATICANUS 1968. (Basil. 7.), written on vellum in the eleventh century, contains the Acts, Epistle of James, and the first Epistle of Peter, with scholia; the authors of which are named. It is imperfect in Acts i. 1. to v. 29., and vi. 14. to vii. 11. Its text partakes of both the Alexandrine and Constantinopolitan recensions. The whole of this manuscript was cursorily collated.

160. (Paul. Ep. 193. Apoc. 24.) The CODEX VATICANUS 2062. (Basil. 101.), written on vellum in the eleventh century, contains the Acts, Apocalypse, and Epistles, with scholia, the authors of which are named. It is imperfect from Acts i. 1. to xxviii. 19. and in Heb. ii. 1. to the end. The text seldom deviates from the received reading. Dr. Scholz collated it throughout.

161. (Paul. Ep. 198. Apoc. 69.) The CODEX VATICANO-OTTOBONIANUS 258., preserved in the Vatican Library, was written on paper in the thirteenth century. It contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, with the Latin Version; and is imperfect in Acts i. 1., ii. 27. and the last chapter of the Apocalypse. This manuscript was written by different hands, and the close of it is evidently of the fourteenth century. The text is mixed; that is, composed of both the Alexandrine and the Constantinopolitan recensions. The greater part of it was collated by Dr. Scholz.

162. (Paul. Ep. 200.) The CODEX VATICANO-OTTOBONIANUS 298., written in the fifteenth century on vellum, is in very small quarto or octavo, and contains the Acts and Apostolic Epistles in Greek and Latin. It has the disputed clause in 1 John v. 7, 8., but in a form which renders it of no value or authority in determining the genuine reading of that clause.[1] The following fac-simile of it is copied from the tracing made by the Rev. Dr. Wiseman, vice-president of the English College at Rome, for the late Rt. Rev. Dr. Burgess, bishop of Salisbury, by whose liberal permission it appears in this work.

[1] See Vol. II. p. 367.

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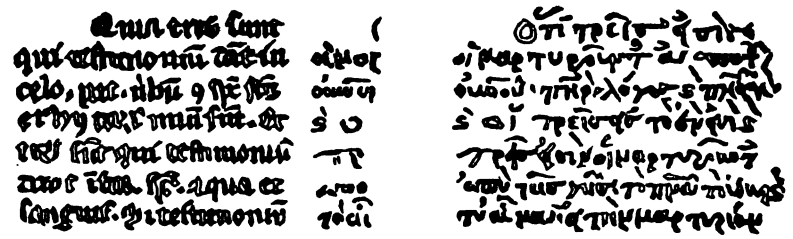

Each page contains two columns, the Latin on the left and the Greek on the right: the Latin is in square or Gothic characters. The manuscript seems not to have been finished; for, at the beginning of one or two of the Epistles, the space for the first large letter, occupying the breadth of two lines, is left blank, as well as the top line, evidently showing that the antiquarians intended to fill it up at leisure in a more ornamental style, as is the case in other books. The Codex Ottobonianus has no title. The text begins at once with *Primum quidem sermonem*. After the Acts come the Epistle of St. James and the other lesser ones; last those of St. Paul. The ink is faded: it is, in fact, become brown, so as to appear much more ancient; in some letters it is completely scaled off, so that it was with the greatest difficulty that Dr. Wiseman could catch the traces of the several letters.[1] This manuscript has been altered in many places, in order to make it harmonize with the Latin Vulgate[2]: on this account, as well as its late date, it can be of little value in sacred criticism, except where it corroborates the readings of MSS. of better authority and of earlier date. The transpositions of words in it are innumerable. Its text mostly agrees with that of the Constantinopolitan recension; but there are many Alexandrine readings which have been introduced by a later hand. The greatest part of this manuscript was collated by Dr. Scholz. The specimens of its readings, printed by Dr. S. in his Biblico-Critical Travels, are given by Dr. Dermout in his Collectanea Critica in Novum Testamentum.

163. (Paul. Ep. 201.) The Codex Vaticano-Ottobonianus 325., in octavo, written on paper in the fourteenth century, contains the Acts and Epistles: it is imperfect from Acts iv. 19. to v. 1., and follows the Alexandrine recension. The chief part of this manuscript was collated.

164. (Gosp. 390. Paul. Ep. 203. Apoc. 71.) The Codex Vaticano-Ottobonianus 381. (described in page 254. No. 390.) was collated in select passages.

165. The Codex Vaticano-Ottobonianus 417., written on paper in the fourteenth century, contains the Catholic Epistles, besides various treatises of Ephrem the Syrian, and other ecclesiastical writers. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

166. (Paul. Ep. 203. Apoc. 22.) The Codex Vallicellianus B. 86., written on vellum in the thirteenth century, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. The text is mixed, from both the Alexandrine and Constantinopolitan recensions. It was collated in select passages by Scholz.

167. (Gosp. 393. Paul. Ep. 185.) The Codex Vallicellianus E. 22., described in page 254. No. 393., agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension: it was collated in select passages.

168. (Paul. Ep. 205.) The Codex Vallicellianus F. 13., written on paper in the fourteenth century, contains the Acts and Epistles, and was collated in select passages. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

169. (Paul. Ep. 206.) The Codex Ghigianus R. V. 29., on vellum, was written A. D. 1344, at Constantinople: it contains the Acts and Epistles, which agree with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

170. (Gosp. 394. Paul. Ep. 186.) The Codex Vallicellianus F. 17., described in page 254. No. 394., has the Constantinopolitan text: it was collated in select passages.

171. and 172. Two manuscripts belonging to the College at Rome, which agree with the Constantinopolitan recension: they were written in the sixteenth century, and were collated in select passages.

173. (Paul. Ep. 211.) Is a manuscript on vellum, of the eleventh century, in the Royal Bourbon Library at Naples, which is not numbered. It contains the Acts and Epistles with prologues, an index of chapters, lessons, &c. &c.; and agrees partly with the Alexandrine and partly with the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated in select passages.

174. (Paul. Ep. 212.) The Codex Neapolitanus 1. C. 26., written on paper in the fifteenth century, contains the Acts and Epistles, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

175. (Paul. Ep. 216.) The Codex Messanensis II. in the monastery of St. Basil, is written on vellum in the twelfth century. It contains the Acts and Epistles. Dr. Scholz has not indicated what recension this manuscript follows.

176. (Gosp. 421. Paul. Ep. 218.) The Codex Syracusanus in the Landolini Library: it is described in pp. 254, 255. No. 421.

177. (Gosp. 122. Paul. Ep. 219.) The Codex Lugdunensis-Batavus, formerly Meermannianus 116., of the latter part of the twelfth century, is described in page 245. No. 122.: it agrees for the most part with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated by Dr. Dermout.

178. (Paul. Ep. 242. Apoc. 87.) The manuscript formerly known as the Codex Meermannianus 118., now belonging to Sir Thomas Philipps, Bart. of Middlehill, in the county of Worcester, is written on vellum, of the eleventh century: it contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, and is imperfect at the beginning and end.

179. (Paul. Ep. 128. Apoc. 82.) The Codex Regius Monacensis 211. was written in the eleventh century, on vellum, and for ecclesiastical use. It contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, with prolegomena, subscriptions, the homily of Dorotheus, bishop of Tyre, on the seventy disciples, fragments of the canons of Eusebius, and scholia on St. Paul's Epistles, which are written by a later hand. The text so closely agrees with the received text, as to present scarcely any various readings in the Acts and Epistles

180. (Gosp. 431. Ep. Paul. 238.) The Codex Molshemiensis, now deposited in the Library of the Great Seminary at Strasburg, is described in p. 255. No. 431. To the information there given, it may now be added, that the Jesuit Adam Contzen selected some readings from it in his Commentary on the Gospels, and that its various readings in the Acts and Epistles, were communicated to Dr. Scholz by Dr. Arendt, who accurately collated the entire manuscript and published a description of it in 1833, together with various readings on the Gospels, in the Ephemeris published every three months by Drev, Herbst, Hirscher, and Möhler. In the Acts and Catholic Epistles it for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, but it has also many peculiar readings.

181. (Gosp. 400. Paul. Ep. 220.) The Codex Berolinensis (formerly Diezii 10.), is described in p. 254. No. 400. It is imperfect in Acts i. 11.—ii. 11. Rom. i. 1—27. 1 Cor. xiv. 12.—xv. 46. 2 Cor. i. 1—8. and v. 4.—19. 1 Tim. iv. 1. to the end, 2 Tim., Titus, Philemon, and Hebr. i. 1—9.

182. (Paul. Ep. 243.) A manuscript on vellum, of the

[1] The above particulars are abridged from a letter of Dr. Wiseman to the Bishop of Salisbury (dated English College, Rome, Sept. 24th, 1829), collated with Dr. Scholz's Account of the Codex Vaticano-Ottobonianus, 203., in the Prolegomena to his edition of the New Testament. (Vol. ii. p. xviii.) Dr. W.'s description is more full than that given by Scholz in his Biblische-Kritische Reise, p. 105.

[2] Scholz, Reise, p. 105.

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twelfth century, belonging to the library of a monastery in the island of Patmos; it contains the Acts and Epistles, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. Another manuscript of the thirteenth century, on vellum, is preserved in the same library, and contains the Acts and Epistles.

183. (Paul. Ep. 231.) A manuscript (No. 8.) in the great Greek monastery at Jerusalem, written on vellum in the fourteenth century, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated by Scholz in select passages.

184. (Paul. Ep. 232. Apoc. 85.) Another manuscript (No. 9.) in the same library, on vellum, written in the thirteenth century, contains the Acts and Epistles, with a commentary, and the Apocalypse. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was also collated in select passages.

185. (Paul. Ep. 233.) A manuscript (No. 1.) in the library of the Greek monastery of St. Saba, written on vellum in the eleventh century: it contains the Acts and Epistles, which agree with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

186. (Gosp. 457. Paul. Ep. 234.) A manuscript in the same library (No. 2.) written on vellum in the thirteenth century, contains the Acts and Epistles, preceded by a synaxarium and menology. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

187. (Gosp. 462. Paul. Ep. 235.) A manuscript in the same library (No. 10.), of the fourteenth century, on vellum: it contains the New Testament, and was collated in select passages. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

188. (Paul. Ep. 236.) A manuscript in the same library (No. 15.), written on vellum in the twelfth century, contains the Acts and Epistles, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated in select passages.

189. (Gosp. 465. Paul. Ep. 237.) A manuscript of the same library (No. 20.[1]) written on vellum in the thirteenth century, contains the New Testament: it agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

190. (Paul. Ep. 244. Apoc. 27.) The CODEX WAKIANUS 2., belonging to Christ's College, Oxford, was written on vellum in the eleventh century. It contains the Catholic Epistles (with the exception of the Epistle of St. James and the first Epistle of St. Peter), the Apocalypse, all the Epistles of St. Paul, and the Gospels as far as Luke vi. 42. The text agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. Dr. Scholz collated it on 1 John and on Acts xviii.—xx.

191. (Paul. Ep. 245.) The CODEX WAKIANUS 3., belonging to the same college, on vellum, was written in the twelfth century, in small but neat characters. It formerly belonged to the monastery of St. Saba at Jerusalem, and was brought into England from Constantinople, in 1731. It contains the Acts and Epistles, with a catena from the Fathers. A subscription in a later hand at the end states that this manuscript was written in A. D. 1312. Its text nearly agrees with manuscripts belonging to the Constantinopolitan family.

192. The CODEX WAKIANUS 4., in the same library, written in the eleventh century on vellum, contains the Acts and Epistles, and frequently agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It is imperfect from Acts xii. 4. to xxiii. 32.

§ 6. MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING THE EPISTLES OF SAINT PAUL.

i. *Manuscripts written in Uncial or Capital Letters, collated by Editors who preceded Dr. Scholz.*

I.—*A.* (Gospels, A. Acts, A.) The CODEX ALEXANDRINUS in the British Museum, described in pp. 222—224. *suprà.* It is imperfect from 2 Cor. iv. 13. to xii. 7. and is the type of the Alexandrine recension or text.

II.—*B.* (Gosp. B. Acts, B.) The CODEX VATICANUS 1209., described in pp. 224—226., agrees with the Alexandrine text. It ends with Heb. ix. 14.; the remainder of that epistle and the Apocalypse being added by a very recent hand. The epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon are also wanting.

[1] In the Prolegomena to the first Vol. of his Edition of the New Testament, p. xxvii. Dr. Scholz states that this manuscript is numbered 19.

III.—*C.* (Gosp. C. Acts, C.) The CODEX EPHREMI, or CODEX REGIUS PARISIENSIS 1905. (at present 9.), is described in pp. 229, 230. It is imperfect in Rom. ii. 5. to iii. 21.: ix. 6. to x. 14.; xi. 31. to xiii. 10.; 1 Cor. vii. 18. to ix. 6. xiii. 8. to xv. 40.; 2 Cor. x. 9. to Gal. i. 20.; Eph. i. to ii. 18.; iv. 17. to Phil. i. 22. and iii. 5. to the end; 1 Thess. ii. 9. to Heb. ii. 4.; vii. 26. to ix. 15.; x. 24. to xi. 15.; 1 Tim. i. to iii. 9. and v. 20. to the end. This manuscript agrees with the Alexandrine recension.

IV.—*D.* The CODEX CLAROMONTANUS, or CODEX REGIUS 107. (formerly 2245.), is a Greek-Latin manuscript, described in pp. 231, 232. Dr. Scholz thinks it of the seventh *or* eighth century. It is imperfect in Rom. i. 1—7. Two leaves containing 1 Cor. xiv. 13—22. have been added by a different but tolerably ancient hand, and the Epistle to the Hebrews is written by a still more recent hand. Vestiges of alterations by five different correctors may be distinguished, the two earliest of which (one Greek, the other Latin), Dr. Scholz refers to the ninth century: the remainder are by Greek hands. This manuscript agrees with the Alexandrine text.

V.—*E.* The CODEX PETROPOLITANUS, formerly called CORBEIENSIS and afterwards SAN-GERMANENSIS, is written on vellum, according to Dr. Scholz in the eleventh century, but according to Prof. Matthaei in the fifteenth century. Griesbach refers it to the tenth or eleventh century. Wetstein, Griesbach, and Scholz, consider this Greek-Latin manuscript of Saint Paul's Epistles as a transcript of the Codex Claromontanus: but Dr. Semler has questioned this opinion, and has adduced examples, from which it appears that if the copyist, who wrote the former, actually had the latter before his eyes, he must at least have selected various readings from other manuscripts. Bishop Marsh considers this manuscript "as a kind of Codex Eclecticus, in the writing of which the Claromontanus was principally, but not at all times consulted."[2] It is imperfect from 1 Tim. i. 1. to vi. 15. and in Heb. xii. 8. to the end; and follows the Alexandrine recension.

VI.—*F.* The CODEX AUGIENSIS, now in Trinity College Library, at Cambridge, is a Greek-Latin manuscript of St. Paul's Epistles, most probably of the tenth century. It is described in page 233., and is imperfect from Rom. i. 1. to iii. 8., and the (Greek) Epistle to the Hebrews is wanting. It follows the Alexandrine recension.

VII.—*G.* The CODEX DRESDENSIS, formerly the CODEX BOERNERIANUS, is also a Greek-Latin manuscript of Saint Paul's Epistles: it is described in page 233., and follows the Alexandrine recension. This manuscript is imperfect from Rom. i. 1. to 5. and ii. 16. to 25.; 1 Cor. iii. 8. to 16.; vi. 7. to 14.; Col. ii. 2. to 8.; and Philemon 21. to 25.

VIII.—*H.* The CODEX COISBINIANUS 202., of the seventh century, according to Griesbach and Scholz, is described in page 234. It contains the following fragments of Saint Paul's Epistles, viz. 1 Cor. x. 23—39. and xi. 9—16. Gal. i. 4—10. and ii. 9—14.: 1 Tim. iii. 7—13.; Tit. i. 1—5., and 15. to ii. 5., and iii. 13. to the end; Heb. ii. 11—16.; iii. 13—18.; and iv. xii. 15. It agrees with the Alexandrine family.

IX.—*I.* (Acts, G.) The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ ANGELICÆ A. 2. 15. at Rome, described in page 260., is of the ninth or tenth century. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and is imperfect from Heb. x. 10. to the end of that epistle.

ii. *Manuscripts written in small Greek Letters.*

1. (Gosp. 1. Acts 1.) The CODEX BASILEENSIS B. VI 57. See it described in page 238.

2. (Acts 2.) The CODEX BASILEENSIS B. IX. See it described in page 261*. No. 2.

3. (Acts 3.) The CODEX FORLOSIANUS 15., formerly Corsendoncensis: it is described in page 238. No. 3.

4. (Acts 4.) The CODEX BASILEENSIS B. X. 20.. It is described in page 261*. No. 4.

5. (Gosp. 5. Acts 5.) The CODEX REGIUS 106., described in page 238. No. 5., mostly agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

6. (Gosp. 6. Acts 6.) The CODEX REGIUS 112., de-

[2] Michaelis's Introd. to the New Testament, vol. ii. part ii. p. 785.

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scribed in page 238. No. 6. In the Epistles, this manuscript has a mixed text: it was cursorily collated by Wetstein and by Scholz.

7. The CODEX BASILEENSIS B. VI. 17. is a quarto manuscript on vellum, containing the Epistles of St. Paul as far as Heb. xii. 18., with annotations and glosses collected from the ancient fathers of the church. Scholz states that it follows the Constantinopolitan recension; but neither he nor Griesbach has indicated its age.

8. (Acts 50.) The CODEX STEPHANI ζ' is now unknown.

9. (Acts 7.) The CODEX REGIUS 102. (STEPHANI ι), noticed in page 261*. No. 7., follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

10. (Acts 8.) The CODEX STEPHANI κα is now unknown.

11. (Acts 9.) The CODEX STEPHANI ιγ'. See a notice of it in page 261*. No. 9. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

12. (Acts 10. Apoc. 2.) The CODEX REGIUS 237. (Stephani κι), described in page 261*. No. 10., follows the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated by Scholz.

13. The readings of certain Greek Manuscripts cited by Jacobus Faber, Stapulensis (Jacques Le Fevre d'Etaples) in his commentary on Saint Paul's Epistles, published at Paris in 1512.

14. (Gosp. 90. Acts 47.) The CODEX JOANNIS FABRI, Daventriensis, (afterwards the CODEX WOLFII): it is described in page 243. No. 90. In the epistles Scholz states it to be of the fifteenth century: but in the prolegomena to the first volume of his edition of the New Testament (p. lviii.) he refers it (after Michaelis) to the sixteenth century. It mostly agrees with the Alexandrine recension.

15. The CODEX AMANDI was cited by Erasmus, who supposed it to be a Latinizing manuscript: it derives its name from Amandus, who lived at Louvain, and who once had it in his possession. Nothing further is known concerning it.

16. (Acts 12. Apoc. 4.) The CODEX REGIUS 219. follows the Constantinopolitan recension: it is described in page 261*. No. 12.

17. (Gosp. 33. Acts 13.) The CODEX REGIUS 14., described in page 240. No. 33., follows the Alexandrine recension.

18. (Gosp. 35. Acts 14. Apoc. 17.) The CODEX COISLINIANUS 199., described in page 240. No. 35., follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

19. (Acts 16.) The CODEX COISLINIANUS 26., described in page 261*. No. 16., follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

20. The CODEX COISLINIANUS 27. (formerly 247.) is a manuscript written on vellum in the tenth century. It was brought from mount Athos, and contains the Epistles of Paul with a catena and prologue. This manuscript has been badly preserved, and is very defective: it follows the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated by Wetstein.

21. (Acts 17. Apoc. 19.) The CODEX COISLINIANUS 205. described in page 261*. No. 17., follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

22. (Acts 18. Apoc. 18.) The CODEX COISLINIANUS 205.: it is described in page 261*. No. 18.

23. The CODEX COISLINIANUS 28., formerly 253., was brought from mount Athos, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It is written on vellum, in the eleventh century, and contains St. Paul's Epistles with a commentary. This manuscript was cursorily collated by Wetstein and Scholz.

24. (Gosp. 105. Acts 48.) The CODEX BODLEIANUS, formerly EBNERIANUS: it is described in page 244.

25. (Acts 20.) The CODEX WESTMONASTERIENSIS 935. (now I. B. I. in the British Museum), is described in page 261*. No. 20.

26. (Acts 21.) The CODEX CANTABRIGIENSIS DD. XI. 90. is described in page 261*. No. 21.

27. The CODEX CANTABRIGIENSIS Ff. 1. 30. (formerly 496.), according to Scholz was written in the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. The epistles to the Romans and Corinthians are wanting. This manuscript was collated by Wetstein in 1716.

28. (Acts 23. Apoc. 6.) The CODEX BAROCCIANUS 3. in the Bodleian Library: it is described in page 261* No. 23.

29. (Acts 24.) The CODEX COLLEGII CHRISTI CANTABRIGIÆ 2.: it is described in pp. 261*, 262*. No. 24.

30. The CODEX COLLEGII EMMANUELIS CANTABRIGIÆ I. 2. 33. is a neatly written but not ancient manuscript of all the epistles. "It has many chasms, for the catholic epistles begin with 2 Pet. i.,—and is not legible before 2 Peter ii. 4. It is likewise defective from 1 John iii. 20. as far as the end of the third epistle: that of St. Jude also is wanting; and it has likewise the two following chasms, 1 Cor. xi. 7.—xv. 56., and from Heb. xi. 27. to the end of the epistle." The readings of this manuscript were first published in Bishop Walton's edition of the Polyglott Bible, where it is cited as *Cod. Em.*: and the same readings (but it should seem with additions) were given by Dr. Mill, who refers to it as *Cod. Cant.* 3.[1]

31. (Acts 25. Apoc. 7.) The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5537.: it is described in page 262*. No. 25.

32. (Acts 25. Apoc. 7.) The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5537.: it is described in page 262*. No. 25.

33. (Acts 27.) The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5620.: it is described in page 262*. No. 27.

34. (Acts 28. Apoc. 8.) The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5778.: it is described in page 262*. No. 28.

35. (Acts 29.) The CODEX GENEVENSIS 20., described in page 262*. No. 29., was collated by Scholz for the Epistle to the Romans, and cursorily for the remaining epistles: it almost always agrees with the received text.

36. (Acts 30. Apoc. 9.) The CODEX BODLEIANUS 131.: it is described in page 262*. No. 30.

37. (Gosp. 69. Acts 31. Apoc. 14.) The CODEX LEICESTRENSIS: it is described in page 242. No. 69.

38. (Gosp. 51. Acts 32.) The CODEX BODLEIANUS, LAUDIANUS C. 715.: it is described in page 240. No. 51.

39. (Acts 33.) The CODEX LINCOLNIENSIS: it is described in page 262*. No. 33.

40. (Gosp. 61. Acts 34.) The CODEX MONTFORTIANUS: it is described in pages 241, 242. No. 61.

41. (Gosp. 57. Acts 35.) The CODEX MAGDALENSIS 1.: it is described in page 241. No. 57.

42. The CODEX MAGDALENSIS 2., belonging to Magdalen College, Oxford, contains the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians, with the scholia of Oecumenius. Extracts from it were first printed in Bishop Walton's Polyglott, from which they were copied by Mill and Wetstein.

43. (Acts 37.) The CODEX NOVI COLLEGII, Oxon.: it is described in page 262*. No. 37.

44. (Acts 38.) The CODEX LUGDUNO-BATAVUS 77.: it is described in page 262*. No. 38.

45. (Acts 39. Apoc. 11.) The CODEX PETAVIANUS 2.: it is described in page 262*. No. 39.

46. (Acts 40. Apoc. 12.) The CODEX ALEXANDRINO-VATICANUS 179.: it is described in page 262*. No. 40.

47. The CODEX BODLEIANUS ROE 16., formerly Roe 2., is written on vellum, of the eleventh or twelfth century: it contains St. Paul's Epistles, with scholia. It was brought from Turkey in 1628, by Sir Thomas Roe, who presented it to the Bodleian Library.

48. (Acts 42. Apoc. 13.) The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ GYMNASII FRANCOFURTENSIS AD VIADRUM, formerly SEIDELIANUS: it is described in page 262*. No. 42.

49. (Gosp. 76. Acts 43.) The CODEX CÆSAREUS VINDOBONENSIS (in Lambecius's Catalogue 28.) is described in page 242. No. 76.

50. (Acts 52.) The CODEX RHODIENSIS: it is noticed in page 263*. No. 52.

51. (Acts 44. Apoc. 5.) The CODICES LAURENTII VALLÆ: see a notice of them in page 243. No. 82.

52. (Acts 45. Apoc. 16.) The CODEX UFFENBACHIANUS 2.: it is described in page 262*. No. 45.

53. The CODEX UFFENBACHIANUS 2. (1. of Bengel) is a fragment of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, written in uncial letters: it is described in pp. 237, 238., and for the most part agrees with the Alexandrine recension.

54. The CODEX MONACENSIS 412. (Augustanus 5. of Ben-

[1] Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. ii. part i. p. 242 and part ii. p. 723.

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gel) contains Rom. vii. 7. to xvi. 24. with a catena, which Scholz considers to be very valuable. It is written on vellum, of the twelfth century, and seldom deviates from the received text.

55. (Acts 46.) The CODEX MONACENSIS 375., formerly Augustanus 6.: it is described in page 262*. No. 46.

56. The CODEX TIGURINUS, preserved in the public Library at Zurich, is a manuscript of the Epistles of Saint Paul, written by the justly celebrated Reformer, Ulrich Zuingle (or Zwingli) in 1516, for his own private exercise in the Greek language. Wetstein is of opinion that it is a transcript of Erasmus's first edition of the New Testament.

57. (Gosp. 218. Acts 65. Apoc. 33.) The CODEX CÆSAREO-VINDOBONENSIS 23. (Lambecii 1.): it is described in pp. 248, 249. No. 218.

58. The CODEX VATICANUS 165., formerly Cryptoferratensis, contains the Epistles of St. Paul, written in the twelfth century. It was inspected by Zacagni, who was keeper of the Vatican Library at the close of the seventeenth and in the former part of the eighteenth century. Though it is included in Wetstein's Catalogue of Manuscripts of St. Paul's Epistles, Michaelis observes that Wetstein has not quoted it.

59. The CODEX COISLINIANUS 204. (formerly 143.), written on vellum in the eleventh century, contains a catena on St. Paul's Epistles with the text, which agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

60. Certain manuscripts mentioned in the "Correctorium Bibliorum Latinorum."

61. (Acts 61.) The CODEX *Hal.*, an unknown manuscript cited in the margin of a copy of Dr. Mill's edition of the New Testament, now preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Its readings were transcribed by Griesbach.

62. (Acts 59.) The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5588., described in page 263*. No. 59.: in the Epistles it follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

63. (Acts 60. Apoc. 29.) The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5613.: it is described in page 263*. No. 60. Griesbach states that although the text of this manuscript in St. Paul's Epistles seldom departs from the common text, yet it does not so agree with any manuscript, that it can be said to be nearly allied to it. He adds, however, that it has some readings peculiar to itself, and others which are not unworthy of notice.[1]

64. The manuscript thus numbered by Griesbach and Scholz, consists of two quarto leaves on vellum, written in *red* uncial characters, in the tenth century according to Scholz, but in the tenth or eleventh century according to Griesbach. These leaves are found in the Codex Harleianus 5613.: one of them has been folded in two at the beginning of the volume, and the other at the end of it, by some former bookbinder. From the shape of the letters, the size of the pages, and the colour of the ink, there is no doubt whatever but that (as Griesbach conjectured) this manuscript originally formed part of the Codex Uffenbachianus 2., described in pp. 237, 238., where an accurate facsimile of it is given. The first of these two fragments contains 1 Cor. xv. 52. to 2 Cor. i. 15.; and the second, 2 Cor. x. 13. to xii. 5. This most valuable fragment was carefully collated by Griesbach.

65. (Acts 62.) The CODEX REGIUS 60., described in page 263*. No. 62., follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

66. The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5552. contains the text of Saint Paul's Epistles and of the Catholic Epistles, with a catena. The text is a transcript of Erasmus's first edition written on vellum in the sixteenth century, in the margin of which are some various readings which were extracted by Griesbach.

67. (Acts 66. Apoc. 34.) The CODEX CÆSAREO-VINDOBONENSIS 23. (Lambecii 34.): it is described in page 263*. No. 66.

68—70. The CODICES LAMBECII 35. (Acts 63.), 36. (Acts 64.) and 37. (Acts 65.) are described in page 263*. Nos. 63, 64. 67.: they all agree with the Constantinopolitan recension.

71. The CODEX CÆSAREUS, Forlosiæ 19. or Kollarii 10., is written on vellum, in the twelfth century. It contains St. Paul's Epistles with a commentary, and the catechetical discourses of Cyril of Jerusalem. It wants the Epistles to Philemon and Titus, and also Rom. i. 1—9. This manuscript was collated by Birch and Alter.

72. (Gosp. 234. Acts 57.) The CODEX HAVNIENSIS 1.: it is described in page 249. No. 234.

73. (Acts 68.) The Codex UPSALIENSIS: it is described in page 263*. No. 68.

74. (Acts 69.) The CODEX GUELPHERBYTANUS XVI. 7.: it is described in page 263*. No. 69.

75. (Gosp. 109. Acts 22.) The Codex 5115. in the British Museum: it is described in page 245. No. 109., and in page 261*. No. 22.

76. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ PAULINÆ is a manuscript of the thirteenth century, containing the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, and fragments of the first Epistle to the Corinthians and of that to the Ephesians, with the scholia of Theophylact. This manuscript was collated by Matthaei, who has noted it with the letter s.

77. (Gosp. 131. Acts 70. Apoc. 66.) The CODEX VATICANUS 360.: it is described in page 246. No. 131. This and the following manuscripts 78—82. and 85—105. were collated with more or less minuteness by Drs. Birch and Scholz: the latter states that they all agree with the Constantinopolitan recension, except No. 85., which has many Alexandrine readings.

78. (Gosp. 133. Acts 71.) The CODEX VATICANUS 363. is of the eleventh century.

79. (Acts 72. Apoc. 37.) The CODEX VATICANUS 366., of the twelfth century.

80. (Acts 73.) The CODEX VATICANUS 367.: it is of the eleventh century.

81. The CODEX VATICANUS 761., on vellum, was written in the twelfth century: it contains St. Paul's Epistles, with the commentaries of Oecumenius.

82. The CODEX VATICANUS 762., also on vellum, and written in the twelfth century, contains the Epistle to the Romans, and both the Epistles to the Corinthians, with a catena.

83. The CODEX VATICANUS 765., written on vellum in the eleventh century; and,

84. The CODEX VATICANUS 766., written on vellum in the twelfth century, severally contain the Epistles of Saint Paul with a commentary.

85. (Apoc. 39.) The CODEX VATICANUS 1136., written on vellum in the thirteenth century, contains the Apocalypse with a Latin version, and also the following Epistles, viz. Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians to 2 Thess., and ends with 1 Tim. vi. 1. There are many Alexandrine readings in this manuscript, though its text generally agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

86. (Gosp. 141. Acts 75. Apoc. 40.) The CODEX VATICANUS 1160.: it is noticed in page 247. No. 141.

87. (Gosp. 142. Acts 76.) The CODEX VATICANUS 1210.: it is noticed in page 247. No. 142.

88. (Gosp. 149. Acts 75. Apoc. 25.) The CODEX PALATINO-VATICANUS 171. See page 247. No. 149.

89. (Acts 78.) The CODEX ALEXANDRINO-VATICANUS 29.: it is described in page 263*. No. 78.

90. (Acts 79.) The CODEX URBINO-VATICANUS 3. is of the eleventh century.

91. (Acts 80. Apoc. 42.) The CODEX PIO-VATICANUS 50. is of the twelfth century.

92. (Acts 82. Apoc. 44.) The manuscript in the Library of the College of the Propaganda No. 250.: it was written towards the close of the thirteenth century.

93. (Acts 83.) The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ BORBONICÆ REGIÆ NEAPOLITANÆ 1. B. 12.: it is described in page 264*. No. 83.

94—99. (Acts 84—89.) The CODICES LAURENTIANI IV 1., 5., 20., 29., 31., and 32.: they are described in page 264*. Nos. 84—89. The Codices Laurentiani are in the Bibliotheca Laurentiana at Florence.

100. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS X. 4. contains St. Paul's Epistles, written on vellum in the tenth century, with scholia added in the fourteenth century.

101, 102. The CODICES LAURENTIANI X. 6. and 7. con-

[1] Symbolæ Criticæ, tom. ii. pp. 162—164

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tain St. Paul's Epistles, written on vellum in the eleventh century, with commentaries. A synaxarion and life of Paul are prefixed to the Cod. Laur. X. 7.

103. The Codex Laurentianus X. 19. contains Saint Paul's Epistles, written on vellum in the thirteenth century, with a catena and synaxarion.

104. (Gosp. 201. Acts 91.) The Codex Laurentianus 701.
105. (Gosp. 204. Acts 92.) The Codex Bononiensis 640.
106—108. (Gosp. 205, 206. 209. Acts 93, 94, 95.) The Codices Veneti 5, 6. and 10.
} These manuscripts are described in page 248. Nos. 201. 204—206. 209.

109. (Acts 96.) The Codex Venetus or Venetianus 11.: it is described in page 264*. No. 96.

110—112. The Codices Veneti 33—35. contain the Epistles of St. Paul with commentaries: they are all written on vellum in the eleventh century. The Cod. Venet. 35. is imperfect in Rom. 1 Cor. 2 Cor. i. 20. 1 Thess. iv. 13. to 2 Thess. ii. 14. and Heb. x. 25. to the end of that epistle. The Venetian manuscripts were collated by G. F. Rinck, who has given the results of his researches in his *Lucubratio Critica in Acta Apostolorum, Epistolas Catholicas et Paulinas*. Basileæ, 1830. 8vo.

113. (Acts 98.) The Codex Mosquensis, a. of Matthæi: it is described in page 264*. No. 98.

114—118. (Acts 99—103.) The Codices S. Synodi Mosquensis 5. 334. 333. 98. and 193.: they are described in page 264*. Nos. 99—103.

119. The Codex S. Synodi Mosquensis 292., by Matthæi noted i., contains the two Epistles to the Corinthians, with Theophylact's commentary, written on vellum in the twelfth century. This manuscript was brought from mount Athos, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

120. (Gosp. 241. Acts 104. Apoc. 47.) The Codex Dresdensis: it is described in page 249. No. 241.

121. (Gosp. 242. Acts 105. Apoc. 48.) The Codex S. Synodi Mosquensis 380.: it is described in page 249. No. 242.

122. (Acts 106.) The Codex S. Synodi 328.: it is described in page 264*. No. 106.

123. The Codex S. Synodi 99. (n. of Matthæi) formerly belonged to the Monastery of Athanasius on mount Athos. It is written on vellum, of the tenth century, and contains St. Paul's Epistles with a commentary; and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

124. The Codex S. Synodi 250. (q. of Matthæi) was also brought from mount Athos. It is written on paper, of the fourteenth century, and contains the Epistle to the Romans, with the commentaries of Theophylact, and some other writings. It is imperfect from xiv. 1. to the end, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

iii. *Manuscripts containing the Epistles of Saint Paul, which for the first time were collated by Dr. Scholz.*

125. The Codex Monacensis 504. (Reisser, 5. formerly Augustanus 8.) is written on paper, and dated A. D. 1387, in the tenth indiction, and on the first day of February: it contains the Epistles of St. Paul (except that to Philemon, which is wanting) with the commentaries of Theophylact, whose text the writer has evidently followed.

126. The Codex Monacensis 455. (Reisser, 5. Hoeschelii 35. formerly Augustanus 8.) is written on paper, and is dated on the 17th of February, in the twelfth indiction, and, Scholz conjectures, in the year 1389. Its contents are the same as those of No. 123., but with the addition of some homilies of Chrysostom. Both these manuscripts are evidently transcribed from the same copy.

127. The Codex Monacensis 110. formerly belonged to the Jesuits' College at Munich. It is written on paper, in the sixteenth century, and contains Rom. vii. 7.—ix. 21. with a catena. Scholz has ascertained by actual collation that this manuscript is beyond all doubt a copy of No. 54. The Codex Monacensis 412. (see pp. 269*, 270*. No. 54.) It has the received text.

128. (Acts 179.) The Codex Monacensis 211.: it is described in page 267*. No. 179.

129. The Codex Monacensis 35., written on paper in the sixteenth century, contains St. Paul's Epistles with a catena. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

130. (Gosp. 43. Acts 54.) The Codex Græcus 4., in the Library of the Arsenal at Paris. It is described in page 240. No. 43., and follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

131. (Gosp. 330. Acts 132.) The Codex Coislinianus 196. described in page 252. No. 330., follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

132. (Gosp. 18. Acts 113. Apoc. 51.) The Codex Regius 47., described in page 239., No. 18., follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

133. (Acts 51. Apoc. 52.) The Codex Regius 56., is described in page 263*. No. 51. This and the three following manuscripts were cursorily examined by Dr. Scholz.

134. (Acts 114.) The Codex Regius 57. is described in page 265*. No. 114.

135. (Acts 115.) The Codex Regius 58., described in page 265*. No. 115. is imperfect from 2 Tim. ii. to the end, and wants the Epistle to Titus and to the Hebrews.

136. (Acts 116. Apoc. 53.) The Codex Regius 59. is described in page 265*. No. 116.

137. (Gosp. 263. Acts 117. Apoc. 54.) The Codex Regius 61., described in page 250. No. 263. It is imperfect in Philemon, verse 21—25. In St. Paul's Epistles this manuscript frequently agrees with the Alexandrine recension, but most commonly with the received text.

138. (Acts 118. Apoc. 55.) The Codex Regius 101.
139. (Acts 119. Apoc. 56.) The Codex Regius 102. A.
} These manuscripts are described in page 265*. Nos. 118, 119.

140. (Acts 11.) The Codex Regius 103. is described in page 261*. No. 11. This and the following manuscripts to No. 156. inclusive, were cursorily collated by Scholz.

141. (Acts 120.) The Codex Regius 103. A.
142. (Acts 121.) The Codex Regius 104.
143. (Acts 122.) The Codex Regius 105.
144. (Acts 123.) The Codex Regius 106. A.
} These manuscripts are described in page 265*. Nos. 120—123.

145. The Codex Regius 108., formerly $\frac{2864}{33}$. (Colbertinus 3790.) is written on vellum in the sixteenth century; contains the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and Timothy, with prologues. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

146. The Codex Regius 109. (formerly Colbertinus), written on vellum in the sixteenth century, contains the Epistle to the Romans with a prologue and argument, and also the first Epistle to the Corinthians. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

147. The Codex Regius 110. (formerly Colbertinus), written on vellum in the year 1511, contains the two Epistles to the Corinthians. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

148. The Codex Regius 111. (formerly Colbertinus), written on vellum in the sixteenth century, contains the Epistles to Titus, Philemon, and the Hebrews; and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

149, 150. (Acts 124, 125.) The Codices Regii 124. and 125. are described in page 265*. Nos. 124, 125.

151. The Codex Regius 126., written on vellum in the sixteenth century, contains St. Paul's Epistles, the text of which follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

152. (Apoc. 60.) The Codex Regius 136a. contains the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse, written on vellum, but in what century Scholz has not mentioned It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

153—156. (Acts 126—129.) The Codices Regii 216—218. 220., are described in page 265*. Nos. 126—129.

157. The Codex Regius 222., formerly 1886. (Colbertinus 3002.), was brought from Constantinople in 1676. It contains St. Paul's Epistles, written on vellum in the eleventh century, with prologues and commentaries. This manuscript is imperfect from Rom. i. 1. to ii. 29., iii. 26. to iv. 8., ix. 11—22., 1 Cor. xv. 22—43., and Col. i. 1—6. It most frequently agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, but it often agrees with the Alexandrine recen

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sion. The chief part of this manuscript was collated by Scholz.

158. (Acts 131.) The CODEX REGIUS 223. is described in page 265*. No. 131.

159. The CODEX REGIUS 224. (formerly 2245a.), most elegantly written on vellum in the eleventh century, contains St. Paul's Epistles, with prologues and a catena, and the Apocalypse with the commentary of Aretas, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia. This manuscript seldom departs from the received text: it was collated in select passages by Dr. Scholz.

160. The CODEX REGIUS 225., a manuscript on paper, written in the sixteenth century, contains fragments of Saint Paul's Epistles with the commentary of Theophylact. This and the three following manuscripts agree with the Constantinopolitan recension, and were cursorily examined by Scholz.

161. The CODEX REGIUS 226., also on paper, and written in the sixteenth century, contains the Epistle to the Romans with a commentary.

162. The CODEX REGIUS 227. (formerly Bigotianus), contains a catena on 1 Cor. xvi.: it is written on paper, of the sixteenth century.

163. The CODEX REGIUS 238. (formerly 2219.), contains Heb. i.—viii. with a catena, written on vellum in the thirteenth century.

164. The CODEX REGIUS 849. (formerly Medicæus), written on paper in the sixteenth century, contains Theodoret's commentary on St. Paul's Epistles, with the text in the margin.

165. The CODEX TAURINENSIS 284. c. I. 39., written on paper in the sixteenth century, contains 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and Hebrews. This and the five following Turin Manuscripts agree with the Constantinopolitan recension, and were collated in some select passages.

166. (Acts 133.) The CODEX TAURINENSIS 285. c. I. 40. It is described in pp. 265*, 266*. No. 133.

167. (Acts 134.) The CODEX TAURINENSIS 315. c. II. 17. It is described in page 266*. No. 134.

168. The CODEX TAURINENSIS 325. c. II. 38. contains St. Paul's Epistles with a commentary and prologues, written on vellum in the thirteenth century. It is imperfect from Rom. i. to iii. 19.

169. (Acts 136.) The CODEX TAURINENSIS 328. c. II. 31. It is described in page 266*. No. 136.

170. (Gosp. 339. Acts 135. Apoc. 83.) The CODEX TAURINENSIS 302. c. II. 5. It is described in page 252. No. 339.

171. The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 6., at Milan, contains St. Paul's Epistles with a commentary, written on vellum in the thirteenth century; excepting that the Epistle to the Romans, 1 Cor. and 2 Cor. i. to v. 19. have been written by a later hand on cotton paper. It is imperfect from Heb. iv. 7. to the end, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. Dr. Scholz collated it in select passages.

172. The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 15., written on vellum in the twelfth century, contains St. Paul's Epistles with brief commentaries extracted from the larger work of Chrysostom on the same epistles. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated by Scholz.

173. (Acts 138.) The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 102.
174. (Acts 139.) The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 104.
} These manuscripts are described in page 266*. Nos. 138. and 139.

175. The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 125. was brought from Thessaly. It is on paper, written in the twelfth century, and contains St. Paul's Epistles with a perpetual commentary. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

176. (Acts 137.) The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 97., described in page 266*. No. 137., was collated by Scholz in most of St. Paul's Epistles.

177. The CODEX MUTINENSIS 14. (Ms. II. A. 14.), written on vellum in the sixteenth century, contains Saint Paul's Epistles. Its text agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. The whole of this and the two following manuscripts were collated.

178. (Acts 142.) The CODEX MUTINENSIS 243. (Ms. III. B. 17.), noticed in page 266*. No. 142. In the Epistles the text for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension; but there are many errors.

179. (Acts H.) The CODEX MUTINENSIS 196. (Ms. II. g. 3.), is described in page 260*, 261*. No. VIII. It mostly agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. The whole of this manuscript was collated.

180. (Gosp. 363. Acts 144.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 13. is described in page 253. No. 363.

181. (Gosp. 365. Acts 145.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS VI. 36.
182. (Gosp. 367. Acts 146.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS 2708.
} These manuscripts are described in page 353. Nos. 365. and 367.

183. (Acts 147.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS IV. 30.
184. (Acts 148.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS 2574.
} These manuscripts are described in page 266*. Nos 147, 148.

185. (Gosp. 393. Acts 167.) The CODEX VALLICELLIANUS E. 22., and 186. (Gosp. 394. Acts 168.) The CODEX VALLICELLIANUS F. 17. These manuscripts were cursorily collated: they are described in page 254. Nos. 393. and 394.

187. (Acts 154.) The CODEX VATICANUS 1270., and 188. (Acts 155.) The CODEX VATICANUS 1430. are described in page 266*. Nos. 154. and 155.

189. The CODEX VATICANUS 1649., written on vellum in the thirteenth century, contains St. Paul's Epistles with the commentaries of Theodoret. It was cursorily collated, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

190. (Acts 156.) The CODEX VATICANUS 1650.
191. (Acts 157.) The CODEX VATICANUS 1714.
192. (Acts 158.) The CODEX VATICANUS 1761.
193. (Acts 160.) The CODEX VATICANUS 2062.
} These manuscripts are described in page 266*. Nos. 156—158. and 160.: they were cursorily collated.

194. (Gosp. 175. Acts 41. Apoc. 20.) The CODEX VATICANUS 2080., described in page 247. No. 175., agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension: it was cursorily collated.

195. The CODEX VATICANO-OTTOBONIANUS 31., preserved in the Vatican Library, written on vellum in the tenth century, contains the Epistles of St. Paul with a commentary, in which the names of Oecumenius, Theodoret, and others are inserted. It is imperfect in the Epistle to the Romans, and in the chief part of the first Epistle to the Corinthians.

196. The CODEX VATICANO-OTTOBONIANUS 61., written on paper in the fifteenth century, contains the Epistles of St. Paul with a commentary. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily examined.

197. (Apoc. 78.) The CODEX VATICANO-OTTOBONIANUS 176., also written on paper in the sixteenth century, and agreeing with the Constantinopolitan recension, contains St. Paul's Epistles and the Apocalypse: it was cursorily examined.

198. (Acts 161. Apoc. 69.) The CODEX VATICANO-OTTOBONIANUS 258., is described in page 266*. No. 161. In the epistles its text agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension: it was cursorily collated.

199. (Gosp. 386. Acts 151.) The CODEX VATICANO-OTTOBONIANUS 66. is described in pp. 253, 254. No. 386.

200. (Acts 162.) The CODEX VATICANO-OTTOBONIANUS 298., described in page 266*. No. 162., was cursorily examined by Dr. Scholz on the Pauline Epistles.

201. (Acts 163.) The CODEX VATICANO-OTTOBONIANUS 325., described in page 267*. No. 163., sometimes follows the Alexandrine and sometimes the Constantinopolitan recension. It was collated in select passages.

202. The CODEX VATICANO-OTTOBONIANUS 356., written on paper in the fifteenth century, contains the Epistle to the Romans with a catena. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily examined by Scholz.

203. (Gosp. 390. Acts 164. Apoc. 71.) The CODEX VATICANO-OTTOBONIANUS 381., described in page 254. No. 390., was cursorily examined. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

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204, 205. (Acts 166. and 168.) The Codices Vallicelliani B. 86. and F. 13., described in page 267*. Nos. 166. 168., both agree with the Constantinopolitan recension, and were cursorily examined.

206. (Acts 169.) The Codex Ghigianus R. V. 29. is described in page 267*. No. 169. It was cursorily examined.

207. The Codex Ghigianus R. V. 32., written on paper in the fifteenth century, contains St. Paul's Epistles with a commentary. The text agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

208. The Codex Ghigianus VIII. 55., written on vellum in the eleventh century, and containing St. Paul's Epistles with a commentary, was cursorily collated. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

209, 210. (Acts 171, 172.) Two manuscripts belonging to the College at Rome, of the sixteenth century. They agree with the Constantinopolitan recension, and were cursorily examined.

211. (Acts 173.) A manuscript in the Royal Bourbon Library at Naples: it is described in page 267*. No. 173., and was collated in select passages.

212. (Acts 174.) The Codex Neapolitanus 1. C. 26., of the fifteenth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

213. The Codex Barberinianus 29., written (as appears from the subscription) in 1338, contains St. Paul's Epistles with prologues and scholia. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily examined.

214. The Codex Cæsareus Vindobonensis Theologicus 167. (Lambecii 46.) written on cotton paper in the fifteenth century, contains the Epistle to the Romans with a catena, and the first Epistle to the Corinthians with the commentaries of Chrysostom and Theodoret, and some other pieces. The text follows the readings of the commentaries, and was cursorily examined.

215. (Acts 140.) The Codex Venetus 546., described in page 266*. No. 140., was cursorily collated.

216. (Acts 175.) The Codex Messanensis II. is described in page 267*. No 175.

217. A manuscript in the Royal Library at Palermo, written on vellum in the fifteenth century, contains Saint Paul's Epistles. It is imperfect in Rom. and 1 Cor., also in 2 Cor. i. 1. to iv. 18., Heb. ii. 9. to the end, and 2 Tim. i. 8. to ii. 14.

218. (Gosp. 421. Acts 176.) The Codex Syracusanus is described in pp. 254, 255. No. 421.

219. (Gosp. 122. Acts 177.) The Codex Lugdunensis-Batavus (formerly Meermannianus 116.), is described in page 245. No. 122., and mostly agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It is imperfect from Rom. i. 1. to vii. 13. and 1 Cor. ii. 7. to xiv. 23.

220. (Gosp. 400. Acts 181.) The Codex Berolinensis Bibliothecæ (formerly Diezii 10.), described in page 254. No. 400., agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

221. (Gosp. 440. Acts 111.) The Codex Cantabrigiensis Mm. 6. 9.: it is described in page 255. No. 440.

222, 223. (Gosp. 441, 442. Acts 110. 152.) The Codices Cantabrigienses ✝ 2262. and 2537, 2538, contain the entire New Testament. Scholz has not stated with what recensions they agree.

224. (Acts 58.) The Codex Clarkii 9. in the Bodleian Library, described in page 263*. No. 58., is imperfect after Heb. xiii. 7. It was collated for the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and very seldom differs from the received text.

225. (Acts 112.) The Codex Cantabrigiensis 2068. is described in page 265*. No. 112. and note.

226. The Codex Cantabrigiensis 1152. contains the Epistles of St. Paul.

227. (Acts 56.) The Codex Clarkii 4. in the Bodleian Library, is described in page 263*. No. 56.

228, 229. (Gosp. 226. 228. Acts 108, 109.) The Codices Escurialenses χ IV. 17. and 12. are described in page 249. Nos. 226. and 228.

230. (Gosp. 368. Acts 150. Apoc. 84.) The Codex Richardianus: it is described in page 266*. No. 150., and was cursorily collated in the epistles.

231, 232. (Acts 183, 184.) Two manuscripts, (No. 8. and No. 9.) in the Great Greek Monastery at Jerusalem: they are described in page 268*., Nos. 183, 184., and were cursorily collated.

233. (Acts 185.) A manuscript (No. 1.) in the library of the Greek monastery of St. Saba: it is described in page 268*. No. 185.

234. (Gosp. 457. Acts 186.) Another manuscript (No. 2.) in the same library: it is described in page 268* No. 186.

235, 236. (Gosp. 462. Acts 187. and 188.) Are two manuscripts (Nos. 10. and 15.) in the same library, described in page 268*. Nos. 187, 188.

237. (Gosp. 465. Acts 189.) A manuscript (No. 20.) in the same library: it is described in page 268*. No. 189.

238. (Gosp. 431. Acts 180.) The Codex Molshemiensis: it is described in pages 255. No. 431. and 167*. No. 180. In the Epistles of St. Paul the text of this manuscript agrees sometimes with the Constantinopolitan, and sometimes with the Alexandrine recension.

239. (Gosp. 189. Acts 141.) The Codex Laurentianus VI. 27., of the twelfth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

240. (Gosp. 444. Acts 153.) The Codex Harleianus 5796.: it is described in page 255. No. 444.

241. (Acts 97.) The Codex Gudianus gr. 104. 2. is described in page 264*. No. 97.

242. (Acts 178. Apoc. 87.) The Codex (formerly Meermannianus 118.): it is described in page 267*. No. 178.

243. (Acts 182.) A manuscript belonging to a monastery in the island of Patmos: it is described in pp. 267*, 268*. No. 182.

244, 245, 246. (Acts 190—192.) The Codices Wakiani 2. 3. 4. They are described in page 268*. Nos. 190, 191, 192.

§ 7. MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING THE APOCALYPSE, OR REVELATION OF SAINT JOHN.

i. *Manuscripts written in Uncial or Capital Letters collated by Editors who preceded Dr. Scholz.*

I.—*A.* (Gosp. A.) The Codex Alexandrinus: it is described in pp. 222—224.

II.—*B.* The Codex Vaticanus, formerly belonging to the Monks of St. Basil at Rome, No. 105., contains the Apocalypse with the Homilies of Basil (surnamed the Great) and of Gregory of Nazianzum. This manuscript was, by the order of Cardinal Quirini, collated with Morinus's edition printed at Paris in 1628. Griesbach has remarked, either that there are very numerous lacunæ in this manuscript, or it was inaccurately collated.

III.—*C.* (Gosp. C.) The Codex Ephremi, described in pp. 229, 230. It is imperfect in Rev. iii. 20. to v. 14.; vii. 14. to ix. 16.; xvi. 14. to xix. 2.; and xix. 10. to the end. It was collated anew by Dr. Scholz.

ii. *Manuscripts written in Cursive or the ordinary Greek small Characters.*

1. The Codex Reuchlini or Capnionis contains the Apocalypse with the commentary of Andreas Cæsariensis. This manuscript was followed by Erasmus in his first edition of the Greek Testament. He highly extolled its antiquity, and frequently cites it in his notes. It is not known what has become of this manuscript.

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2. (Acts 10. Paul. Ep. 12.) The CODEX REGIUS 237., described in page 261*. No. 10. Its text for the most part agrees with the Alexandrine and Vatican Manuscripts (*A.* and *B.*), and frequently also with Nos. 9. and 36. *infrà*. It was collated by Wetstein and Scholz.

3. The CODEX STEPHANI *κ'* is now unknown.

4. (Acts 12. Paul. Ep. 16.) The CODEX REGIUS 219., described in page 261*. No. 12., was collated in select passages by Scholz.

5. The manuscripts collated by Laurentius Valla: see a notice of them in page 243. No. 82.

6. (Acts 23. Paul. Ep. 28.) The CODEX BAROCCIANUS 3., described in page 261*. No. 23. Chap. xvii. 10. to xviii. 7. and the last three chapters of the Apocalypse are wanting.

7. (Acts 25. Paul. Ep. 31.) The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5537.
8. (Acts 28. Paul. Ep. 34.) The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5778.
These manuscripts are described in page 262*. Nos. 25. and 28.

9. (Acts 30. Paul. Ep. 36.) The CODEX BODLEIANUS 131. is described in page 262*. No. 30.

10. (Gosp. 60.) The CODEX CANTABRIGIENSIS Dd. 9. 69. is described in page 241. No. 60.

11. (Acts 39. Paul. Ep. 45.) The CODEX PETAVIANUS 9. is described in page 262*. No. 39.

12. (Acts 40. Paul. Ep. 46.) The CODEX ALEXANDRINO-VATICANUS 179., described in page 262*. No. 40., is imperfect in Rev. xvii. 9—14. It mostly agrees with the Alexandrine recension, and was collated anew by Birch (for chapters i. and ii.) and by Scholz.

13. (Acts 42. Paul. Ep. 48.) The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ FRANCOFURTENSIS AD VIADRUM, described in page 262*. No. 42., mostly agrees with Cod. 2.

14. (Gosp. 69. Acts 31. Paul. Ep. 37.) The CODEX LEICESTRENSIS (described in page 242. No. 69.) wants the two last chapters of the Apocalypse.

15. (Gosp. E.) The CODEX BASILEENSIS B. VI. 21. (described in page 232.) contains a fragment of chapters iii. and iv., which Griesbach says are written in a later hand.

16. (Acts 45. Paul. Ep. 5.) The CODEX UFFENBACHIANUS 2. is described in page 262*. No. 45.

17. (Gosp. 35. Acts 14. Paul. Ep. 18.) The CODEX COISLINIANUS 199. is described in page 240. No. 35. It was collated in select passages by Scholz.

18. (Acts 18. Paul. Ep. 22.) The CODEX COISLINIANUS 202. is described in page 261*. No. 18. It was collated in select passages by Scholz.

19. (Acts 17. Paul. Ep. 21.) The CODEX COISLINIANUS 205., described in page 261*. No. 17. was collated in select passages by Scholz.

20. (Gosp. 175. Acts 41. Paul. Ep. 194.) The CODEX VATICANUS 2080. is described in page 247. No. 175.

21. The CODEX VALLICELLIANUS D. 20., written on paper in the fourteenth century, contains the Apocalypse with the commentary of Andreas: it was collated in select passages by Scholz, and agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

22. (Acts 166. Paul. Ep. 203.) The CODEX VALLICELLIANUS B. 86. is described in page 267*. No. 166. Scholz has substituted these two Vallicellian manuscripts in lieu of two French manuscripts cited by Dr. Bentley in his Specimen of Rev. xxii., which he (Dr. S.) has no doubt exist among some of the manuscripts specified in the following numbers.

23. (Gosp. 38. Acts 19.) The CODEX COISLINIANUS 200., described in page 240. No. 38., was cursorily collated by Scholz, who has substituted this manuscript for the readings in the first three chapters, extracted from one or more Medicean manuscripts at Florence, and inserted in the margin of Rapheleng's edition, which manuscripts (he is of opinion) are also concealed among the following numbers.

24. (Acts 160. Paul. Ep. 193.) The CODEX VATICANUS 2062., described in page 266*. No. 160., was collated by Scholz. The last two verses of Rev. xxii. are cited by Blanchini. The text of this manuscript mostly agrees with the Codices 6. 7. and 8.

25. (Gosp. 149. Acts 77. Paul. Ep. 88.) The CODEX PALATINO-VATICANUS 171. is a manuscript of the fourteenth century, from which Wetstein cited some readings taken from Amelotte's notes to his French Version of the Apocalypse. This manuscript was collated anew by Dr. Birch (for ch. i. to iii. 9.) and by Scholz.

26. (Lectionary 57.) The CODEX WAKIANUS 1. in the Library of Christ's College, Oxford, is a manuscript written on vellum, in a bold round hand, in the eleventh century, which was brought to England from Constantinople in the year 1731. It contains the Apocalypse, and lessons taken from the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, and seldom departs from the ordinary Greek text. Abbreviations frequently occur, and there is also a frequent confusion of vowels. This and the two following manuscripts were collated, in the Apocalypse, by Caspar Wetstein.

27. (Acts 190. Paul. Ep. 244.) The CODEX WAKIANUS 2., in the same library, is described in page 268*. No. 190.

28. The CODEX BAROCCIANUS 48., in the Bodleian Library, besides other writings, contains the Apocalypse from the beginning to chap. xvii. 6.

29. (Acts 60. Paul. Ep. 63.) The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5613., described in page 263*. No. 60., ends with Rev xxii. 2.

30. (Acts 69. Paul. Ep. 74.) The CODEX GUELPHERBYTANUS XVI. 7. is described in page 263*. No. 69. Knittel first edited the readings of this manuscript of the Apocalypse in his *Beyträgen zur Kritik über Johannis Offenbarung* [Contributions for a Criticism on the Revelation of John.]

31. The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5678. formerly belonged to a Jesuit College at Agen: it is written on paper, in the fifteenth century, and contains the Apocalypse with the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. The readings of this manuscript were communicated to Griesbach by Dr. Paulus.

32. The CODEX DRESDENSIS (formerly Loescherianus) contains the Apocalypse written on vellum, according to Matthaei, in the fifteenth century, though others refer it to the twelfth or thirteenth century. Scholz states that it is a manuscript of the highest character, having been written by a learned and accurate Greek. These four manuscripts, 29—32., almost always agree with each other, and with Cod. 9., 14., and some others.

33. (Gosp. 218. Acts 65. Paul. Ep. 57.) The CODEX CÆSAREO-VINDOBONENSIS 23. (Lambecii 1.), described in page 248. No. 218., is imperfect from chap. xx. 7. to the end.

34. (Acts 66. Paul. Ep. 67.) The CODEX CÆSAREO-VINDOBONENSIS 302. (Lambecii 34.), described in page 263*. No. 66., is imperfect in chap. xv. 6. to xvii. 3.; xviii. 10. to xix. 9.; and xx. 8. to the end.

35. The CODEX CÆSAREO-VINDOBONENSIS 307. (Lambecii 248.), written on vellum in the fourteenth century, besides other pieces, contains the Apocalypse with the commentary of Andreas Cretensis.

36. The CODEX VIENNENSIS (Forlosiæ 29. and Kollarii 26.) ends with chap. xix. 20. It is written on vellum, of the fourteenth century, and also has the commentary of Andreas Cretensis. The MSS. 33. to 36. were first collated by Alter: the readings of 37. to 46. were published by Dr. Birch; and Nos. 38. to 44. were further collated by Scholz.

38. The CODEX VATICANUS 579., written on cotton paper in the thirteenth century, contains the Apocalypse with

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some writings of the fathers: it mostly agrees with the Alexandrine recension.

39. (Paul. Ep. 85.) The Codex Vaticanus 1136., described in page 270*. No. 85., is imperfect in chap. i. 1. to iv. 7., and vi. 18. to xiii. 11.

40. (Gosp. 141. Acts 75. Paul. Ep. 86.) The Codex Vaticanus 1160. is described in page 247. No. 141.

41. The Codex Alexandrino-Vaticanus 68., written on paper in the fourteenth century, contains the Apocalypse, to which are prefixed some extracts from Oecumenius and Andreas on that book.

42. (Acts 80. Paul. Ep. 91.) The Codex Pio-Vaticanus 50. is a manuscript of the twelfth century.

43. The Codex Barberinianus 23., written on vellum in the fourteenth century, contains Rev. xiv. 17. to xviii. 20. with a commentary, and the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges, with a catena. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

44. (Acts 82. Paul. Ep. 92.) The Codex Borgiæ 4. is written on vellum, of the thirteenth century.

45. (Acts 89. Paul. Ep. 99.) The Codex Laurentianus IV. 32. is described in page 264*. No. 89.

46. (Gosp. 209. Acts 95. Paul. Ep. 108.) The Codex Venetianus 10., described in page 248. No. 209., appears (according to Scholz) to be a copy of No. 88. (the Codex Venetus or Venetianus 5.)

47. (Gosp. 241. Acts 104. Paul. Ep. 120.) The Codex Dresdensis (k. of Matthaei) is described in page 249. No. 241.

48. (Gosp. 242. Acts 105. Paul. Ep. 121.) The Codex S. Synodi Mosquensis (l. of Matthaei) is described in page 249. No. 242., with which compare page 264*. note 1.

49. The Codex S. Synodi 67. (o. of Matthaei), written on paper in the fourteenth century, contains the Apocalypse with the commentaries of Andreas and Gregory of Nazianzum. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

50. The Codex S. Synodi 206. (p. of Matthaei), written partly on paper and partly on vellum in the twelfth century, contains the Apocalypse and some lives of the saints.

50². A manuscript in the Library of the Synod at Moscow, written on vellum in the tenth century, contains the Apocalypse. The MSS. 47. to 50². were all collated by Matthaei.

iii. *Manuscripts collated for the first time by Dr. Scholz.*

51. (Gosp. 18. Acts 113. Paul. Ep. 132.) The Codex Regius 47. is described in page 239. No. 18. The text of the Apocalypse very often differs from the Alexandrine recension. The whole was collated by Scholz.

52. (Acts 51. Paul. Ep. 133.) The Codex Regius 56., described in page 263*. No. 51., is mutilated in chap. xxii. 17—21. This and the following manuscripts, to No. 67. inclusive, were cursorily collated.

53. (Acts 116. Paul. Ep. 137.) The Codex Regius 59. is described in page 265*. No. 116.

54. (Gosp. 263. Acts 117. Paul. Ep. 137.) The Codex Regius 61. is described in page 250. No. 263.

55. (Acts 118. Paul. Ep. 138.) The Codex Regius 101. is described in page 265*. No. 118.

56. (Acts 119. Paul. Ep. 139.) The Codex Regius 102. A. is described in page 265*. No. 119.

57. (Acts 124. Paul. Ep. 149.) The Codex Regius 124. is described in page 265*. No. 124.

58. The Codex Regius 19., formerly Colbertinus, written on paper in the sixteenth century, contains the Apocalypse, Job, and Justin's Exhortation to the Greeks: it agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

59. The Codex Regius 99ª., written on paper in the sixteenth century, contains the Apocalypse with a commentary: it follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

60. (Paul. Ep. 152.) The Codex Regius 136ª., is described in page 271*. No. 152.

61. The Codex Regius 491., written on cotton paper in the thirteenth century, contains the Apocalypse (imperfect), besides various treatises of Basil, Theodoret, and Maximus. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

62, 63. The Codex Regius 239. and 240. and the Cod. Reg. 241. (formerly Thuaneus, afterwards Colbertinus) are both written on paper in the sixteenth century: they contain Andreas's commentary on the Apocalypse, and agree with the Constantinopolitan recension.

64. (Paul. Ep. 159.) The Codex Regius 224. is described in page 272*. No. 159.

65. A Manuscript (No. 95.) belonging to the university of Moscow (formerly Coislinianus 229.) written on vellum, contains Rev. xvi. 20. to the end, besides some other pieces: it agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

66. (Gosp. 131. Acts 70. Paul. Ep. 77.) The Codex Vaticanus 360. is described in page 246. No. 131.

67. The Codex Vaticanus 1743., written on vellum in the year 1302, contains the Apocalypse with Andreas's commentary: it agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

68. The Codex Vaticanus 1904., written on vellum in the eleventh century, contains Rev. vii. 17. to viii. 12. and xx. 1. to the end, with some other passages which are misplaced by the bookbinder, the commentary of Aretas, and various fragments of heathen and Christian writers. The text agrees with that of the Codex Alexandrinus. Nearly the whole of it was collated.

69. (Acts 161. Paul. Ep. 198.) The Codex Vaticano-Ottobonianus 258. is described in page 266*. No. 161. It is imperfect at the end. In the Apocalypse this manuscript mostly agrees with the Alexandrine recension: nearly the whole of it was collated.

70. (Gosp. 386. Acts 151. Paul. Ep. 199.) The Codex Vaticano-Ottobonianus 66. is described in pp. 253, 254. No. 386.

71. (Gosp. 390. Acts 164. Paul. Ep. 203.) The Codex Vaticano-Ottobonianus 381. is described in page 254, No. 390.

72. The Codex Ghigianus R. IV. 8., written on paper in the sixteenth century, contains the Apocalypse with the commentary of Aretas. Its text agrees with that of the Alexandrine Manuscript.

73. The manuscript numbered 388. in the Corsini Library, written on paper in the sixteenth century, contains the Apocalypse with the commentary of Andreas: it mostly agrees with the text of recent manuscripts.

74. (Acts 140. Paul. Ep. 215.) The Codex Venetus 546. is described in page 266*. No. 140.

75. (Acts 86. Paul. Ep. 96.) The Codex Laurentianus IV. 20. is described in page 264*. No. 86.

76. (Acts 147. Paul. Ep. 183.) The Codex Laurentianus IV. 30. is described in page 266*. No. 147.

77. The Codex Laurentianus VII. 9., written on paper in the sixteenth century, with the commentary of Aretas, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

78. (Paul. Ep. 197.) The Codex Ottobonianus 176. is described in page 272*. No. 197.

79. The Codex Monacensis 248., written on paper in the sixteenth century, contains the Apocalypse with the commentary of Andreas. It was collated by Frederic Sylburgius for his edition of the Apocalypse with that commentary and the Latin version of Theodore Peltanus printed at Heidelberg in 1596. Its text does not vary from that of Andreas.

80. The Codex Monacensis 544. (Augustanus 7. of Bengel) formerly belonged to the Greek Emperor Manuel

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is written on cotton paper, in the fourteenth century, and contains the text of the Apocalypse with Andreas's commentary. Scholz collated it in select passages.

81. The CODEX MONACENSIS 23., on paper, written in the sixteenth century, also contains the Apocalypse with Andreas's Commentary, in addition to the works of Gregory bishop of Nyssa. This manuscript was consulted by Peltanus for his edition of Andreas, printed at Ingoldstadt in 1547. 4to.

82. (Acts 179. Paul. Ep. 128.) The CODEX MONACENSIS 211. is described in page 267*. No. 179. In the Apocalypse the text of this manuscript agrees with Cod. 2. Nearly the whole of it was collated.

83. (Gosp. 339. Acts 135. Paul. Ep. 170.) The CODEX TAURINENSIS 302. c. II. 5. is described in page 252. No. 339. Its text very seldom differs from that of the Cod. Alexandrinus and Cod. Ephremi.

84. (Gosp. 368. Acts 150. Paul. Ep. 232.) The CODEX RICHARDIANUS 84., described in page 266*. No. 150., was cursorily collated.

85. (Acts 184. Paul. Ep. 231.) A manuscript, No. 9., in the great Greek Monastery at Jerusalem: it is described in page 268*. No. 184.

86. The manuscript numbered 10. in the Greek monastery of St. Saba, contains the New Testament written on vellum in the fourteenth century.

86[2]. Another manuscript numbered 20., in the same library, contains the New Testament written on vellum in the thirteenth century: it was cursorily collated by Scholz.

87 (Acts 178. Paul. Ep. 242.) The CODEX MEERMANNIANUS 118.: it is described in page 267*. No. 178.

88. (Gosp. 205. Acts 93. Paul. Ep. 106.) The CODEX VENETUS 5. is described in page 264*. No. 93

§ 8. MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING LECTIONARIES OR LESSONS FROM THE ACTS AND EPISTLES.

i. *Manuscripts cited by preceding Editors of the New Testament.*

1. (Evangelisterium 6. Paul. Ep. 1.) The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ LUGDUNO-BATAVÆ 243., described in page 256. No. 6., agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

2. The CODEX COTTONIANUS, Vespasian. B. XVIII. contains portions from the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, appointed to be read on holydays: this manuscript is referred to the eleventh century.

3. Of Griesbach's Notation is the Lectionarium Bodleianum 5., cited by Dr. Mill on Heb. x. 22, 23. But Scholz has designated with this number a manuscript *formerly* in the Library of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, (for it is now lost). It was written on vellum in the eleventh century, and contained lessons from 1 Pet. and 1 John, the readings of which were communicated to Mill by Dr. John Batteley.

4. The CODEX LAURENTIANUS, formerly belonging to St. Mark's Library at Florence, contains lessons from the Acts and Epistles, written in the eleventh century.

5. (6. of Griesbach's Notation.) The CODEX GOTTINGENSIS 2., in the University Library at Gottingen, formerly belonged to Cæsar de Missy, contains lessons from the Acts and Epistles, written on vellum in the fifteenth century. This lectionary was collated by Matthaei, who cited it by the letter V.

*5. Of Griesbach's Notation, is the CODEX BODLEIANUS 296., described in page 257. No. 30., and containing fragments of a lectionary.

6. (*4. of Griesbach's Notation.) The CODEX HARLEIANUS 5731., (Gosp. 117.) described in page 245. No. 117., also contains fragments of a lectionary, which very seldom deviates from the received text. It was collated by Griesbach.

7. (Evangelist. 37.) A manuscript, No. 287. in the Library of the Propaganda at Rome, described in page 257. No. 37.

8. (Evangelist. 44.) The CODEX HAUNIENSIS 3. was written in the fifteenth century: it follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

9, 10. (Evangelist. 84, 85.) The CODICES REGII 32[a]. and 33[a]., are noticed in page 258. No. 84. They were both cursorily collated by Scholz.

11. The CODEX REGIUS 104[a]. is a manuscript of the twelfth century, well written by some one in a monastery in Palestine: it contains lessons from the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse, with Arabic notes inserted in the margin. It mostly agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

12. (Evangelist. 60.) The CODEX REGIUS 375. is described in page 258. No. 60.: it abounds with errors.

13. The CODEX MOSQUENSIS S. SYNODI 4. (b. of Matthaei) contains lessons from the Acts and Epistles written in the tenth century: it was renovated by a monk named Joakim, A. M. 7033. (A. D. 1525). This and the following Lectionaries to 20. inclusive follow the Constantinopolitan recension, and were collated by Matthaei.

14. The CODEX S. SYNODI 291. (e. of Matthaei), written on vellum in the twelfth century, was brought from mount Athos.

15. The CODEX MOSQUENSIS TYPOGRAPHEI SYNOD. 31., (z. of Matthaei) contains lessons from the New Testament, written on vellum in the year 1176.

16—20. The EVANGELISTERIA 52—56., described in page 257. Nos. 52—56.

ii. *Manuscripts of Lectionaries collated for the first time by Dr. Scholz.*

21. The CODEX REGIUS 294. (Evangelist. 83.), written in the eleventh century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

22. The CODEX REGIUS 304., written on vellum in the thirteenth century, was brought from Constantinople into the Royal Library at Paris. It contains lessons taken from the Acts and Epistles, and for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, though it has many Alexandrine readings. This manuscript was cursorily collated.

23. The CODEX REGIUS 306., written on vellum in the twelfth century, is mutilated at the beginning and end. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

24. The CODEX REGIUS 308., written on vellum in the thirteenth century, contains lessons from the Old Testament and three portions from the first Epistle of St. John. The text agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. This manuscript is imperfect.

25. The CODEX REGIUS 319., (formerly Colbertinus 1365.) is inelegantly written on vellum in the eleventh century. Sometimes the Latin interpretation is written over the Greek words. The text for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, but it has some Alexandrine readings: it was collated in select passages.

26. The CODEX REGIUS 320., formerly 2469., written on vellum in the twelfth century, is imperfect: it agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily collated.

27. The CODEX REGIUS 321., formerly 2470. (Colbertinus 1571.), an imperfect lectionary written on vellum in the thirteenth century: it agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in 1 John and some other passages.

[1] Those manuscripts which are not specified as being written in uncial letters, are to be understood as being written in cursive or ordinary Greek characters

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28. The CODEX BODLEIANUS 3390. (Evangelist. 26.) is described in page 257. No. 26.

29. The CODEX REGIUS 330. (Evangelist. 94.) is described in page 258. No. 94. To the euchologium which is appended to this lectionary there are added some lessons from the Gospels and Epistles, especially that to the Hebrews, and part of the Greek Ecclesiastical Office, written by a later hand in the fifteenth century.

30. The CODEX REGIUS 373., written on vellum (but with a few leaves at the end on cotton paper) in the thirteenth century, is imperfect at the beginning and end. The text agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was collated in select passages.

31. The CODEX REGIUS 276. (Evangelist. 82.) is described in page 258. No. 82.

32. The CODEX REGIUS 376. (Gosp. 324. Evangelist. 97.) is described in page 252. No. 324. In the lessons from the Acts and Epistles the text very rarely differs from the received text: it was collated in 1 and 2 Tim., and cursorily examined for the remainder.

33. The CODEX REGIUS 382., formerly 3015. (Colbertinus 4149.), written on vellum in the thirteenth century, for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. The chief part of this manuscript was cursorily collated.

34. The CODEX REGIUS 383., formerly 3012. (Colbertinus 3855.), written on paper in the fourteenth century, frequently agrees with the Constantinopolitan, but more frequently with the Alexandrine recension. It was cursorily collated.

35, 36. The CODICES REGII 324. and 326. (Evangelist. 92, 93.) are described in page 258. Nos. 92, 93.

37. The CODEX RICHARDIANUS 84. (Gosp. 368. Acts 150.) is described in page 253. No. 368.

38. The CODEX VATICANUS 1528., written on vellum in the sixteenth century, agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, and was cursorily examined.

39. The CODEX VATICANO-OTTOBONIANUS 416. (Evangelist. 133.), written on paper in the fourteenth century, was collated in select passages: it agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

40. The CODEX BARBERINIANUS 18., is a Codex Rescriptus, very correctly executed on vellum in the tenth century. The ancient writing contains lessons from the Acts and Epistles, and is in many places so obliterated as to be illegible: the more modern writing (of the fourteenth century) contains lessons from the Old Testament, and at the end there are some taken from the Catholic or General Epistles. The text throughout agrees with that of the Constantinopolitan recension.

41. A CODEX BARBERINIANUS (not numbered), written on vellum in the eleventh century. The first hundred and eleven folios are wanting. This manuscript agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and was collated in select passages.

42. The CODEX VALLICELLIANUS C. 46., besides other extracts, contains lessons taken from the Acts and Epistles, which were written in the sixteenth century.

43. The CODEX RICHARDIANUS 2742., at Florence: the age of this lectionary is not stated by Scholz.

44, 45. The CODICES GLASGUENSES, formerly MISSYANI 6B. and CC., (or Nos. 1663. and 1634. of the Sale Catalogue of the Rev. Cæsar de Missy, from whom they took their name) are now in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow. They are both written on vellum, and contain lessons from the Acts and Epistles. No. 45. was written in the year 1199.

46. The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 63., written on vellum in the fourteenth century, for the most part agrees with the Alexandrine recension.

47. (Evangelist. 104.) The CODEX AMBROSIANUS 72. and
48. (Evangelist. 112.) The CODEX LAURENTIANUS 2742 } are described in page 259. Nos. 104 and 112

49. A manuscript, numbered 16. in the LIBRARY OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. SABA, written on paper in the fourteenth century. This and the five following MSS. were cursorily collated, and agree with the Constantinopolitan recension.

50. A manuscript in the same library, No. 18.: it is written on vellum, of the fifteenth century.

51. A manuscript on vellum, in the same library, No. 26., written in the fourteenth century.

52. A manuscript on vellum, in the same library, (not numbered), written in July, 1059, by one Sergius, a monk in the monastery named *Thevtokos* (in honour of the Virgin Mary).

53. A manuscript in the same library, No. 4. (Evangelist. 160.) is described in page 260. No. 160. It was written by one Antony, a monk in the above named monastery.

54. A manuscript in the same library (not numbered), written in the thirteenth century.

55. (Evangelist. 179.) The CODEX S. SIMEONIS, in the Library of the Cathedral of Triers in Germany, is described in page 260. No. 179.

56. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ GYMNASII FRANCOFURTENSIS, formerly Seidelianus, (Acts 42. Paul. Ep. 48. Apoc. 13.) is described in page 262*. No. 42. After the Apocalypse is a leaf of a lectionary, containing Matt. xvii. 16—23., and 1 Cor. ix. 2—12.

57. (Apoc. 26.) The CODEX WAKIANUS 1. is described in page 274*. No. 26. The lessons taken from the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, were first collated by Dr. Scholz.

58. The CODEX WAKIANUS 5. in the Library of Christ's College, contains lessons from the Acts and Epistles, written A. D. 1171: it consists of two hundred and sixty-five folios, with two columns in a page. In some pages the ink has disappeared from the ravages of time.

§ 9. NOTICES OF MANUSCRIPTS WHICH HAVE BEEN HITHERTO ONLY SLIGHTLY OR NOT AT ALL EXAMINED.

I. *The Codex San-Gallensis.*—II. *The Codices Manners-Sutoniani.*—III. *The Codices Burneiani.*—IV. *The Codices Butleriani.*—V. *Other Manuscripts existing in various Libraries.*

HOWEVER minute the researches of Dr. Scholz and his predecessors have been, many manuscripts, it appears, yet remain to be collated. At Moscow alone there is still an ample field for critical research, in the manuscripts preserved in the Patriarchal Library in that city, none of which (Dr. Henderson states[1]) have been fully collated. To this class may be referred the Codex Ebnerianus, described in page 244., and the manuscripts of which some account is now to be given.

I. The CODEX SAN-GALLENSIS derives its name from the abbey of St. Gall in Switzerland, in the library of which it is preserved. This manuscript contains the four Gospels, which are written on vellum of unequal thickness, and with ink of various shades of colour, sometimes black, sometimes yellowish, and sometimes of a tawny brown. Many of the leaves are much torn, and others are much soiled with dust and dirt. In almost every line one or more letters are twice as large as the rest, and are ornamented with red, violet, yellow, or green. The Codex San-Gallensis consists of three hundred and ninety-five pages, the two first of which are filled by a poem of Hilary, Bishop of Arles, concerning the Gospel. From the differences occurring in the handwriting, Dr. Rettig (from whose prolegomena to his accurate lithographed fac-simile of this manuscript published at Zurich in 1836, this notice is abridged) has shown that it is unquestionably the work of several copyists, written at different times, and that it was finished during the administration of Hartmotus, abbot of St. Gall, who died A. D. 984. During that period the ancient Scottish handwriting prevailed in Switzerland, many learned Scotsmen having settled there This manuscript may therefore be referred to the

[1] Biblical Researches, p. 54

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ninth or tenth century: from its general resemblance—not to say coincidence—with the handwriting of the Codex Boernerianus of the Epistles (described in page 233.), it is not improbable that these two manuscripts originally formed two parts of the same volume. Dr. Scholz could not obtain permission to collate the Codex San-Gallensis: he has noted it with the letter Δ, having cited it on John viii. from Gerbert's Travels, published in 1773, who first appears to have inspected it; and from the readings there given he considers it as following the Alexandrine recension.

II. The CODICES MANNERS-SUTTONIANI are a choice collection of manuscripts, in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, which were purchased and presented to that library by Archbishop Dr. Charles Manners Sutton. They are principally the collection made by the Rev. J. D. Carlyle, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, during his travels in the East, with a view to a critical edition of the New Testament, with various readings: which, however, was never undertaken, in consequence of his decease.[1] Of these manuscripts (which are chiefly of the New Testament) the following are particularly worthy of notice, on account of the harvest of various lections which they may be expected to afford:—

1. No. 1175. is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written on vellum, in quarto, towards the end of the eleventh or at the beginning of the twelfth century. The two first verses of the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel are wanting. At the end of this manuscript, on a single leaf, there are part of the last verse of the seventh chapter of Saint John's Gospel and the first eleven verses of the eighth chapter.

2. No. 1176. is another manuscript of the four Gospels, on vellum, in quarto, written in the twelfth century. On the first leaf there are some figures painted and gilt, which have nearly disappeared from age. This is followed by the chapters of the four Gospels.

3. No. 1177. is a manuscript of the four Gospels, on vellum, of the twelfth century, which is very much mutilated in the beginning.

4. No. 1178. contains the four Gospels, most beautifully written on vellum, in quarto, in the tenth century. The first seven verses and part of the eighth verse of the first chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel are wanting.

5. No. 1179. contains the four Gospels, mutilated at the beginning and end. It is on vellum, in quarto, of the twelfth century.

6—8. Nos. 1182, 1183. and 1185. are manuscripts, containing the Acts of the Apostles, the Catholic Epistles, and the whole of Saint Paul's Epistles. They are all written in quarto and on paper. No. 1182. is of the twelfth century: the conclusion of St. John's First Epistle, and the subsequent part of this manuscript to the end, have been added by a later hand. No. 1183. is of the fourteenth century. No. 1185 is of the fifteenth century, and is mutilated at the end.

9. No. 1186. is a quarto manuscript on vellum, written in the eleventh century, and contains the Epistles of Saint Paul and the Apocalypse. It is unfortunately mutilated at the beginning and end. It commences with Rom. xvi. 15. ....πας (that is, Ολυμπας) και τους συν αυτοις παντας αγιους,—.... *pas* (that is *Olympas*) *and all the saints which are with them*: and it ends with the words, επι του θρονου λεγοντες Αμην,—*on the throne, saying, Amen.* Rev. xix. 4. The Rev. H. J. Todd has given a fac-simile of this precious manuscript in his Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth.

10—12. Nos. 1187—1189. are evangelisteria or lessons from the four Gospels, written on vellum in the thirteenth century.

13. No. 1190. is a manuscript on vellum, written with singular neatness in the thirteenth century. Formerly it contained the Acts of the Apostles, and the Catholic Epistles, together with the whole of Saint Paul's Epistles. It is sadly mutilated and torn, both in the middle and at the end.

14. No. 1191. is a lectionary, from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. It is on vellum, in quarto, of the thirteenth century. It is mutilated both at the beginning and end. All the preceding manuscripts were brought by Professor Carlyle from the Greek islands.

15—17. Nos. 1194, 1195, and 1196. are lectionaries from the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles. They are on vellum, in quarto, and were written in the thirteenth century. No. 1194. is mutilated at the end: the writing of this manuscript is singularly neat, and many of the letters are gilt. No. 1195. is also mutilated at the beginning, and No. 1196. at the end.

18. No. 1192. is a very beautiful manuscript of the four Gospels, in quarto, written on vellum in the thirteenth century.

19. No. 1193. is a lectionary from the four Gospels, also written on vellum, in the thirteenth century. It is mutilated at the end. The six last manuscripts, Nos. 1191—1196., were brought from Syria.[2]

III. The CODICES BURNEIANI form part of the Collection of Classical and other Ancient Manuscripts, now deposited in the Library of the British Museum. They were purchased, under the sanction of parliament, of the representatives of the late Rev. Dr. Charles Burney, in the year 1818. In this collection there are many valuable Greek and Latin manuscripts of the Scriptures. The following are those which contain the New Testament, entire or in part, which do not appear to have been hitherto collated:—

1. No. 18. contains the four Gospels, elegantly written on vellum, by one Joasaph, in the year 6874., or A. D. 1366. The letters in the first pages of the sections are of gold. To each Gospel is prefixed an index of chapters; and a synaxarion, or table of ecclesiastical lessons from the Epistles is subjoined.

2. No. 19. is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written on vellum in the eleventh century. It has pictures of the evangelists and ornaments prefixed to the sections. This manuscript formerly belonged to the library of San Lorenzo in the Escurial.

3. No. 20. is a manuscript of the four Gospels, on vellum, written by one Theophylus, a monk, in the year 6793, or A. D. 1285. It has pictures of the evangelists, and the Eusebian canons are prefixed. There are also arguments, and tables of the chapters of the several Gospels: and at the end there is an *eclogadion* of the four Gospels, that is, a table of the beginning and end of each Gospel throughout the year, together with a synaxarion.

4. No. 21. is a manuscript of the four Gospels, very neatly written on paper by one Theodore, a monk, in the year 6800, or A. D. 1292.

5. No. 22. is an evangelisterium, on vellum, written in 1330.

6. No. 23. is an imperfect manuscript, on vellum, containing the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and John i.—viii. 14. It was probably written in the twelfth century.[3] A synaxarion and the epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus are prefixed, with tables of the chapters of the several Gospels.

IV. The CODICES BUTLERIANI are a choice collection of manuscripts in the library of the Rt. Rev. Samuel Butler, D.D., Bishop of Lichfield, to whom the author is indebted for the following critical notices of them.

1. NOVUM TESTAMENTUM, Græce. This manuscript is a very thick octavo, of the twelfth century, on vellum. It contains the whole of the New Testament, *except* the Apoca-

[1] Six of these precious MSS. having been reclaimed by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, as having been lent only to Professor Carlyle, they were returned to him in 1817, by his Grace the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. Full particulars relative to this transaction, so honourable to the noble and munificent character of the Primate of all England, may be seen in the Rev. H. J. Todd's "Account of Greek Manuscripts, chiefly Biblical, which had been in the Possession of the late Professor Carlyle, the greater part of which are now deposited in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth Palace." London. [1818.] 8vo.

[2] Catalogue of the MSS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth. By the Rev. H. J. Todd, pp. 261, 262. London, 1812. folio.

[3] Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. Vol. I. Part II (Cat. Libr. MSS. Bibliothecæ Burnelianæ) pp. 3—6.

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lypse, and has, generally, the best readings. At the beginning it has the Eusebian canons; and at the end there are several Psalms and extracts from the Old Testament. This manuscript is written in a small clear black character, with a few illuminations; one of which (among the Psalms and extracts from the Old Testament) is a representation of David slaying Goliath, who is bearing the kite-shaped shield, which went out of use about the middle of the twelfth century. This manuscript has not been collated.

2. NOVUM TESTAMENTUM, Græce. It is a large folio volume, on vellum, containing the entire text of the New Testament, *including* the Apocalypse, and is written in a fine bold hand, with stops and accents throughout: the initial letters and running titles at the top, and often at the bottom of each page, are in characters of gold. It has the Eusebian τίτλοι and κεφάλαια in the margins, and a collection of the whole before each book, in gold letters. The Gospels are placed first: to that of St. Matthew is prefixed a table of ecclesiastical lessons. To the Gospels succeeds the Acts of the Apostles, the seven Catholic Epistles, and the Epistles of Saint Paul, at the end of which is the date, Oct. 11 1368. Last of all comes the Apocalypse. The disputed clause in 1 John v. 7. is omitted. This most splendid manuscript, which is uninjured by worm or damp, is marked in Griesbach's Prolegomena, (sect. vii.) No. 107. and 201. It has been very imperfectly collated.

3. QUATUOR EVANGELIA, Græce. This fine manuscript, which is a short thick folio on vellum, dated A. D. 1326, has not yet been collated: it is interesting, as having been brought to the Rev. Dr. Butler from Mount Sinai. It is in the original thick wooden binding, ornamented with silver knobs, which (it is believed) are designed to represent pomegranate flowers. This manuscript is written in a bold hand, with black ink, and is illuminated with rude portraits of the Evangelists.

4. QUATUOR EVANGELIA, Græce. This manuscript, written on cotton paper, in quarto, is of the latter part of the fifteenth century. It is evidently the work of two different transcribers, and has not been collated.

5. EVANGELISTERIUM, Græce. This manuscript is a fine folio volume, on vellum, of the eleventh century: it was brought from Constantinople, and has not yet been collated.

6. SOME FRAGMENTS OF THE GOSPEL OF SAINT MATTHEW, comprised in six leaves of vellum, in small folio, of the twelfth century. They are beautifully written in double columns.

V. Although the industry of Dr. Scholz and his predecessors, who have correctly collated manuscripts of the New Testament, has left but few unexplored, yet the industry and research of Dr. Haenel have enabled him to point out some which have never yet been collated. The following notices of Greek manuscripts are collected by Scholz[1], from his Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum[2], in which elaborate compilation the libraries are alphabetically arranged in order of the places where the manuscripts are preserved.

1. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ ATREBATENSIS (a manuscript at Arras, in France) contains the New Testament, written on vellum in the fifteenth century.

2. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ CARPENTORACTENSIS (at Carpentras, in the south of France) contains the New Testament, written on vellum in the sixth century, in uncial characters.

3. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ SAINT GENOVEFÆ 4. A. 35. (at Paris) contains an ancient Greek copy of Saint Paul's Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians.

4. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ PICTAVIENSIS (at Poictiers) contains the New Testament written on paper. No date is assigned to this manuscript in Haenel's catalogue.

5. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ BASILEENSIS B. VI. 29., on vellum, contains the Acts of the Apostles, the Catholic Epistles, and those of St. Paul.

6. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ BASILEENSIS B. II. 5. contains the Acts and Epistles accurately written on vellum.

6. The CODICES ESCURIALENSIS BIBLIOTHECÆ are six manuscripts in the library of the Escurial, which contain the Acts of the Apostles; one has the Apocalypse, and four have St. Paul's Epistles.

7. A manuscript (No. 207.) of an unknown library of manuscripts, of which John Lamy has given a catalogue in his *Deliciæ Eruditorum*. It is said to contain the Gospels and Acts.

8. An Evangelisterium, written on vellum, in the Library of Besançon.

9. A manuscript in the Library of the Royal Institute, Paris, on vellum, containing the Gospel of St. John.

10. The CODEX GLASGUENSIS BIBLIOTHECÆ Q. 3. 35, 36., in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow, contains an Evangelisterium written in the eleventh century. [This and the two following manuscripts were purchased by Dr. Hunter, at the sale of the Rev. Cæsar de Missy's library.]

11. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ GLASGUENSIS Q. 122, 123 contains [two copies of] the four Gospels, written in the eleventh century.

12. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ GLASGUENSIS S. 8. 141. contains the Gospel of St. John, together with the epistles of Brutus [written in the fifteenth century].

13. A manuscript in the library of Sir THOMAS PHILLIPS, Bart. of Middle Hill, in the county of Worcester, purchased by that gentleman at Ghent. It contains the Gospels written on vellum in the thirteenth century.

14. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ EDINBURGENSIS UNIVERSITATIS, is a manuscript of the four Gospels, in the Library of the University of Edinburgh[3], to which it was presented in 1650 by Sir John Chiesley, Knt., who brought it from the east. It is written on vellum, in octavo, in the eleventh century, and in the ordinary or cursive Greek characters: and it consists of one hundred and seventy-four leaves, besides sixteen leaves at the beginning which appear to be the titles of chapters. Prefixed to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark are the remains of two illuminations, upon a gold ground, representing one evangelist as writing and the other as holding up his gospel: but, with the exception of the heads, the design is almost wholly obliterated. In a manuscript catalogue of the University Library, written about the year 1700, Mr. Robert Henderson, the librarian at that time, states that its date is about the year 700: but the character of the writing (which is full of contractions) proves that it is not and cannot be anterior to the eleventh century. Either from damp, or from the bad quality of the ink, the writing of this manuscript is so frequently almost obliterated, as to render the collation of it extremely difficult: and, what in a critical point of view is far worse, the readings which might be obtained from such collation would often necessarily be conjectural.

15. The CODEX BIBLIOTHECÆ TOLETANÆ (Toledo, in Spain) contains the four Gospels, written in the fourteenth century.

SECTION III.

ON THE ANCIENT VERSIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES.

NEXT to manuscripts, VERSIONS afford the greatest assistance in ascertaining critically the sacred text, as well as in the interpretation of the Scriptures. "It is only by means of versions that they, who are ignorant of the original languages, can at all learn what the Scripture contains; and every version, so far as it is just, conveys the sense of Scripture to those who understand the language in which it is written."

Versions may be divided into two classes, *ancient* and

[1] Nov. Test. Vol. II. Proleg. pp. LI. LII. LIV. LV.

[2] Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum, qui in Bibliothecis Galliæ, Helvetiæ, Belgii, Britanniæ M., Hispaniæ, Lusitaniæ, asservantur; nunc primum editit D. Gustavo HAENEL. Lipsiæ, 1830. 4to.

[3] For this account of the Edinburgh manuscript, the author is indebted to the Rev. Dr. Brunton, principal librarian of the University, and to David Laing, Esq of Edinburgh.

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modern: the former were made immediately from the original languages by persons to whom they were familiar; and who, it may be reasonably supposed, had better opportunities for ascertaining the force and meaning of words, than more recent translators can possibly have. Modern versions are those made in later times, and chiefly since the Reformation; they are useful for explaining the sense of the inspired writers, while ancient versions are of the utmost importance both for the criticism and interpretation of the Scriptures. The present section will therefore be appropriated to giving an account of those which are most esteemed for their antiquity and excellence.[1]

The principal ANCIENT VERSIONS, which illustrate the Scriptures, are the Chaldee Paraphrases, generally called Targums, the Septuagint, or Alexandrian Greek Version, the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and what are called the fifth, sixth, and seventh versions (of which latter translations fragments only are extant), together with the Syriac, and Latin or Vulgate versions. Although the authors of these versions did not flourish at the time when the Hebrew language was spoken, yet they enjoyed many advantages for understanding the Bible, especially the Old Testament, which are not possessed by the moderns: for, living near the time when that language was vernacular, they could learn by tradition the true signification of some Hebrew words, which is now forgotten. Many of them also being Jews, and from their childhood accustomed to hear the rabbins explain the Scriptures, the study of which they diligently cultivated, and likewise speaking a dialect allied to the Hebrew,—they could not but become well acquainted with the latter. Hence it may be safely inferred that the ancient versions generally give the true sense of Scripture, and not unfrequently in passages where it could scarcely be discovered by any other means. All the ancient versions, indeed, are of great importance both in the criticism, as well as in the interpretation, of the sacred writings, but they are not all witnesses of equal value; for the *authority* of the different versions depends partly on the age and country of their respective authors, partly on the text whence their translations were made, and partly on the ability and fidelity with which they were executed. It will therefore be not irrelevant to offer a short historical notice of the principal versions above mentioned, as well as of some other ancient versions of less celebrity perhaps, but which have been beneficially consulted by biblical critics.

§ 1. ON THE TARGUMS, OR CHALDEE PARAPHRASES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. *Targum of Onkelos;*—II. *Of the Pseudo-Jonathan;*—III. *The Jerusalem Targum;*—IV. *The Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel;*—V. *The Targum on the Hagiographa;*—VI. *The Targum on the Megilloth;*—VII. VIII. IX. *Three Targums on the book of Esther;*—X. *A Targum on the books of Chronicles;*—XI. *Real value of the different Targums.*

THE Chaldee word תרגום (TARGUM) signifies, in general, any version or explanation; but this appellation is more particularly restricted to the versions or paraphrases of the Old Testament, executed in the East-Aramæan or Chaldee dialect, as it is usually called. These Targums are termed paraphrases or expositions, because they are rather comments and explications, than literal translations of the text: they are written in the Chaldee tongue, which became familiar to the Jews after the time of their captivity in Babylon, and was more known to them than the Hebrew itself: so that, when the law was "read in the synagogue every Sabbath-day," in pure biblical Hebrew, an explanation was subjoined to it in Chaldee; in order to render it intelligible to the people, who had but an imperfect knowledge of the Hebrew language. This practice, as already observed, originated with Ezra:[2] as there are no traces of any written Targums prior to those of Onkelos and Jonathan, who are *supposed* to have lived about the time of our Saviour, it is highly probable that these paraphrases were at first merely oral; that, subsequently, the ordinary glosses on the more difficult passages were committed to writing; and that, as the Jews were bound by an ordinance of their elders to possess a copy of the law, these glosses were either afterwards collected together and deficiencies in them supplied, or new and connected paraphrases were formed.

There are at present extant ten paraphrases on different parts of the Old Testament, three of which comprise the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses:—1. The Targum of Onkelos; 2. That falsely ascribed to Jonathan, and usually cited as the Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan; and, 3. The Jerusalem Targum; 4. The Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzzie. (*i. e.* the son of Uzziel), on the Prophets; 5. The Targum of Rabbi Joseph the blind, or one-eyed, on the Hagiographa; 6. An anonymous Targum on the five Megilloth, or books of Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah; 7, 8, 9. Three Targums on the book of Esther; and, 10. A Targum or paraphrase on the two books of Chronicles. These Targums, taken together, form a continued paraphrase on the Old Testament, with the exception of the books of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah (anciently reputed to be part of Ezra); which being for the most part written in Chaldee, it has been conjectured that no paraphrases were written on them, as being unnecessary; though Dr. Prideaux is of opinion that Targums were composed on these books also, which have perished in the lapse of ages.

The language, in which these paraphrases are composed, varies in purity according to the time when they were respectively written. Thus, the Targums of Onkelos and the Pseudo-Jonathan are much purer than the others, approximating very nearly to the Aramæan dialect in which some parts of Daniel and Ezra are written, except, indeed, that the orthography does not always correspond; while the language of the later Targums whence the rabbinical dialect derives its source is far more impure, and is intermixed with barbarous and foreign words. Originally, all the Chaldee paraphrases were written without vowel-points, like all other oriental manuscripts; but at length some persons ventured to add points to them, though very erroneously, and this irregular punctuation was retained in the Venice and other early editions of the Hebrew Bible. Some further imperfect attempts towards regular pointing were made both in the Complutensian and in the Antwerp Polyglotts, until at length the elder Buxtorf, in his edition of the Hebrew Bible published at Basil, undertook the thankless task[3] of improving the punctuation of the Targums, according to such rules as he had formed from the pointing which he had found in the Chaldee parts of the books of Daniel and Ezra; and his method of punctuation is followed in Bishop Walton's Polyglott.

1. The TARGUM OF ONKELOS.—It is not known with certainty at what time Onkelos flourished, nor of what nation he was: Professor Eichhorn conjectures that he was a native of Babylon, first, because he is mentioned in the Babylonish Talmud; secondly, because his dialect is not the Chaldee spoken in Palestine, but much purer, and more closely resembling the style of Daniel and Ezra; and, lastly, because he has not interwoven any of those fabulous narratives to which the Jews of Palestine were so much attached, and from which they could with difficulty refrain. The generally received opinion is, that he was a proselyte to Judaism, and a disciple of the celebrated Rabbi Hillel, who flourished about fifty years before the Christian æra; and consequently that Onkelos was contemporary with our Saviour: Bauer and Jahn, however, place him in the second century. The Targum of Onkelos comprises the Pentateuch of five books of Moses, and is justly preferred to all the others both by Jews and Christians, on account of the purity of its style, and its general freedom from idle legends. It is rather a version than a paraphrase, and renders the Hebrew text word for word, with so much accuracy and exactness, that being set to the same musical notes, with the original Hebrew, it could be read or cantillated in the same tone as the latter in the public assemblies of the Jews. And this we find was the practice of the Jews up to the time of Rabbi Elias Levita; who flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century, and expressly states that the Jews read the law in their

[1] For an account of the principal MODERN VERSIONS, the reader is referred to the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to Vol. II. Part I. Chap. I. Sect. VI.

[2] See p. 190. *supra*. Our account of the Chaldee paraphrases is drawn up from a careful consideration of what has been written on them, by Carpzov, in his Critica Sacra, part ii. c. i. pp. 430—481.; Bishop Walton, Prol. c. 12. sect. ii. pp. 568—592.; Leusden, in Philolog. Hebræo-Mixt. Diss. v. vi. and vii. pp. 36—68.; Dr. Prideaux, Connection, part ii. book viii. sub anno 37. s. c. vol. iii. pp. 531—555. (edit. 1718.) Kortholt, De variis Scripturæ Editionibus, c. iii. pp. 34—51.; Pfeiffer, Critica Sacra, cap. viii. sect. ii. (Op. tom. ii. pp. 750—771.) and in his Treatise de Theologia Judaicâ, &c. Exercit. ii. (Ibid. tom. ii. pp. 862—889.); Bauer, Critica Sacra, tract. iii. pp. 288—308.; Rambach, Inst. Herm. Sacræ, pp. 606—611.; Pictet, Théologie Chrétienne, tom. i. p. 145. *et seq.*; Jahn, Introductio ad Libros Veteris Fœderis, pp. 69—75.; and Wæhner's Antiquitates Ebræorum, tom. i. pp. 156—170.

[3] Père Simon, Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test. liv. ii. c. viii. has censured Buxtorf's mode of pointing the Chaldee paraphrases with great severity; observing, that he would have done much better if he had more diligently examined manuscripts that were more correctly pointed.

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synagogues, first in Hebrew and then in the Targum of Onkelos. This Targum has been translated into Latin by Alfonso de Zamora, Paulus Fagius, Bernardinus Baldus, and Andrew de Leon of Zamora.[1]

II. The second Targum, which is a more liberal paraphrase of the Pentateuch than the preceding, is usually called the TARGUM OF THE PSEUDO-JONATHAN, being ascribed by many to Jonathan Ben Uzziel, who wrote the much esteemed paraphrase on the prophets. But the difference in the style and diction of this Targum, which is very impure, as well as in the method of paraphrasing adopted in it, clearly proves that it could not have been written by Jonathan Ben Uzziel, who indeed sometimes indulges in allegories, and has introduced a few barbarisms; but this Targum on the law abounds with the most idle Jewish legends that can well be conceived: which, together with the barbarous and foreign words it contains, render it of very little utility. From its mentioning the six parts of the *Talmud* (on Exod. xxvi. 9.), which compilation was not written till two centuries after the birth of Christ;—*Constantinople* (on Num. xxiv. 19.), which city was always called Byzantium until it received its name from Constantine the Great, in the beginning of the fourth century; the *Lombards* (on Num. xxiv. 24.), whose first irruption into Italy did not take place until the year 570; and the *Turks* (on Gen. x. 2.), who did not become conspicuous till the middle of the sixth century,—learned men are unanimously of opinion that this Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan could not have been written before the seventh, or even the eighth century. It was probably compiled from older interpretations. This Chaldee paraphrase was translated into Latin by Anthony Ralph de Chevalier, an eminent French Protestant divine, in the sixteenth century.

III. The JERUSALEM TARGUM, which also paraphrases the five books of Moses, derives its name from the dialect in which it is composed. It is by no means a connected paraphrase, sometimes omitting whole verses, or even chapters; at other times explaining only a single word of a verse, of which it sometimes gives a twofold interpretation; and at others, Hebrew words are inserted without any explanation whatever. In many respects it corresponds with the paraphrase of the Pseudo-Jonathan, whose legendary tales are here frequently repeated, abridged, or expanded. From the impurity of its style, and the number of Greek, Latin, and Persian words which it contains, Bishop Walton, Carpzov, Wolfius, and many other eminent philologers, are of opinion, that it is a compilation by several authors, and consists of extracts and collections. From these internal evidences, the commencement of the seventh century has been assigned as its probable date; but it is more likely not to have been written before the eighth or perhaps the ninth century. This Targum was also translated into Latin by Chevalier and by Francis Taylor.

IV. The TARGUM OF JONATHAN BEN UZZIEL.—According to the talmudical traditions, the author of this paraphrase was chief of the eighty distinguished scholars of Rabbi Hillel the elder, and a fellow-disciple of Simeon the Just, who bore the infant Messiah in his arms: consequently he would be nearly contemporary with Onkelos. Wolfius,[2] however, adopts the opinion of Dr. Prideaux, that he flourished a short time before the birth of Christ, and compiled the work which bears his name, from more ancient Targums, that had been preserved to his time by oral tradition. From the silence of Origen and Jerome concerning this Targum, of which they could not but have availed themselves if it had really existed in their time, and also from its being cited in the Talmud, both Bauer and Jahn date it much later than is generally admitted: the former, indeed, is of opinion, that its true date cannot be ascertained; and the latter, from the inequalities of style and method observable in it, considers it as a compilation from the interpretations of several learned men, made about the close of the third or fourth century. This paraphrase treats on the Prophets, that is (according to the Jewish classification of the sacred writings), on the books of Joshua, Judges, 1 & 2 Sam. 1 & 2 Kings, who are termed the *former* prophets; and on Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, who are designated as the *latter* prophets. Though the style of this Targum is not so pure and elegant as that of Onkelos, yet it is not disfigured by those legendary tales and numerous foreign and barbarous words which abound in the latter Targums. Both the language and method of interpretation, however, are irregular: in the exposition of the former prophets, the text is more closely rendered than in that on the latter, which is less accurate, as well as more paraphrastical, and interspersed with some traditions and fabulous legends. In order to attach the greater authority to the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, the Jews, not satisfied with making him contemporary with the prophets Malachi, Zachariah, and Haggai, and asserting that he received it from their lips, have related, that while Jonathan was composing his paraphrase, there was an earthquake for forty leagues around him; and that if any bird happened to pass over him, or a fly alighted on his paper while writing, they were immediately consumed by fire from heaven, without any injury being sustained either by his person or his paper!! The whole of this Targum was translated into Latin by Alfonzo de Zamora, Andrea de Leon, and Conrad Pellican; and the paraphrase on the twelve minor prophets, by Immanuel Tremellius.

V. The TARGUM ON THE CETUBIM, HAGIOGRAPHA, or Holy Writings, is ascribed by some Jewish writers to *Raf Jose*, or Rabbi Joseph, surnamed the one-eyed or blind, who is said to have been at the head of the academy at Sora, in the third century; though others affirm that its author is unknown. The style is barbarous, impure, and very unequal, interspersed with numerous digressions and legendary narratives: on which account the younger Buxtorf, and after him Bauer and Jahn, are of opinion that the whole is a compilation of later times; and this sentiment appears to be the most correct. Dr. Prideaux characterizes its language as the most corrupt Chaldee of the Jerusalem dialect. The translators of the preceding Targum, together with Arias Montanus, have given a Latin version of this Targum.

VI. The TARGUM ON THE MEGILLOTH, or five books of Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations of Jeremiah, Ruth, and Esther, is evidently a compilation by several persons: the barbarism of its style, numerous digressions, and idle legends which are inserted, all concur to prove it to be of late date, and certainly not earlier than the sixth century. The paraphrase on the book of Ruth and the Lamentations of Jeremiah is the best executed portion: Ecclesiastes is more freely paraphrased; but the text of the Song of Solomon is absolutely lost amidst the diffuse *circumscription* of its author, and his dull glosses and fabulous additions.

VII. VIII. IX. The THREE TARGUMS ON THE BOOK OF ESTHER.—This book has always been held in the highest estimation by the Jews; which circumstance induced them to translate it repeatedly into the Chaldee dialect. Three paraphrases on it have been printed: one in the Antwerp Polyglott, which is much shorter and contains fewer digressions than the others; another in Bishop Walton's Polyglott which is more diffuse, and comprises more numerous Jewish fables and traditions; and a third, of which a Latin version was published by Francis Taylor; and which, according to Carpzov, is more stupid and diffuse than either of the preceding. They are all three of very late date.

X. A TARGUM ON THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES, which for a long time was unknown both to Jews and Christians, was discovered in the library at Erfurt, belonging to the ministers of the Augsburg confession, by Matthias Frederick Beck; who published it in 1680, 3, 4, in two quarto volumes. Another edition was published at Amsterdam by the learned David Wilkins (1715, 4to.), from a manuscript in the university library at Cambridge. It is more complete than Beck's edition, and supplies many of its deficiences. This Targum, however, is of very little value; like all the other Chaldee paraphrases, it blends legendary tales with the narrative, and introduces numerous Greek words, such as οχλος, στφεται, αρχων, &c.

XI. Of all the Chaldee paraphrases above noticed, the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel are most highly valued by the Jews, who implicitly receive their expositions of doubtful passages. Shickhard, Mayer, Helvicus, Leusden, Hottinger, and Dr. Prideaux, have conjectured that some Chaldee Targum was in use in the synagogue where our Lord read Isa. lxi. 1, 2. (Luke iv. 17—19.); and that he quoted Psal. xxii. 1. when on the cross (Matt. xvii. 46.), not out of the Hebrew text, but out of a Chaldee paraphrase. But there does not appear to be sufficient ground for this hypothesis: for as the Chaldee or East Aramæan dialect was spoken at Jerusalem, it is at least as probable that Jesus Christ interpreted the Hebrew into the vernacular dialect in the first instance, as that he should have read from

[1] The fullest information, concerning the Targum of Onkelos, is to be found in the disquisition of G. B. Winer, entitled De Onkeloso, ejusque Paraphrasi Chaldaica Dissertatio, 4to. Lipsiæ, 1820.

[2] Bibliotheca Hebraica. tom. i. p. 1160.

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a Targum; and, when on the cross, it was perfectly natural that he should speak in the same language, rather than in the Biblical Hebrew; which, we have already seen, was cultivated and studied by the priests and Levites as a learned language. The Targum of Rabbi Joseph the Blind, in which the words cited by our Lord are to be found, is so long *posterior* to the time of his crucifixion, that it cannot be received as evidence. So numerous, indeed, are the variations, and so arbitrary are the alterations occurring in the manuscripts of the Chaldee paraphrases, that Dr. Kennicott has clearly proved them to have been designedly altered in compliment to the previously corrupted copies of the Hebrew text; or, in other words, that "alterations have been made wilfully in the Chaldee paraphrase to render that paraphrase, in some places, more conformable to the words of the Hebrew text, where those Hebrew words are supposed to be right, but had themselves been corrupted."[1] But notwithstanding all their deficiencies and interpolations, the Targums, especially those of Onkelos and Jonathan, are of considerable importance in the interpretation of the Scriptures, not only as they supply the meanings of words or phrases occurring but once in the Old Testament, but also because they reflect considerable light on the Jewish rites, ceremonies, laws, customs, usages, &c. mentioned or alluded to in both Testaments. But it is in establishing the genuine meaning of particular prophecies relative to the Messiah, in opposition to the false explications of the Jews and Antitrinitarians, that these Targums are pre-eminently useful. Bishop Walton, Dr. Prideaux, Pfeiffer, Carpzov, and Rambach, have illustrated this remark by numerous examples. Bishop Patrick, and Drs. Gill and Clarke, in their respective Commentaries on the Bible, have inserted many valuable elucidations from the Chaldee paraphrasts. Leusden recommends that no one should attempt to read their writings, nor indeed to learn the Chaldee dialect, who is not previously well-grounded in Hebrew: he advises the Chaldee text of Daniel and Ezra to be first read either with his own Chaldee Manual, or with Buxtorf's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon; after which the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan may be perused, with the help of Buxtorf's Chaldee and Syriac Lexicon, and of De Lara's work, *De Convenientia Vocabulorum Rabbinicorum cum Græcis et quibusdam aliis linguis Europæis.* Amstelodami, 1648, 4to.[2] Those, who may be able to procure it, may more advantageously study Mr. Riggs's *Manual of the Chaldee Language.* Boston, (Massachusetts), 1832. 8vo.

§ 2. ON THE ANCIENT GREEK VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. *The* SEPTUAGINT;—1. *History of it;*—2. *A critical account of its execution;*—3. *What manuscripts were used by its authors;*—4. *Account of the biblical labours of Origen;*—5. *Notice of the recensions or editions of Eusebius and Pamphilus, of Lucian, and of Hesychius;*—6. *Peculiar importance of the Septuagint Version in the criticism and interpretation of the New Testament.*—II. *Account of other Greek versions of the Old Testament;*—1. *Version of* AQUILA;—2. *Of* THEODOTION;—3. *Of* SYMMACHUS;—4, 5, 6. *Anonymous versions.*—III. *References in ancient manuscripts to other versions.*

I. AMONG the Greek versions of the Old Testament, the ALEXANDRIAN or SEPTUAGINT, as it is generally termed, is the most ancient and valuable; and was held in so much esteem both by the Jews and by the first Christians, as to be constantly read in the synagogues and churches. Hence it is uniformly cited by the early fathers, whether Greek or Latin, and from this version all the translations into other languages, which were anciently approved by the Christian church, were executed (with the exception of the Syriac), as the Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Gothic, and Old Italic or the Latin Version in use before the time of Jerome; and to this day the Septuagint is exclusively read in the Greek and most other Oriental churches.[3] This version has derived its name either from the Jewish account of seventy-two persons having been employed to make it, or from its having received the approbation of the Sanhedrin, or great council of the Jews, which consisted of seventy, or, more correctly, of seventy-two persons.—Much uncertainty, however, has prevailed concerning the *real* history of this ancient version; and while some have strenuously advocated its miraculous and divine origin, other eminent philologists have laboured to prove that it must have been executed by several persons and at different times.

1. According to one account, Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, caused this translation to be made for the use of the library which he had founded at Alexandria, at the request and with the advice of the celebrated Demetrius Phalereus, his principal librarian. For this purpose it is reported that he sent Aristeas and Andreas, two distinguished officers of his court, to Jerusalem, on an embassy to Eleazar, then high-priest of the Jews, to request of the latter a copy of the Hebrew Scriptures, and that there might also be sent to him seventy-two persons (six chosen out of each of the twelve tribes), who were equally well skilled in the Hebrew and Greek languages. These learned men were accordingly shut up in the island of Pharos: where, having agreed in the translation of each period after a mutual conference, Demetrius wrote down their version as they dictated it to him; and thus, in the space of seventy-two days, the whole was accomplished. This relation is derived from a letter ascribed to Aristeas himself, the authenticity of which has been greatly disputed. If, as there is every reason to believe is the case, this piece is a forgery, it was made at a very early period; for it was in existence in the time of Josephus, who has made use of it in his Jewish Antiquities. The veracity of Aristeas's narrative was not questioned until the seventeenth or eighteenth century: at which time, indeed, biblical criticism was, comparatively, in its infancy. Vives,[4] Scaliger,[5] Van Dale,[6] Dr. Prideaux, and, above all, Dr. Hody,[7] were the principal writers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who attacked the genuineness of the pretended narrative of Aristeas; and though it was ably vindicated by Bishop Walton,[8] Isaac Vossius,[9] Whiston,[10] Brett,[11] and other modern writers, the majority of the learned in our own time are fully agreed in considering it as fictitious.

Philo, the Jew, who also notices the Septuagint version, was ignorant of most of the circumstances narrated by Aristeas; but he relates others which appear not less extraordinary. According to him, Ptolemy Philadelphus sent to Palestine for some learned Jews, whose number he does not specify: and these going over to the island of Pharos, there executed so many distinct versions, all of which so *exactly and uniformly* agreed in sense, phrases, and words, as proved them to have been not common interpreters; but men prophetically inspired and divinely directed, who had every word dictated to them by the Spirit of God throughout the entire translation. He adds that an annual festival was celebrated by the Alexandrian Jews in the Isle of Pharos, where the version was made, until his time, to preserve the memory of it, and to thank God for so great a benefit.[12]

Justin Martyr, who flourished in the middle of the second century, about one hundred years after Philo, relates[13] a similar story, with the addition of the seventy interpreters being shut up each in his own separate cell (which had been erected for that purpose by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus); and that here they composed so many distinct versions, word for word, in the very same expressions, to the great admiration of the king; who, not doubting that this version was divinely inspired, loaded the interpreters with honours,

[1] Dr. Kennicott's Second Dissertation, pp. 167—193.

[2] See a notice of the principal editions of the Chaldee Paraphrases in the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to VOL. II. PART I. CHAP. I. SECT. V. § 1.

[3] Walton, Prol. c. ix. (pp. 333—469.); from which, and from the following authorities, our account of the Septuagint is derived, viz. Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 243—273. who has chiefly followed Hody's book, hereafter noticed, in the history of the Septuagint version: Dr. Prideaux, Connection, part ii. book i. sub anno 277. (vol. ii. pp. 27—49.); Masch's Preface to part ii. of his edition of Le Long's Bibliotheca Sacra, in which the history of the Septuagint version is minutely examined; Morus, in Ernesti, vol. ii. pp. 80—81. 101—119.; Carpzov, Critica Sacra, pp. 491—551.; Masch and Boerner's edition of Le Long's Bibliotheca Sacra, part ii. vol. ii. pp. 215—220. 256—304.; Thomas, Introductio in Hermeneuticam Sacrum utriusque Testamenti, pp. 228—253.; Harles, Brevior Notitia Litteraturæ Græcæ, pp. 638—643.; and Renouard, Annales de l'Imprimerie des Aldes, tom. i. p. 140. See also Origenis Hexapla, a Montfaucon, tom. i. Prælim. Diss. pp. 17—25. A *full* account of the manuscripts and editions of the Greek Scriptures is given in the preface to vol. i. of the edition of the Septuagint commenced by the late Rev. Dr. Holmes, of which an account is given in the Appendix to Vol. II.

[4] In a note on Augustine de Civitate Dei, lib. viii. c. 42.

[5] In a note on Eusebius's Chronicle, no. MDCCXXXIV.

[6] Dissertatio super Aristea, de LXX interpretibus, &c. Amst. 1705, 4to.

[7] De Bibliorum Græcorum Textibus, Versionibus Græcis, et Latinâ Vulgatâ, libri iv. cui præmittitur Aristeæ Historia, folio, Oxon. 1705.

[8] Prol. c. ix. § 3—10. pp. 338—389.

[9] De LXX. Interpretibus, Hag. Com. 1661, 4to.

[10] In the Appendix to his work on "The Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies," London, 1724. 8vo.

[11] Dissertation on the Septuagint, in Bishop Watson's Collection of Theological Tracts, vol. iii. p. 20. *et seq.*

[12] De Vita Mosis, lib. ii.

[13] Cohort. ad Gentes.

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and dismissed them to their own country, with magnificent presents. The good father adds, that the ruins of these cells were visible in his time. But this narrative of Justin's is directly at variance with several circumstances recorded by Aristeas; such, for instance, as the previous conference or deliberation of the translators, and, above all, the very important point of the version being dictated to Demetrius Phalereus. Epiphanius, a writer of the fourth century, attempts to harmonize all these accounts by shutting up the translators two and two, in thirty-six cells, where they might consider or deliberate, and by stationing a copyist in each cell, to whom the translators dictated their labours: the result of all which was the production of thirty-six inspired versions, agreeing most uniformly together.

It is not a little remarkable that the Samaritans have traditions in favour of their version of the Pentateuch equally extravagant with those preserved by the Jews. In the Samaritan Chronicle of Abul Phatach, which was compiled in the fourteenth century from ancient and modern authors both Hebrew and Arabic, there is a story to the following effect:—That Ptolemy Philadelphus, in the tenth year of his reign, directed his attention to the difference subsisting between the Samaritans and Jews concerning the law; the former receiving only the Pentateuch, and rejecting every other work ascribed to the prophets by the Jews. In order to determine this difference, he commanded the two nations to send deputies to Alexandria. The Jews intrusted this mission to *Osar*, the Samaritans to *Aaron*, to whom several other associates were added. Separate apartments, in a particular quarter of Alexandria, were assigned to each of these strangers; who were prohibited from having any personal intercourse, and each of them had a Greek scribe to write his version. Thus were the law and other Scriptures translated by the Samaritans; whose version being most carefully examined, the king was convinced that their text was more complete than that of the Jews. Such is the narrative of Abul Phatach, divested however of numerous marvellous circumstances, with which it has been decorated by the Samaritans; who are not surpassed even by the Jews in their partiality for idle legends.

A fact, buried under such a mass of fables as the translation of the Septuagint has been by the historians who have pretended to record it, necessarily loses all its historical character, which indeed we are fully justified in disregarding altogether. Although there is no doubt but that some truth is concealed under this load of fables, yet it is by no means an easy task to discern the truth from what is false: the following, however, is the result of our researches concerning this celebrated version:—

It is probable that the seventy interpreters, as they are called, executed their version of the Pentateuch during the joint reigns of Ptolemy Lagus, and his son Philadelphus. The Pseudo-Aristeas, Josephus, Philo, and many other writers, whom it were tedious to enumerate, relate that this version was made during the reign of Ptolemy II. or Philadelphus: Joseph Ben Gorion, however, among the rabbins, Theodoret, and many other Christian writers, refer its date to the time of Ptolemy Lagus. Now these two traditions can be reconciled only by supposing the version to have been performed during the two years when Ptolemy Philadelphus shared the throne with his father; which date coincides with the third and fourth years of the hundred and twenty-third olympiad, that is, about the years 286 and 285 before the vulgar Christian æra. Further, this version was made neither by the command of Ptolemy, nor at the request nor under the superintendence of Demetrius Phalereus; but was voluntarily undertaken by the Jews for the use of their countrymen. It is well known, that, at the period above noticed, there was a great multitude of Jews settled in Egypt, particularly at Alexandria: these, being most strictly observant of the religious institutions and usages of their forefathers, had their Sanhedrin, or grand council, composed of seventy or seventy-two members, and very numerous synagogues, in which the law was read to them on every Sabbath; and as the bulk of the common people were no longer acquainted with biblical Hebrew (the Greek language alone being used in their ordinary intercourse), it became necessary to translate the Pentateuch into Greek for their use. This is a far more probable account of the origin of the Alexandrian version than the traditions above stated. If this translation had been made by public authority, it would unquestionably have been performed under the direction of the Sanhedrin; who would have examined, and perhaps corrected it, if it had been the work of a single individual, previously to giving it the stamp of their approbation, and introducing it into the synagogues. In either case the translation would, probably, be denominated the Septuagint, because the Sanhedrin was composed of seventy or seventy-two members. It is even possible that the Sanhedrin, in order to ascertain the fidelity of the work, might have sent to Palestine for some learned men, of whose assistance and advice they would have availed themselves in examining the version. This fact, if it could be proved (for it is offered as a mere conjecture), would account for the story of the king of Egypt's sending an embassy to Jerusalem. There is, however, one circumstance which proves that, in executing this translation, the synagogues were originally in contemplation, viz. that all the ancient writers unanimously concur in saying that the Pentateuch was first translated. The five books of Moses, indeed, were the only books read in the synagogues until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria; who having forbidden that practice in Palestine, the Jews evaded his commands by substituting for the Pentateuch the reading of the prophetic books. When, afterwards, the Jews were delivered from the tyranny of the kings of Syria, they read the law and the prophets alternately in their synagogues; and the same custom was adopted by the Hellenistic or Græcizing Jews.

2. But whatever was the real number of the authors of the version, their introduction of Coptic words, (such as οιφι, αχι, ρεμφαν, &c.) as well as their rendering of ideas purely Hebrew altogether in the Egyptian manner, clearly prove that they were natives of Egypt. Thus they express the creation of the world, not by the proper Greek word ΚΤΙΣΙΣ, but by ΓΕΝΕΣΙΣ, a term employed by the philosophers of Alexandria to express the origin of the universe. The Hebrew word Thummim (Exod. xxviii. 30.), which signifies perfections, they render ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ, *truth*.[1] The difference of style also indicates the version to have been the work not of one but of several translators, and to have been executed at different times. The best qualified and most able among them was the translator of the Pentateuch, who was evidently master of both Greek and Hebrew: he has for the most part religiously followed the Hebrew text, and has in various instances introduced the most suitable and best chosen expressions. From the very close resemblance subsisting between the text of the Greek version and the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch, Louis de Dieu, Selden, Whiston, Hassencamp, and Bauer, are of opinion that the author of the Alexandrian version made it from the Samaritan Pentateuch. And in proportion as these two correspond, the Greek differs from the Hebrew. This opinion is further supported by the declarations of Origen and Jerome, that the translator found the venerable name of Jehovah not in the letters in common use, but in very ancient characters; and also by the fact that those consonants in the Septuagint are frequently confounded together, the shapes of which are similar in the Samaritan, but not in the Hebrew alphabet. This hypothesis, however ingenious and plausible, is by no means determinate; and what militates most against it is, the inveterate enmity subsisting between the Jews and Samaritans, added to the constant and unvarying testimony of antiquity that the Greek version of the Pentateuch was executed by Jews. There is no other way by which to reconcile these conflicting opinions, than by supposing either that the manuscripts used by the Egyptian Jews approximated towards the letters and text of the Samaritan Pentateuch, or that the translators of the Septuagint made use of manuscripts written in ancient characters.[2]

Next to the Pentateuch, for ability and fidelity of execution, ranks the translation of the book of Proverbs, the author of which was well skilled in the two languages: Michaelis is of opinion that, of all the books of the Septuagint, the style of the Proverbs is the best, the translators having clothed the most ingenious thoughts in as neat and elegant language as was ever used by a Pythagorean sage, to express his philosophic maxims.[3] The translator of the book of Job

[1] The reason of this appears from Diodorus Siculus, who informs us that the president of the Egyptian courts of justice wore round his neck a golden chain, at which was suspended an image set round with precious stones, which was called TRUTH, ὁ προσηγορευον, Αληθειαν lib. i. c. 75. tom i. pp. 225. (edit. Bipont.) Bauer, (Crit. Sacr. pp. 244, 245.), and Morus (Acroases in Ernesti, tom. ii. pp. 67—81.), have given several examples, proving from internal evidence that the authors of the Septuagint version were Egyptian.

[2] The value of the Greek version of the Pentateuch, for criticism and interpretation, is minutely investigated by Dr. Toepler, in his Dissertation De Pentateuchi Interpretationis Alexandrinæ Indole, Halis Saxonum, 1830, 8vo.

[3] Michaelis, Introd. to New Test. vol. i. p. 112.

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being acquainted with the Greek poets, his style is more elegant and studied; but he was not sufficiently master of the Hebrew language and literature, and consequently his version is very often erroneous. Many of the historical passages are interpolated; and in the poetical parts there are several passages wanting: Jerome, in his preface to the book of Job, specifies as many as seventy or eighty verses. These omissions were supplied by Origen from Theodotion's translation. The book of Joshua could not have been translated till upwards of twenty years after the death of Ptolemy Lagus: for, in chapter viii. verse 18., the translator has introduced the word γαισος, a word of Gallic origin, denoting a short dart or javelin peculiar to the Gauls, who made an irruption into Greece in the third year of the 125th olympiad, or B. C. 278.; and it was not until some time after that event that the Egyptian kings took Gallic mercenaries into their pay and service.

During the reign of Ptolemy Philometer, the book of Esther, together with the Psalms and Prophets, was translated. The subscription annexed to the version of Esther expressly states it to have been finished on the fourth year of that sovereign's reign, or about the year 177 before the Christian æra: the Psalms and Prophets, in all probability, were translated still later, because the Jews did not begin to read them in their synagogues till about the year 170 before Christ. The Psalms and Prophets were translated by men every way unequal to the task: Jeremiah is the best executed among the Prophets; and next to this the books of Amos and Ezekiel are placed: the important prophecies of Isaiah were translated, according to Bishop Lowth, upwards of one hundred years after the Pentateuch, and by a person by no means adequate to the undertaking; there being hardly any book of the Old Testament so ill rendered in the Septuagint as this of Isaiah, which (together with other parts of the Greek version) has come down to us in a bad condition, incorrect, and with frequent omissions and interpolations: and so very erroneous was the version of Daniel, that it was totally rejected by the ancient church, and Theodotion's translation was substituted for it. The Septuagint version of Daniel, which for a long time was supposed to have been lost, was discovered and published at Rome in 1772, from which it appears that its author had but an imperfect knowledge of the Hebrew language.

No date has been assigned for the translation of the books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and Kings, which appear to have been executed by one and the same author; who, though he does not make use of so many Hebraisms as the translators of the other books, is yet not without his peculiarities.

3. Before we conclude the history of the Septuagint version, it may not be irrelevant briefly to notice a question which has greatly exercised the ingenuity of biblical philologers, viz. from what MANUSCRIPTS did the seventy interpreters execute their translation? Professor Tyschen[1] has offered an hypothesis that they did not translate the Hebrew Old Testament into Greek, but that it was transcribed in Hebræo-Greek characters, and that from this transcript their version was made: this hypothesis has been examined by several German critics, and by none with more acumen than by Dathe, in the preface to his Latin version of the minor prophets;[2] but as the arguments are not of a nature to admit of abridgment, this notice may perhaps suffice. The late eminently learned Bishop Horsley doubts whether the manuscripts from which the Septuagint version was made would (if now extant) be entitled to the same degree of credit as our modern Hebrew text, notwithstanding their comparatively high antiquity. "There is," he observes, "certainly much reason to believe, that after the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, perhaps from a somewhat earlier period, the Hebrew text was in a much worse state of corruption in the copies which were in private hands, than it has ever been since the revision of the sacred books by Ezra. These inaccurate copies would be multiplied during the whole period of the captivity, and widely scattered in Assyria, Persia, and Egypt; in short, through all the regions of the dispersion. The text, as revised by Ezra, was certainly of much higher credit than any of these copies, notwithstanding their greater antiquity. His edition succeeded, as it were, to the privileges of an autograph (the autographs of the inspired writers themselves being totally lost), and was henceforth to be considered as the only source of authentic text: insomuch that the comparative meri of any text now extant will depend upon the probable degree of its approximation to, or distance from, the Esdrine edition. Nay, if the translation of the LXX. was made from some of those old manuscripts which the dispersed Jews had carried into Egypt, or from any other of those unauthenticated copies (which is the prevailing tradition among the Jews, and is very probable, at least it cannot be confuted), it will be likely that the faultiest manuscript now extant differs less from the genuine Esdrine text than those more ancient, which the version of the LXX. represents. But, much as this consideration lowers the credit of the LXX. separately, for any various reading, it adds great weight to the consent of the LXX. with later versions, and greater still to the consent of the old versions with manuscripts of the Hebrew, which still survive. And, as it is certainly possible that a true reading may be preserved in one solitary manuscript, it will follow, that a true reading may be preserved in one version: for the manuscript which contained the true reading at the time when the version was made, may have perished since; so that no evidence of the reading shall now remain, but the version."[3]

The Septuagint version, though originally made for the use of the Egyptian Jews, gradually acquired the highest authority among the Jews of Palestine, who were acquainted with the Greek language, and subsequently also among Christians: it appears, indeed, that the legend above confuted, of the translators having been divinely inspired, was invented in order that the LXX. might be held in the greater estimation. Philo the Jew, a native of Egypt, has evidently followed it in his allegorical expositions of the Mosaic law; and, though Dr. Hody was of opinion that Josephus, who was a native of Palestine, corroborated his work on Jewish Antiquities from the Hebrew text, yet Salmasius, Bochart, Bauer, and others, have shown that he has adhered to the Septuagint throughout that work. How extensively this version was in use among the Jews, appears from the solemn sanction given to it by the inspired writers of the New Testament, who have in very many passages quoted the Greek version of the Old Testament.[4] Their example was followed by the earlier fathers and doctors of the church, who, with the exception of Origen and Jerome, were unacquainted with Hebrew: notwithstanding their zeal for the word of God, they did not exert themselves to learn the original language of the sacred writings, but acquiesced in the Greek representation of them; judging it, no doubt, to be fully sufficient for all the purposes of their pious labours. "The Greek Scriptures were the only Scriptures known to or valued by the Greeks. This was the text commented by Chrysostom and Theodoret; it was this which furnished topics to Athanasius, Nazianzen, and Basil. From this fountain the stream was derived to the Latin church, first, by the Italic or Vulgate translation of the Scriptures, which was made from the Septuagint, and not from the Hebrew; and, secondly, by the study of the Greek fathers. It was by this borrowed light, that the Latin fathers illuminated the western hemisphere; and, when the age of Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory successively passed away, this was the light put into the hands of the next dynasty of theologists, the schoolmen, who carried on the work of theological disquisition by the aid of this luminary, and none other. So that, either in Greek or in Latin, it was still the Septuagint Scriptures that were read, explained, and quoted as authority, for a period of fifteen hundred years."[5]

The Septuagint version retained its authority, even with the rulers of the Jewish synagogue, until the commencement of the first century after Christ: when the Jews, being unable to resist the arguments from prophecy which were urged against them by the Christians, in order to deprive them of the benefit of that authority, began to deny that it agreed with the Hebrew text. Further to discredit the character of the Septuagint, the Jews instituted a solemn fast, on the 8th day of the month Thebet (December), to execrate the memory of its having been made. Not satisfied with this measure, we are assured by Justin Martyr, who lived in the former part of the second century, that they proceeded to expunge several passages out of the Septuagint; and abandoning this, adopted the version of Aquila, a proselyte Jew

[1] Tentamen de variis Codicum Hebraicorum Vet. Test. MSS. Generibus Rostock, 1772, 8vo pp. 48—64. 81—124.

[2] Published at Halle, in 1790, in 8vo.

[3] Bishop Horsley's Translation of Hosea, Pref. pp. xxxvi. xxxvii. 2d edit.

[4] On the quotations from the Old Testament in the New, see Chapter IV *infra*.

[5] Reeves's Collation of the Hebrew and Greek Texts of the Psalms, pp 22. 23.

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of Sinope, a city of Pontus;[1] this is the translation mentioned in the Talmud, and not the Septuagint, with which it has been confounded.[2]

4. The great use, however, which had been made by the Jews previously to their rejection of the Septuagint, and the constant use of it by the Christians, would naturally cause a multiplication of copies; in which numerous errors became introduced, in the course of time, from the negligence or inaccuracy of transcribers, and from glosses or marginal notes, which had been added for the explanation of difficult words, being suffered to creep into the text. In order to remedy this growing evil, ORIGEN, in the early part of the third century, undertook the laborious task of collating the Greek text then in use with the original Hebrew and with other Greek translations then extant, and from the whole to produce a new *recension* or revisal. Twenty-eight years were devoted to the preparation of this arduous work, in the course of which he collected manuscripts from every possible quarter, aided (it is said) by the pecuniary liberality of Ambrose, an opulent man, whom he had converted from the Valentinian heresy, and with the assistance of seven copyists and several persons skilled in caligraphy, or the art of beautiful writing. Origen commenced his labour at Cæsarea, A. D. 231; and, it appears, finished his Polyglott at Tyre, but in what year is not precisely known.

This noble critical work is designated by various names among ancient writers; as *Tetrapla*, *Hexapla*, *Octapla*, and *Enneapla*.

The *Tetrapla* contained the four Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion, disposed in four columns:[3] to these he added two columns more, containing the Hebrew text in its original characters, and also in Greek letters; these six columns, according to Epiphanius, formed the *Hexapla*. Having subsequently discovered two other Greek versions of *some parts* of the Scriptures, usually called the fifth and sixth, he added them to the preceding, inserting them in their respective places, and thus composed the *Octapla*; and a separate translation of the Psalms, usually called the seventh version, being afterwards added, the entire work has by some been termed the *Enneapla*. This appellation, however, was never generally adopted. But, as the two editions made by Origen generally bore the name of the Tetrapla and Hexapla, Dr. Grabe thinks that they were thus called, not from the number of the columns, but of the versions, which were six, the seventh containing the Psalms only.[4] Bauer, after Montfaucon, is of opinion, that Origen edited only the Tetrapla and Hexapla; and this appears to be the real fact. The following specimens from Montfaucon will convey an idea of the construction of these two laborious works:[5]—

TETRAPLA.

Gen. i. 1.

ΑΚΥΛΑΣ.	ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ.	Οἱ Ο.	ΘΕΟΔΟΤΙΩΝ.
Ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ἐκτισεν ὁ θεὸς σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν.	Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐκτισεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.	Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποιησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.	Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐκτισεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.

In this specimen the version of Aquila holds the first place, as being most literal; the second is occupied by that of Symmachus, as rendering *ad sensum* rather than *ad literam*; the third by the Septuagint, and the fourth by Theodotion's translation.

HEXAPLA.

Hos. xi. i.

Το ΕΒΡΑΙΚΟΝ.	Το ΕΒΡ. ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΙΣ ΓΡ.	ΑΚΥΛΑΣ.	ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ.	Οἱ Ο.	ΘΕΟΔΟΤΙΩΝ.
כי נער ישראל ואהבהו וממצרים קראתי לבני	ὅτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.	ὅτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.	ὅτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.	ὅτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.	ὅτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.

In the preceding specimen the first column contains the Hebrew in its proper characters; in the second column it is given in Greek characters, and is further valuable as exhibiting the mode of pronouncing Hebrew in the latter part of the second and the former part of the third century. The versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion, follow in the same order as in the specimen of the Tetrapla. When the fifth and sixth versions were added, the page consisted of eight columns, the fifth being denoted by E, and the sixth by ς; and when the seventh version was added (which was designated by Z), it comprised nine columns.

The original Hebrew being considered as the basis of the whole work, the proximity of each translation to the text, in point of closeness and fidelity, determined its rank in the order of the columns: thus Aquila's version, being the most faithful, is placed next to the sacred text; that of Symmachus occupies the fourth column; the Septuagint, the fifth; and Theodotion's, the sixth. The other three anonymous translations, not containing the entire books of the Old Testament, were placed in the last three columns of the ENNEAPLA, according to the order of time in which they were discovered by Origen. Where the same words occurred in all the other Greek versions, without being particularly specified, Origen designated them by Λ or ΛΟ, Λοιπαί, the rest;—Οἱ Γ, or the three, denoted Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion;—Οἱ Δ, or the four, signified Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion; and Π, Πάντες, all the interpreters.

The object of Origen being to correct the differences found in the then existing copies of the Old Testament, he carefully noted the alterations made by him; and for the information of those who might consult his works, he made use of the following marks:

(1.) Where any passages appeared in the Septuagint, that were not found in the Hebrew, he designated them by an *obelus* ÷ with two bold points: also annexed. This mark was also used to denote words not extant in the Hebrew, but added by the Septuagint translators, either for the sake of elegance, or for the purpose of illustrating the sense.

(2.) To passages wanting in the copies of the Septuagint, and supplied by himself from the other Greek versions, he

[1] On this subject the reader is referred to Dr. Owen's Inquiry into the present State of the Septuagint Version, pp. 29—87. (8vo. London, 1769.) In pp. 126—138. he has proved the falsification of the Septuagint, from the versions of Aquila and Symmachus.

[2] Prideaux, Connection, vol. ii. p. 50. Lightfoot's Works, vol. ii. pp. 906, 907.

[3] The late Rev. Dr. Holmes, who commenced the splendid edition of the Septuagint noticed in the Bibliographical Appendix to the second volume, was of opinion that the first column of the Tetrapla contained the Κοινη, or Septuagint text commonly in use, collated with Hebrew manuscripts by Origen, and that the other three columns were occupied by the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

[4] Dr. Holmes thinks that the text of the Septuagint in the Hexapla was not the Κοινη as then in use, but as corrected in the Tetrapla, and perhaps improved by further collations.

[5] Origenis Hexapla. Præl. Diss. tom. i. p. 16.

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prefixed an asterisk ⁂ with two bold points : also annexed, in order that his additions might be immediately perceived. These supplementary passages, we are informed by Jerome, were for the most part taken from Theodotion's translation; not unfrequently from that of Aquila; sometimes, though rarely, from the version of Symmachus; and sometimes from two or three together. But, in every case, the initial letter of each translator's name was placed immediately after the asterisk, to indicate the source whence such supplementary passage was taken. And in lieu of the very erroneous Septuagint version of Daniel, Theodotion's translation of that book was inserted entire.

(3.) Further, not only the passages wanting in the Septuagint were supplied by Origen with the asterisks, as above noticed, but also where that version does not appear accurately to express the Hebrew original, having noted the former reading with an obelus, ÷, he added the correct rendering from one of the other translators, with an asterisk subjoined. Concerning the shape and uses of the *lemniscus* and *hypolemniscus*, two other marks used by Origen, there is so great a difference of opinion among learned men, that it is difficult to determine what they were.[1] Dr. Owen, after Montfaucon, supposes them to have been marks of better and more accurate renderings.

In the Pentateuch, Origen compared the Samaritan text with the Hebrew as received by the Jews, and noted their differences. To each of the translations inserted in his Hexapla was prefixed an account of the author; each had its separate prolegomena; and the ample margins were filled with notes. A few fragments of these prolegomena and marginal annotations have been preserved; but nothing remains of his history of the Greek versions.[2]

Since Origen's time, biblical critics have distinguished two editions or exemplars of the Septuagint—the Κοινὴ or common text, with all its errors and imperfections, as it existed previously to his collation; and the Hexaplar text, or that corrected by Origen himself. For nearly fifty years was this great man's stupendous work buried in a corner of the city of Tyre, probably on account of the very great expense of transcribing forty or fifty volumes, which far exceeded the means of private individuals; and here, perhaps, it might have perished in oblivion, if Eusebius and Pamphilus had not discovered it, and deposited it in the library of Pamphilus the martyr at Cæsarea, where Jerome saw it about the middle of the fourth century. As we have no account whatever of Origen's autograph after this time, it is most probable that it perished in the year 653, on the capture of that city by the Arabs; and a few imperfect fragments, collected from manuscripts of the Septuagint and the Catenæ of the Greek fathers, are all that now remain of a work, which in the present improved state of sacred literature would most eminently have assisted in the interpretation and criticism of the Old Testament.

5. As the Septuagint version had been read in the church from the commencement of Christianity, so it continued to be used in most of the *Greek* churches; and the text, as corrected by Origen, was transcribed for their use, together with his critical marks. Hence, in the progress of time, from the negligence or inaccuracy of copyists, numerous errors were introduced into this version, which rendered a new revisal necessary; and, as *all* the Greek churches did not receive Origen's biblical labours with equal deference, three principal recensions were undertaken nearly at the same time, of which we are now to offer a brief notice.

The first was the edition, undertaken by Eusebius and Pamphilus about the year 300, from the Hexaplar text, with the whole of Origen's critical marks; it was not only adopted by the churches of Palestine, but was also deposited in almost every library. By frequent transcriptions, however, Origen's marks or notes became, in the course of a few years, so much changed, as to be of little use, and were finally omitted: this omission only augmented the evil, since even in the time of Jerome it was no longer possible to know what belonged to the translators, or what were Origen's own corrections; and now it may almost be considered as a hopeless task to distinguish between them. Contemporary with the edition of Eusebius and Pamphilus was the recension of the Κοινὴ, or vulgate text of the Septuagint, conducted by Lucian, a presbyter of the church at Antioch, who suffered martyrdom A. D. 311. He took the Hebrew text for the basis of his edition, which was received in all the eastern churches from Constantinople to Antioch. While Lucian was prosecuting his biblical labours, Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop, undertook a similar work, which was generally received in the churches of Egypt. He is supposed to have introduced fewer alterations than Lucian; and his edition is cited by Jerome as the *Exemplar Alexandrinum*. Syncellus[3] mentions another revisal of the Septuagint text by Basil bishop of Cæsarea: but this, we have every reason to believe, has long since perished. All the manuscripts of the Septuagint now extant, as well as the printed editions, are derived from the three recensions above mentioned, although biblical critics are by no means agreed what particular recension each manuscript has followed.[4]

6. The importance of the Septuagint version for the right understanding of the sacred text has been variously estimated by different learned men; while some have elevated it to an equality with the original Hebrew, others have rated it far below its real value. The great authority which it formerly enjoyed, certainly gives it a claim to a high degree of consideration. It was executed long before the Jews were prejudiced against Jesus Christ as the Messiah; and it was the means of preparing the world at large for his appearance, by making known the types and prophecies concerning him. With all its faults and imperfections, therefore, this version is of more use in correcting the Hebrew text than any other that is extant; because its authors had better opportunities of knowing the propriety and extent of the Hebrew language than we can possibly have at this distance of time. The Septuagint, likewise, being written in the same dialect as the New Testament (the formation of whose style was influenced by it), it becomes a very important source of interpretation: for not only does it frequently serve to determine the genuine reading, but also to ascertain the meaning of particular idiomatic expressions and passages in the New Testament, the true import of which could not be known but from their use in the Septuagint.[5] Grotius, Keuchenius, Biel, and Schleusner, are the critics who have most successfully applied this version to the interpretation of the New Testament.

II. The importance of the Septuagint, in the criticism and interpretation of the Scriptures, especially of the New Testament,[6] will justify the length of the preceding account of that celebrated version: it now remains that we briefly notice the other ancient Greek translations, which have already been incidentally mentioned; viz. those of Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, and the three anonymous versions, usually cited as the fifth, sixth, and seventh versions, from which Origen compiled his Tetrapla and Hexapla.

1. *The Version of* AQUILA.—The author of this translation was a native of Sinope in Pontus, who flourished in the second century of the Christian æra: he was of Jewish descent; and having renounced Christianity, he undertook his version, with the intention of exhibiting to the Hellenistic Jews an accurate representation of the Hebrew text, for their assistance in their disputes with the Christians. Yet he did not on this account pervert passages which relate to Christ by unfaithful translations, as some of the ancient

[1] Montfaucon, Prælim. ad Hexapla, tom. i. pp. 36—42. Holmes, Vetus Testamentum Græcum, tom. i. Præfat. cap. i. sect. i.—vii. The first book of Dr. Holmes's erudite preface is translated into English in the Christian Observer for 1821, vol. xx. pp. 544—549. 610—615. 676—683. 746—750.

[2] The best edition of the remains of Origen's Hexapla is that of Montfaucon, in two volumes, folio, Paris, 1713. On the character and value of this great work, some excellent observations may be found in a dissertation, by Ernesti, entitled "Origen the Father of Grammatical Interpretation," translated in Hodge's Biblical Repertory, vol. iii. pp. 205—260. New York, 1827

[3] Chronographia ab adamo usque ad Dioclesianum, p. 203.

[4] Dr. Holmes has given a copious and interesting account of the editions of Lucian and Hesychius, and of the sources of the Septuagint text in the manuscripts of the Pentateuch, which are now extant. Tom. i. Præf. cap. i. sect. viii. *et seq.*

[5] In the Eclectic Review for 1806 (vol. ii. part. i. pp. 337—347.) the reader will find many examples adduced, confirming the remarks above offered, concerning the value and importance of the Septuagint version.

[6] "The Book," says the profound critic Michaelis, "most necessary to be read and understood by every man who studies the New Testament, is, without doubt, *the Septuagint;* which alone has been of more service than all the passages from the profane authors collected together. It should be read in the public schools by those who are destined for the church; should form the subject of a course of lectures at the university, and be the constant companion of an expositor of the New Testament." Introduction to the New Test. vol. i. p. 177.—"About the year 1785," says Dr. A. Clarke (speaking of his biblical labours), "I began to read the Septuagint regularly, in order to acquaint myself more fully with the phraseology of the New Testament. *The study of this version served more to expand and illuminate my mind than all the theological works I had ever consulted.* I had proceeded but a short way in it, before I was convinced that the prejudices against it were utterly unfounded; and that *it was of incalculable advantage towards a proper understanding of the literal sense of Scripture.*" Dr. Clarke's Commentary, vol. i. General Preface, p. xv.

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Christian writers thought: for the examples of designed want of fidelity, which they produce, are nothing more than etymological renderings, or expressions of the same things in other words, or various readings, or else his own mistakes. Professor Jahn fixes the date of this version to the interval between the years 90 and 130: it is certain that Aquila lived during the reign of the emperor Adrian, and that his translation was executed before the year 160; as it is cited both by Justin Martyr, who wrote about that time, and by Irenæus between the years 170 and 176. In conformity with the spirit of the Jews, Aquila renders every Hebrew word by the nearest corresponding Greek word, without any regard to the genius of the Greek language: it is therefore extremely literal, but it is on that very account of considerable importance in the criticism of the Old Testament, as it serves to show the readings contained in the Hebrew manuscripts of his time. His version has been most highly approved by the Jews, by whom it has been called the *Hebrew Verity*, as if, in reading it, they were reading the Hebrew text itself. Nearly the same judgment was formed of it by the early Christian writers, or fathers; who must be understood as referring to this version, when they speak of the Hebrew. Professor Dathe has collated several passages from this translation, and has applied them to the illustration of the prophet Hosea.[1] As the result of his comparison of the fragments of Aquila with the Hebrew text, he states that Aquila had nearly the same readings of the Hebrew text which we have. Which almost constant agreement cannot be observed without much satisfaction; because it supplies an argument of no mean importance for refuting the charges of those who assert that the modern Hebrew text is very greatly corrupted. The fragments of Aquila and of the other Greek versions were collected and published, first by Flaminio Nobili, in his notes to the Roman edition of the Septuagint, and after him by Drusius, in his *Veterum Interpretum Græcorum Fragmenta* (Arnheim, 1622, 4to.);[2] and also by Montfaucon in his edition of Origen's Hexapla above noticed. According to Jerome, Aquila published two editions of his version, the second of which was the most literal; it was allowed to be read publicly in the Jews' synagogues, by the hundred and twenty-fifth Novel of the emperor Justinian.

2. THEODOTION was a native of Ephesus, and is termed by Jerome and Eusebius an Ebionite or semi-Christian. He was nearly contemporary with Aquila, and his translation is cited by Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Tryphon the Jew, which was composed about the year 160. The version of Theodotion holds a middle rank between the servile closeness of Aquila and the freedom of Symmachus: it is a kind of revision of the Septuagint made after the original Hebrew, and supplies some deficiencies in the Septuagint; but where he translates without help, he evidently shows himself to have been but indifferently skilled in Hebrew. Theodotion's translation of the book of Daniel was introduced into the Christian churches, in or soon after the second century, as being deemed more accurate than that of the Septuagint. It is not unworthy of remark, that he has retained several Hebrew words, which seem to have been used among the Ebionites, such as φγυλ, Lev. vii. 18.; μασφαα, Lev. xiii. 6.; μασμαα, Deut. xxii. 9.; and αθμ, Isa. lxiv. 5.

3. SYMMACHUS, we are informed by Eusebius and Jerome, was a semi-Christian, or Ebionite, for the account given of him by Epiphanius (that he was first a Samaritan, then a Jew, next a Christian, and last of all an Ebionite) is generally disregarded as unworthy of credit. Concerning the precise time when he flourished, learned men are of different opinions. Epiphanius places him under the reign of Commodus II. an imaginary emperor; Jerome, however, expressly states, that his translation appeared after that of Theodotion; and as Symmachus was evidently unknown to Irenæus, who cites the versions of Aquila and Theodotion, it is probable that the date assigned by Jerome is the true one. Montfaucon accordingly places Symmachus a short time after Theodotion, that is, about the year 200. The version of Symmachus, who appears to have published a second edition of it revised, is by no means so literal as that of Aquila; he was certainly much better acquainted with the laws of interpretation than the latter, and has endeavoured, not unsuccessfully, to render the Hebrew idioms with Greek precision. Bauer[3] and Morus[4] have given specimens of the utility of this version for illustrating both the Old and New Testaments. Dr. Owen has printed the whole of the first chapter of the Book of Genesis according to the Septuagint version, together with the Greek translations of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, in columns, in order to show their respective agreement or discrepancy. This we are obliged to omit, on account of its length; but the following observations of that eminent critic on their relative merits (founded on an accurate comparison of them with each other, and with the original Hebrew, whence they were made) are too valuable to be disregarded. He remarks,

1. With respect to *Aquila*, (1.) That his translation is close and servile—abounding in Hebraisms—and scrupulously conformable to the letter of the text. (2.) That the author, notwithstanding he meant to disgrace and overturn the Septuagint version, yet did not scruple to make use of it, and frequently to borrow his expressions from it.

2. With respect to *Theodotion*, (1.) That he makes great use of the two former versions—following sometimes the diction of the one, and sometimes that of the other—nay, often commixing them both together in the compass of one and the same verse; and, (2.) That he did not keep so strictly and closely to the Septuagint version as some have unwarily represented.[5] He borrowed largely from that of Aquila; but adapted it to his own style. And as his style was similar to that of the LXX. Origen, perhaps for the sake of uniformity, supplied the additions inserted in the Hexapla chiefly from this version.

3. With respect to *Symmachus*, (1.) That his version, though concise, is free and paraphrastic—regarding the sense rather than the words, of the original; 2. That he often borrowed from the three other versions—but much oftener from those of his immediate predecessors, than from the Septuagint; and, (3.) It is observed by Montfaucon,[6] that he kept close to the Hebrew original; and never introduced any thing from the Septuagint, that was not to be found in his Hebrew copy: but it evidently appears from verse 20.—where we read, και εγενετο ουτως—that either the observation is false, or that the copy he used was different from the present Hebrew copies. The 30th verse has also a reading—it may perhaps be an interpolation—to which there is nothing answerable in the Hebrew, or in any other of the Greek versions.[7]

4, 5, 6. The three anonymous translations, usually called the *fifth*, *sixth*, and *seventh* versions, derive their names from the order in which Origen disposed them in his columns. The author of the *sixth* version was evidently a Christian: for he renders Habakkuk iii. 13. (*Thou wentest forth for the deliverance of thy people*, even *for the deliverance of thine anointed ones*,[8] in the following manner: Εξηλθες του σωσαι τον λαον σου δια Ιησου του Χριστου σου; i. e. *Thou wentest forth to save thy people through Jesus thy Christ*. The dates of these three versions are evidently subsequent to those of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus: from the fragments collected by Montfaucon, it appears that they all contained the Psalms and minor prophets; the *fifth* and *sixth* further comprised the Pentateuch and Song of Solomon; and from some fragments of the *fifth* and *seventh* versions found by Bruns in a Syriac Hexaplar manuscript at Paris, it appears that they also contained the two books of Kings. Bauer is of opinion that the author of the seventh version was a Jew.

III. Besides the fragments of the preceding ancient versions, taken from Origen's Hexapla, there are found in the margins of the manuscripts of the Septuagint some *additional* marks or notes, containing various renderings in Greek of some passages in the Old Testament: these are cited as the Hebrew, Syrian, Samaritan, and Hellenistic versions, and as the version of some anonymous author. The probable meaning of these references it may not be improper briefly to notice.

1. The *Hebrew* (ὁ Ἑβραῖος) is supposed by some to denote

[1] Dissertatio Philologico-Critica in Aquilæ Reliquias Interpretationis Hoseæ (Lipsiæ, 1757, 4to.); which is reprinted in p. 1. *et seq.* of Rosenmüller's Collection of his "Opuscula ad Criticam et Interpretationem Veteris Testamenti," Lipsiæ, 1796, 8vo.

[2] This work of Drusius's is also to be found in the sixth volume of Bishop Walton's Polyglot.

[3] Critica Sacra, pp. 277, 278.

[4] Acroases Hermeneuticæ, tom. ii. pp. 127, 128.

[5] Theodotion, qui in cæteris cum LXX translatoribus facit. Hieron. Ep. ad Marcell. Licet autem Theodotio LXX. Interpretum vestigio fere semper hæreat, &c. Montf. Præl. in Hexapl. p. 57.

[6] Ea tamen cautela ut Hebraicum exemplar unicum sequendum sib proponeret; nec quidpiam ex editione τῶν Ο. ubi cum Hebraico non quadrabat, in interpretationem suam refunderet. Prælim. in Hexapl. p. 64.

[7] Owen on the Septuagint, pp. 124—126.

[8] Archbishop Newcome's version. The authorised English translation runs thus:—"Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people, even for the salvation of thine anointed."

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the translation of Aquila, who closely and literally followed the Hebrew text; but this idea was refuted by Montfaucon and Bauer, who remark, that after the reference to the Hebrew, a reading follows, most widely differing from Aquila's rendering. Bauer more probably conjectures, that the reference ὁ Εβραιος denotes the Hebrew text from which the Septuagint version differs.

2. Under the name of the *Syrian* (ὁ Συρος) are intended the fragments of the Greek version made by Sophronius, patriarch of Constantinople, from the very popular Latin translation of Jerome, who is supposed to have acquired the appellation of the Syrian, from his long residence on the confines of Syria. He is thus expressly styled by Theodore of Mopsuestia in a passage cited by Photius in his Bibliotheca.[1]

3. The *Samaritan* (το Σαμαριτικον) is supposed to refer to the fragments of a Greek version of the Hebræo-Samaritan text, which is attributed to the ancient Greek scholiast so often cited by Flaminio Nobili, and in the Greek Scholia appended to the Roman edition of the Septuagint. Considerable doubts, however, exist concerning the identity of this supposed Greek version of the Samaritan text; which, if it ever existed, Bishop Walton thinks, must be long posterior in date to the Septuagint.[2]

4. It is not known to which version or author the citation ὁ Ελληνικος, or the Hellenic, refers:—the mark ὁ Αλλος, or ὁ Ανωνυμος, denotes some unknown author.

Before we conclude the present account of the ancient Greek versions of the Old Testament, it remains that we briefly notice the translation preserved in St. Mark's Library at Venice, containing the Pentateuch, Proverbs, Ruth, Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations of Jeremiah, and Prophecy of Daniel. The existence of this version, which was for a long time buried among other literary treasures deposited in the above-mentioned library, was first announced by Zanetti and Bongiovanni in their catalogue of its manuscripts. The Pentateuch was published in three parts, by M. Ammon, at Erlang, 1790, 1791, 8vo.; and the remaining books by M. Villoison at Strasburgh, 1784, 8vo. The original manuscript, Morelli is of opinion, was executed in the 14th century; and the numerous errors discoverable in it prove that it cannot be the autograph of the translator. By whom this version was made is a question yet undetermined. Morelli thinks its author was a Jew: Ammon supposes him to have been a Christian monk, and perhaps a native of Syria of the eighth or ninth century; and Bauer, after Zeigler, conjectures him to have been a Christian grammarian of Constantinople, who had been taught Hebrew by a Western Jew. Whoever the translator was, his style evidently shows him to have been deeply skilled in the different dialects of the Greek language, and to have been conversant with the Greek poets. Equally uncertain is the date when this version was composed: Eichhorn, Bauer, and several other eminent biblical writers, place it between the sixth and tenth centuries: the late Dr. Holmes supposed the author of it to have been some Hellenistic Jew, between the ninth and twelfth centuries. "Nothing can be more completely happy, or more judicious, than the idea adopted by this author, of rendering the Hebrew text in the pure Attic dialect, and the Chaldee in its corresponding Doric."[3] Dr. Holmes has inserted extracts from this version in his edition of the Septuagint.[4]

For a critical notice of the ancient Greek versions of the Scriptures see the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to the second Volume, PART I. CHAP. I. SECT. V. § 2.

[1] Page 205. edit. Hoeschelii.

[2] Prol c. xi. § 22. pp. 553, 554.

[3] British Critic, O. S. vol. viii. p. 259.

[4] The preceding account of ancient Greek versions is drawn from Carpzov, Critica Sacra, pp. 552—574.; Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 273—288.; Ernesti, Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti, pp. 250—269.; Morus, Acroases Hermeneuticæ, tom. ii. pp. 120—147.; Bishop Walton, Prolegom. c. xi. § 19. pp. 385—387.; Jahn, Introductio in Libros Sacros Veteris Fœderis, pp. 66—70.; and Masch's edition of Lelong's Bibliotheca Sacra, part ii. vol. ii. sect. i. pp. 220—229. Montfaucon, Præl. Diss. ad Origenis Hexapla, tom. i. pp. 46—73. In the fourth volume of the Commentationes Theologicæ, (pp. 195—263.), edited by MM. Velthusen, Kuinöel, and Ruperti, there is a specimen of a *Clavis Reliquiarum Versionum Græcarum, V. T.* by John Frederic Fischer: it contains only the letter A. A specimen of a new Lexicon to the ancient Greek interpreters, and also to the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, so constructed as to serve as a Lexicon to the New Testament, was also lately published by M. E. G. A. Bockel, at Leipsic, entitled *Novæ Clavis in Græcos Interpretes Veteris Testamenti, Scriptoresque Apocryphos, ita adornatæ ut etiam Lexici in Novi Fœderis Libros usum præbere possit, atque editionis lex interpretum hexaplaris, specimina*, 4to. 1820. (This work has not been completed.) Cappel, in his Critica Sacra, has given a copious account, with very numerous examples, of the various lections that may be obtained by collating the Septuagint with the Hebrew (lib. iv. pp. 491—766.), and by collating the Hebrew text with the Chaldee paraphrases and the ancient Greek versions (lib. v. cc. 1—6 pp. 767—844.), tom. ii. ed. Scharfenberg.

§ 3. ON THE ANCIENT ORIENTAL VERSIONS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS

I. SYRIAC VERSIONS. 1. *Peschito, or literal version.*—2. *Philoxenian version.*—3. *Karkaphensian version.*—4. *Syro-Estrangelo, and Palæstino-Syriac version.*—II. EGYPTIAN VERSION. *Coptic, Sahidic, Ammonian, and Basmuric.*—III. ETHIOPIC VERSION.—IV. ARABIC VERSIONS.—V. ARMENIAN VERSION.—VI. PERSIC VERSIONS.

I. SYRIAC VERSIONS.—Syria being visited at a very early period by the preachers of the Christian faith, several translations of the sacred volume were made into the language of that country.

1. The most celebrated of these is the PESCHITO or *Literal* (VERSIO SIMPLEX), as it is usually called, on account of its very close adherence to the Hebrew and Greek texts, from which it was immediately made. The most extravagant assertions have been advanced concerning its antiquity; some referring the translation of the Old Testament to the time of Solomon and Hiram, while others ascribe it to Asa, priest of the Samaritans, and a third class to the apostle Thaddeus. This last tradition is received by the Syrian churches; but a more recent date is ascribed to it by modern biblical philologers. Bishop Walton, Carpzov, Leusden, Bishop Lowth, and Dr. Kennicott, fix its date to the first century; Bauer and some other German critics, to the second or third century; Jahn fixes it, at the latest, to the second century; De Rossi pronounces it to be very ancient, but does not specify any precise date. The most probable opinion is that of Michaelis,[5] who ascribes the Syriac version of *both* Testaments to the close of the first, or to the earlier part of the second century, at which time the Syrian churches flourished most, and the Christians at Edessa had a temple for divine worship erected after the model of that at Jerusalem: and it is not to be supposed that they would be without a version of the Old Testament, the reading of which had been introduced by the apostles.

The OLD TESTAMENT was evidently translated from the original Hebrew, to which it most closely and literally adheres, with the exception of a few passages which appear to bear some affinity to the Septuagint: Jahn accounts for this by supposing, either that this version was consulted by the Syriac translator or translators, or that the Syrians *afterwards* corrected their translation by the Septuagint.[6] Dr. Credner, who has particularly investigated the minor prophets, according to this version, is of opinion that the translator of the Old Testament for the most part followed the Hebrew text, but at the same time consulted the Chaldee Paraphrase and Septuagint Version.[7] Leusden conjectures, that the translator did not make use of the most correct Hebrew manuscripts, and has given some examples which appear to support his opinion. Dathe, however, speaks most positively in favour of its antiquity and fidelity, and refers to the Syriac version, as a certain standard by which we may judge of the state of the Hebrew text in the second century; and both Dr. Kennicott and Professor De Rossi have derived many valuable readings from this version. De Rossi, indeed, prefers it to all the other ancient versions, and says, that it closely follows the order of the sacred text, rendering word for word, and is more pure than any other. As it is therefore probable that the Syriac version was made about the end of the first century, it might be made from Hebrew MSS. almost as old as those which were before transcribed into Greek, and from MSS. which might be in some places true where the others were corrupted. And it will be no wonder at all, if a version so very ancient should have preserved a great variety of true readings, where the Hebrew manuscripts were corrupted afterwards. Dr. Boothroyd considers this version to be as

[5] Introd. to New Test. vol. ii. part i. pp. 29—38. Bishop Marsh, however, in his notes, has controverted the arguments of Michaelis (Ibid. part ii. pp. 551—554.), which have been rendered highly probable by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Laurence (Dissertation upon the Logos, pp. 67—75.), who has examined and refuted the Bishop of Peterborough's objections.

[6] Michaelis is of opinion, that some of the more remarkable coincidences between the Syriac Bible and the Greek did not proceed from the original translator, but from a supposed improvement, which Jacob of Edessa undertook, at the beginning of the eighth century, and of which important notices may be seen in the Journal des Scavans. (Vol. i. pp. 67—99. Amsterdam edition.) As far as his observation extends, the Syriac accords with the Greek more frequently in Ezekiel than in the other books; he has also made the same observation in regard to the Proverbs of Solomon, yet with the particular and unexpected circumstance that the Chaldee version follows the Septuagint still more. Michaelis, Preface to his Syriac Chrestomathy, § V. translated in Essays and Dissertations on Biblical Literature, p. 506. New York, 1829.

[7] Credner, de Prophetarum Minerum Versionis Syriacæ Indole, Dissertatio I. pp. 1, 2. 63. Gottingæ, 1827, 8vo.

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ancient, and in many respects as valuable, as the Chaldee Paraphrase;[1] and in the notes to his edition of the Hebrew Bible he has shown that this version has retained numerous and important various readings. To its general fidelity almost every critic of note bears unqualified approbation, although it is not every where equal; and it is remarkably clear and strong in those passages which attribute characters of Deity to the Messiah. Michaelis and Jahn have observed, that a different method of interpretation is adopted in the Pentateuch from that which is to be found in the book of Chronicles; and Jahn has remarked that there are some Chaldee words in the first chapter of Genesis, and also in the book of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon: whence they infer that this version was the work not of one, but of several authors. Further, Michaelis has discovered traces of the religion of the translator, which indicate a Christian and no Jew. A Jew by religion would not have employed the Syriac but the Hebrew letters, and he would have used the Chaldee Targums more copiously than is observed in most books of the Syriac Old Testament. This a Jew by birth would have done, if even he had been converted to Christianity: and as most of the books of the Syriac Bible thus evince that the interpreter had no acquaintance with the Targums, Michaelis (whose opinion is adopted by Gesenius) is of opinion that the translator was a Christian; and their judgment is corroborated by the fact that the arguments prefixed to the Psalms were manifestly written by a Christian author.[2]

The Syriac version of the NEW TESTAMENT comprises all the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of Saint Paul (including the Epistle to the Hebrews), the first Epistle to Saint John, Saint Peter's first Epistle, and the Epistle of Saint James. The celebrated passage in 1 John v. 7., and the history of the woman taken in adultery (John viii. 2—11.), are both wanting. All the Christian sects in Syria and the East make use of this version exclusively, which they hold in the highest estimation. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. Michaelis pronounces it to be the very best translation of the Greek Testament which he ever read, for the general ease, elegance, and fidelity with which it has been executed. It retains, however, many Greek words, which might have been easily and correctly expressed in Syriac: in Matt. xxvii. alone there are not fewer than eleven words. In like manner some Latin words have been retained which the authors of the New Testament had borrowed from the Roman manners and customs. This version also presents some mistakes, which can only be explained by the words of the Greek text, from which it was immediately made. For instance, in rendering into Syriac these words of Acts xviii. 7., ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΙΟΥΣΤΟΥ ΣΕΒΟΜΕΝΟΥ, the interpreter has translated *Titus* instead of *Justus*, because he had divided the Greek in the following manner:—ΟΝΟΜΑ ΤΙΙΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΕΒΟΜΕΝΟΥ.[3]

An important accession to biblical literature was made, a few years since, by the late Rev. Dr. Buchanan, to whose assiduous labours the British church in India is most deeply indebted: and who, in his progress among the Syrian churches and Jews of India, discovered and obtained numerous ancient manuscripts of the Scriptures, which are now deposited in the public library at Cambridge. One of these, which was discovered in a remote Syrian church near the mountains, is particularly valuable: it contains the Old and New Testaments, engrossed with beautiful accuracy in the *Estrangelo* (or old Syriac) character, on strong vellum, in large folio, and having three columns in a page. The words of every book are numbered: and the volume is illuminated, but not after the European manner, the initial letters having no ornament. Though somewhat injured by time or neglect, the ink being in certain places obliterated, still the letters can in general be distinctly traced from the impress of the pen, or from the partial corrosion of the ink. The Syrian church assigns a high date to this manuscript, which, in the opinion of Mr. Yeates, who has published a collation of the Pentateuch,[4] was written about the seventh century. In looking over this manuscript, Dr. Buchanan found the very first emendation of the Hebrew text proposed by Dr. Kennicott,[5] which doubtless is the true reading.

The first edition of the Syriac version of the Old Testament appeared in the Paris Polyglott; but, being taken from an imperfect MS., its deficiencies were supplied by Gabriel Sionita, who translated the passages wanting from the Latin Vulgate, and has been unjustly charged with having translated the whole from the Vulgate. This text was reprinted in Bishop Walton's Polyglott, with the addition of some apocryphal books. There have been numerous editions of particular parts of the Syriac Old Testament, which are minutely described by Masch.[6] The principal editions of the Syriac Scriptures are noticed in the Bibliographical Appendix, Vol. II.

The Peschito Syriac version of the New Testament was first made known in Europe by Moses of Mardin, who had been sent by Ignatius, patriarch of the Maronite Christians, in 1552, to Pope Julius III., to acknowledge the papal supremacy in the name of the Syrian church, and was at the same time commissioned to procure the Syriac New Testament. This was accomplished at Vienna in 1555, under the editorial care of Moses and Albert Widmanstad, with the assistance of William Postell, and at the expense of the Emperor Ferdinand I. This *Editio Princeps* is in quarto. The Syriac New Testament has since been printed several times.

There is also extant a Syriac version of the second Epistle of Saint Peter, the second and third Epistles of John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse, which are wanting in the Peschito: these are by some writers ascribed to Mar Abba, primate of the East, between the years 535 and 552. The translation of these books is made from the original Greek; but the author, whoever he was, possessed but an indifferent knowledge of the two languages.

2. The PHILOXENIAN or SYRO-PHILOXENIAN version derives its name from Philoxenus, or Xenayas, Bishop of Hierapolis or Mabug in Syria, A. D. 488—518, who employed his rural bishop (*Chorepiscopus*) Polycarp, to translate the Greek New Testament into Syriac. This version was finished in the year 508, and was afterwards revised by Thomas of Harkel or Heraclea, A. D. 616. Michaelis is of opinion, that there was a third edition; and a fourth is attributed to Dionysius Barsalibæus, who was bishop of Amida from 1166 to 1177. It appears, however, that there were only two editions—the original one by Polycarp, and that revised by Thomas of Harkel; the single copy of the Four Gospels, with the alterations of Barsalibæus, in the twelfth century, being hardly entitled to the name of a new edition. This version agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension: it was not known in Europe until the middle of the eighteenth century; when the Rev. Dr. Gloucester Ridley published a Dissertation on the Syriac Versions of the New Testament (in 1761), three manuscripts of which he had received thirty years before from Amida in Mesopotamia. Though age and growing infirmities, the great expense of printing, and the want of a patron, prevented Dr. Ridley from availing himself of these manuscripts; yet having, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, succeeded in acquiring a knowledge of the Syriac language, he employed himself at intervals in making a transcript of the Four Gospels. These, being put into the hands of the late Professor White, were published by him with a literal Latin translation, in 1778, in two volumes 4to., at the expense of the delegates of the Clarendon press at Oxford. In 1779, Professor White published from the same press the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic Epistles, and in 1804, the Epistles of Saint Paul, also in 4to., and accompanied with a Latin translation.

The Philoxenian version, though made immediately from the Greek, is greatly inferior to the Peschito, both in the accuracy with which it is executed, and also in its style. It is, however, not devoid of value, "and is of real importance to a critic, whose object is to select a variety of readings

[1] Biblia Hebraica, vol. i. Pref. pp. xv. xvi.

[2] Carpzov, Critica Sacra, pp. 623—626.; Leusden, Philologus Hebræo-Mixtus, pp. 67—71.; Bishop Lowth's Isaiah, vol. i. p. xcl.; Dr. Kennicott, Diss. ii. p. 355.; Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 308—320.; Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Test. pp. 75, 76.; De Rossi, Variæ Lectiones ad Vet. Test. tom. i. prol. p. xxxii.; Dathe Opuscula ad Crisin et Interpretationem, Vet. Test. p. 171.; Northolt, de Versionibus Scripturæ, pp. 40—45.; Walton, Proleg. c. 13. pp. 331. *et seq.* Dr. Smith's Scripture Testimony of the Messiah, vol. i. pp. 396. 397. first edition. Gesenius, in the Introduction to his Commentary on Isaiah (in German), Theil. ii. § 12. 3. or pp. 429, 430. of the Essays and Dissertations on Biblical Literature, published at New York.

[3] Hug's Introd. vol. i. pp. 342, 343.

[4] In the Christian Observer, vol. xii. pp. 171—174. there is an account of Mr. Yeates's Collation; and in vol. ix. of the same Journal, pp. 273—275. 348—350. there is given a very interesting description of the Syriac manuscript above noticed. A short account of it also occurs in Dr. Buchanan's "Christian Researches," respecting the Syrians, pp. 229—231. (edit. 1811.)

[5] Gen. iv. 8. *And Cain said unto Abel his brother, Let us go down into the plain.* It may be satisfactory to the reader to know, that this disputed addition is to be found in the Samaritan, Syriac, Septuagint, and Vulgate Versions, printed in Bishop Walton's Polyglott.

[6] Bibl. Sacr. part ii. vol. i. sect. iv. pp. 64—71

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with the view of restoring the genuine text of the Greek original: for he may be fully assured, that every phrase and expression is a precise copy of the Greek text as it stood in the manuscript from which the version was made. But, as it is not prior to the sixth century, and the Peschito was written either at the end of the first, or at the beginning of the second century, it is of less importance to know the readings of the Greek manuscript that was used in the former, than those of the original employed in the latter."[1]

3. The Karkaphensian Version, as it is commonly termed, is a recension of the Peschito, or old Syriac version of the Old and New Testaments, executed towards the close of the tenth century, by David, a Jacobite monk, residing in the monastery of St. Aaron on *mount* Sigari in Mesopotamia, whence the appellation *Karkaphensian* (signifying *mountain*) is derived.[2] We are informed by the learned Professor Wiseman, who has most minutely investigated the history and literary character of this recension, that the basis of its text is the Peschito or Versio Simplex, with the printed copies of which it bears a close affinity; except that proper names and Græco-Syriac words are accommodated to the Greek orthography, or to that adopted by Thomas of Harkel in his revision of the Philoxenian version. Some eminent critics have thought that the Karkaphensian version was made for the use of the Nestorians; Dr. Wiseman, however, is decidedly of opinion, that it is of Monophysite or Jacobite origin:[3] but his opinion is doubted by Professor Lee.[4]

4. Of the other Syriac Versions, the Syro-Estrangelo version of the Old Testament, and the Palæstino-Syriac version of part of the New Testament, are of sufficient importance to deserve a brief notice.

[i.] The Syro-Estrangelo version, also called the Syriac Hexaplar, is a translation of Origen's Hexaplar edition of the Greek Septuagint; it was executed in the former part of the seventh century, and its author is unknown. The late Professor De Rossi, who published the first specimen of it at Parma, in 1778, does not decide whether it is to be attributed to Mar-Abba, James of Edessa, Paul Bishop of Tela, or to Thomas of Heraclea. Assemanni ascribes it to Thomas, though other learned men affirm that he did no more than collate the Books of Scripture. This version, however, corresponds exactly with the text of the Septuagint, especially in those passages in which the latter differs from the Hebrew. A MS. of this version is in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, comprising the Books of Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Hosea, Amos, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Isaiah: it also contains the obelus and other marks of Origen's Hexapla; and a subscription at the end states it to have been literally translated from the Greek copy, corrected by Eusebius himself, with the assistance of Pamphilus, from the books of Origen, which were deposited in the library of Cæsarea. The conformity of this MS. with the account given by Masius, in the preface to his learned Annotations on the Book of Joshua, affords strong grounds for believing that this is the second part of the MS. described by him as then being in his possession, and which, there is reason to fear, is irrecoverably lost. From this version M. Norberg edited the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel in 1787, 4to Londini Gothorum: and M. Bugati, the Book of Daniel, at Milan, 1788, 4to.[5]

[ii.] The Palæstino-Syriac, or Syriac Translation of Jerusalem, was discovered in the Vatican Library at Rome by M. Adler, in a manuscript of the eleventh century. It is not an entire translation of the New Testament, but only a *Lectionarium*, or collection of detached portions, appointed to be read in the services of the church on Sundays and festival days. It is written in the Syriac or Chaldee dialect of Jerusalem, and was evidently made in a Roman province; for in Matt. xxvii. 27. the word στρατιωται, *soldiers*, is rendered by רומיא (Romia), as if the translator had never heard of any soldiers but Romans; and in the same verse σπειρα, *band* or *cohort*, is rendered by the Latin word *castra*, קסטרא. These and other indications afford reason to think, that the manuscript contains a translation made from the Greek, in Palestine; it was written at Antioch, and from all these circumstances, this version has been denominated the Jerusalem-Syriac Version. Dr. Scholz states that its text for the most part agrees with the Alexandrine recension. This manuscript has not yet been collated throughout.[6]

II. Egyptian Versions.—From the proximity of Egypt to Judæa, it appears that the knowledge of the Gospel was very early communicated to the inhabitants of that country, whose language was divided into three dialects—the *Coptic*, or dialect of Lower Egypt; the *Sahidic*, or dialect of Upper Egypt; and the *Bashmouric*, a dialect of the inhabitants of Bashmour, a province of the Delta.

The Coptic language is a compound of the old Egyptian and Greek; into which the *Old Testament* was translated from the Septuagint, perhaps in the second or third century, and certainly before the fifth century. Of this version, the Pentateuch was published by Wilkins in 1731; and a Psalter, with an Arabic translation, by the congregation *de Propagandâ Fide*, at Rome, in 1744 and 1749.[7]

In the Sahidic language the ninth chapter of Daniel was published by Münter at Rome in 1786; and Jeremiah, ch. ix. 17. to ch. xiii., by Mingarelli, in *Reliquiæ Egyptiorum Codicum in Bibliotheca Naniana asservatæ*, at Bologna, in 1785. The late Dr. Woide was of opinion that both the Coptic and Sahidic versions were made from the Greek. They express the phrases of the Septuagint version; and most of the additions, omissions, and transpositions, which distinguished the latter from the Hebrew, are discoverable in the Coptic and Sahidic versions.

The *Coptic* version of the *New Testament* was published at Oxford in 1716, in 4to., by Daniel Wilkins, a learned Prussian, who has endeavoured to prove that it must have been executed prior to the third century; but his opinion has been controverted by many learned men, and particularly by Louis Picques, who refers it to the fifth century. Professor Hug, however, has shown that it could not have been composed before the time of Hesychius, nor before the middle of the third century.[8] The celebrated passage (1 John v. 7.) is wanting in this version, as well as in the Syriac-Peschito, and Philoxenian translations. From the observations of Dr. Woide, it appears that the Coptic inclines more to the Alexandrian than the Sahidic—that no remarkable coincidence is to be found between the Coptic or Sihidic, and the Vulgate—and that we have no reason to suspect that the former has been altered or made to conform to the latter. Its text agrees with the Alexandrine recension.

Concerning the age of the *Sahidic* version critics are not yet agreed. Dr. Woide, however, has shown that it was most probably executed in the second century; and, consequently, it is of the utmost importance to the criticism of the Greek Testament. In a dissertation on this version, written in the German language, and abridged by Bishop Marsh,[9] Dr. W. observes, that there are now in existence two Sahidic manuscripts,—one formerly in the possession of the late Dr. Askew, the other brought from Egypt by the celebrated traveller, Mr. Bruce. The former contains a work entitled Sophia, and written by Valentinus, in the second century. This manuscript contains various passages both from the Old and New Testament, which coincide with the fragments of the Sahidic version now extant; whence it is concluded that the Sahidic version of the whole Bible not only existed so early as the *beginning* of the second century, but that it was the same as that of which we have various fragments, and which, if put together, would form perhaps a complete Sahidic version of the Bible. The other manuscript to which

[1] Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. ii. part i. p. 68. To Bishop Marsh's Notes, ibid. part ii. pp. 533—586. we are chiefly indebted for the preceding account of the Syriac Versions of the New Testament. See also Hug's Introduction, vol. i. pp. 372—386. Dr. G. H. Bernstein's Dissertation on Thomas of Harkel's Revision of the Syro-Philoxenian Version, entitled De Versione Novi Testamenti Syriacâ Heracleensi Commentatio. Lipsiæ, 1822, 4to.

[2] Dr. Wiseman's Horæ Syricæ, tom. i. pp. 236—240. compared with pp. 162, 163. Romæ, 1828, 8vo.

[3] Ibid. tom. i. pp. 234, 235. In this learned work, Dr. Wiseman has described a valuable manuscript of the Karkaphensian recension, which is preserved in the Vatican library at Rome, and has given notices of some other MSS. of this recension.

[4] Prolegomena in Biblia Polyglotta Londinensia Minora. Prol. III. sect. iii. p. 40

[5] Masch, part ii. vol. i. pp. 58—60. Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. pp. 76—78. Monthly Review, O. S. vol. lix. pp. 452—454. Some other Syriac versions of less note are described by Masch, *ut supra*, pp. 60—62.

[6] Cellérier, Introd. au Nouv. Test. pp. 180, 181. Hug's Introduction, vol. i. pp. 386—389. Scholz, Nov. Test. tom. i. Proleg. p. cxxiv. A notice of the principal editions of the Syriac version is given in the Bibliographical Appendix to Vol. II. Part I. Chap. I. Sect. V. § 3. [i.]

[7] Masch, part ii. vol. i. pp. 182—190. Jahn, p. 81. The *only* perfect copy of the Coptic Bible now in Europe is said to be in the possession of Monsieur Marcel. See M. Quatremère's Recherches sur la Langue et la Littérature d'Egypte, p. 118. In pp. 114, 115. 134, 135. this learned writer has specified various portions of the Coptic version which are preserved in the great libraries on the Continent.

[8] Hug's Introd. vol. i. p. 410.

[9] Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 595, 596.

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Dr. Woide appeals, contains two books, the one entitled Βιβλος της γνωσεως, the other, Βιβλος λογων ατα μυστηριων. Now that this was written by a Gnostic, as well as the other manuscript, appears both from the title and the contents, and therefore it is concluded that the author lived in the second century. And as various passages are quoted in it both from the Old and New Testaments, Dr. Woide deduces the same inference as from the foregoing. Of this version some fragments of the Gospels of Matthew and John have been published by Mingarelli, in a work entitled *Ægyptiorum Codicum Reliquiæ, Venetiis in Bibliothecâ Nanianâ asservatæ.* (Bononiæ, 1785, 4to.) But the completest collection of fragments of this version is that prepared for the press by the late Dr. Woide, who did not live to publish them. The work was completed and edited by the Rev. Dr. Ford, from the Clarendon Press, at Oxford, in folio, 1799, as an appendix to Dr. W.'s fac-simile of the Codex Alexandrinus. Scholz states that it agrees with the Alexandrine recension, but that it has many readings either peculiar to itself, or in common with the Latin versions.[2]

From the difference of their readings, and from the circumstance that additions in the one are omitted in the other, Bishop Marsh infers that the Coptic and Sahidic are independent versions, both made from the original Greek. Both, therefore, may be quoted as separate evidence for a reading in the Greek Testament.

Besides the versions in the Coptic and Sahidic dialects, Father Georgi discovered, in a manuscript belonging to Cardinal Borgia, some fragments of a version written in a still different Egyptian dialect, which he calls the AMMONIAN DIALECT. It contains only 1 Cor. vii. 36.—ix. 16. and xiv. 33.—xv. 33. Some fragments of a BASHMOURICO-COPTIC Version of the Old and New Testaments, discovered in the Borgian Museum at Velitri, were published by M. Engelbreth at Copenhagen, in 1816. Dr. Frederick Münter has printed the Sahidic and Ammoniac texts of 1 Cor. ix. 10—16. in his *Commentatio de Indole Versionis Novi Testamenti Sahidicæ* (4to. Hafniæ, 1789), in parallel columns, in order to present the reader with a distinct view of the similarity or difference between the two versions. On account, however, of the chief difference consisting in the orthography of single words, he is not disposed to assign to the Ammoniac the name of a separate dialect. On considering the region where this dialect seemed to be vernacular, he was inclined for several reasons to fix upon the Oases, particularly the Ammonian Oasis, whence he called it the Ammonian Dialect: but Professor Hug, who has investigated the hypothesis of various learned men, is of opinion that the fragments in question may possibly exhibit the idiom of Middle Egypt. M. Quatremère, however, prefers the appellation of the OASITIC Dialect to that of Basmuric.[3] This version was probably executed in the latter part of the third century.[4]

III. The ETHIOPIC or ABYSSINIAN VERSION of the Old Testament was made from the Septuagint: although its author and date are unknown, yet, from the marks of unquestionable antiquity which it bears, there is every reason to believe that it was executed in the fourth century. In the Gospels it agrees for the most part with the Alexandrine recension. Some peculiar readings occur in this translation: but, where it seems to be exact, it derives considerable authority from its antiquity. Only a few books and fragments of this version have been printed. The first portions of the Ethiopic Scriptures that appeared in print were the Psalms and the Song of Solomon; edited at Rome, by John Potken, A. D. 1513. The translation of the New Testament is supposed to have been made by Frumentius, who, about the year 330, first preached Christianity in Ethiopia. In 1548, the New Testament was printed at Rome by some Abyssinian priests, and was afterwards reprinted in the London Polyglott: but as the manuscripts used in the Roman edition were old and mutilated, the editors restored such chasms as appeared in the text, by translations from the Latin Vulgate. These editions, therefore, are not of much value, as they do not present faithful copies of the ancient Ethiopic text; which, according to Professor Hug, exhibits the appearance either of several versions being united in one copy, or of several MSS. (belonging to different recensions) being quoted in the composition of this version.[5]

There is, however, reason to expect that, in no long time the gift of the entire Ethiopic Scriptures will be imparted to Abyssinia. A manuscript copy of this version, in fine preservation, has been purchased by the committee of the Church Missionary Society. From a memoir on this manuscript by Professor Lee, we learn, that it contains the first eight books of the Old Testament, written on vellum, in a bold and masterly hand, in two columns on each page. The length of the page is that of a large quarto; the width is not quite so great. The volume contains 285 folios, of which the text covers 282, very accurately written, and in high preservation. On the first page is written, in Ethiopic, the invocation usually found in the books of the eastern Christians: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Then follows an account of the contents of the book, written in Latin by some former possessor, and a date A. D. 1596, 20th September. On the reverse of the first folio is found a table, not unlike the tables of genealogy in some of our old English Bibles, which seems to be intended to show the hours appointed for certain prayers. Then follows the Book of Genesis, as translated from the Greek of the Septuagint. On the reverse of the third folio is the following inscription in Arabic: "The poor Ribea, the son of Elias, wrote it: O wine! to which nothing can be assimilated, either in reality or appearance: O excellent drink! of which our Lord said, having the cup in his hand, and giving thanks, 'This is my blood for the salvation of men.'" Folios 7. and 8. have been supplied, in paper by a more modern hand. On the reverse of folio 8. is a very humble attempt at drawing, in the figure of a person apparently in prayer, accompanied by an inscription in Ethiopic at the side of the figure: "In the prayers of Moses and Aaron, to[6] Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, am I, thy servant, O Lord, presented in the power of the Trinity, a weak, infirm, and defiled sinner. Let them implore Christ." Under the drawing, in Ethiopic: "In the same manner, every slayer that slays Cain, will I repay in this; and as he slew, so shall he be slain." On the reverse of folio 98., at the end of the Book of Exodus, are two figures, somewhat similar, but rather better drawn, and seemingly by the writer of the manuscript; and in another place or two there are marginal ornaments. At the end of Deuteronomy is this inscription in Ethiopic: "The repetition of the law, which God spake to Moses. Numbered 5070[7] (words). Intercede for your slave Isaac."—At the end of the volume: "Pray for those who laboured in this book; and for your slave Isaac, who gave this to Jerusalem, the Holy." Then follows an inscription, in Arabic: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one God. O Lord, save thy people from every evil! O our God, Jesus Christ, the speaker to men! O holy people, remember your slave Isaac, the poor: God shall remember you in the mercies of this book. Pray, if God be willing, that I may be permitted to see your face. And pray for me, the sinner. Pardon my sins, O Lord! and let my body be buried in Mount Sion." Then follows, in Ethiopic: "That our enemies may not say of us, 'We have conquered them:' be ye prudent. We have given you a lamp. Be ye the culture.—Sow ye the flock: reap and rejoice." . . . . . A few lines have been erased. Then follows . . . . "me, Isaac, the poor, in your prayers. It was completed in Beth Gabbaza, of Axuma. In thy name, O Lord, have I planted, that thou place me not in any other place except Mount Sion; the mount of Christ; the house of Christians. Let them not be forgotten in your prayers, who have read and testified to you. Preserve, O Lord, this my offering for me thy servant, the poor; and preserve all these books which I offer, that the brethren, dwelling at Jerusalem, may be comforted. And pray for me,[8] forget me not in the holy offices, and in prayer, that we may all stand before God in the terrible day and hours. That it might not be written that we were wanting,

[1] Scholz, Nov. Test. tom. i. Proleg. p. cxxvii.

[2] Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. pp. 76—81. part ii. pp. 566—597.

[3] Recherches sur la Langue et Littérature de l'Egypte, p. 228. The whole of his fifth section, which treats on the Basmuric dialect, is highly interesting and valuable.

[4] Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 417—423. For a notice of the editions or published fragments of the several Egyptian versions, see the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to VOL. II PART I. CHAP. I. SECT. V. § 3. [iv.]

[5] Jahn, p. 81. Masch, part ii. vol. i. pp. 140—143. Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 95—98. 610—614. Hug, vol. i. pp. 425—428. Walton, Prol. xv. §§ 10—12. pp. 679—685. Kortholt, pp. 298—301. In Mr. Bruce's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 416—420. (8vo. edit.) there is an interesting account of the Ethiopic biblical books.

[6] As this inscription, which occurs on the supplied leaves, savours of the errors of the Romish church, it was probably written by some Abyssinian Romanist. The inscriptions of Isaac, the writer of the MS., though mutilated, and sometimes obscure, seem free from these errors. The figure of St. Peter, mentioned below, was probably traced by the same hand.

[7] It is customary among the Jews, Syrians, and Ethiopians, to number the words in the books of Scripture.

[8] In most of the eastern churches, it is the practice to enumerate their saints in a certain part of the Liturgy.

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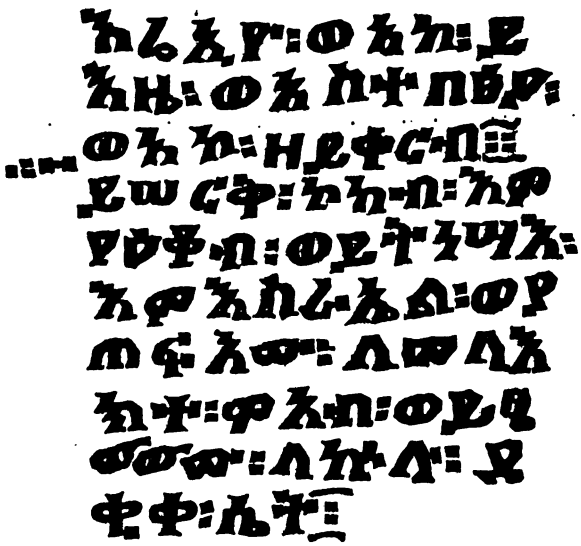
I have previously sent and given you this for the warfare of the testimony. Intercede, and bless. And also for the refreshing of the record of the Fathers: and also for Cueskam,[1] the queen of the sons of Abyssinia; that they may be comforted, and thence convert our region—may, moreover, migrate into other regions, and restore Jerusalem:—and for the Calvary of Mary. Let them pray for me. Let it be preserved as the widow's mite, for ever and ever. Let them not sell or exchange; nor let them carry it away; nor let them cause it to be placed elsewhere. And . . . . ." the rest is wanting. Hence it appears, that the book was written at Axuma, the ancient capital of Ethiopia; and that it was sent by Isaac to the Abyssinians residing in Jerusalem. No date appears in the manuscript itself. It is, probably, about 300 years old. On the reverse of fol. 285. is a drawing intended to represent Andrew the Apostle, with the book of the Gospels in one hand, and the keys in the other. Some less ingenious draftsman, however, has, by means of the transparency of the vellum, traced out this figure on the first page of this folio, and given the name of Peter to his humble representation. He has thus succeeded in assigning to St. Peter the first place, and also in bestowing on him the keys. Against this picture of Peter is placed his age, 120 years.

The following fac-simile represents part of the remarkable prophecy of Balaam.[2]

Num. XXIV. 17.



I shall see him, but not now: I shall call him blessed, but he is not near: there shall arise a star out of Jacob, and from Israel shall it arise: and he shall destroy the ambassadors of Moab, and shall take captive all the children of Seth.

This precious manuscript has been carefully transcribed, and in 1826 the four Gospels were edited by T. P. Platt, Esq. M.A. They were printed with a fount of types, cast at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society, from the matrices (preserved at Frankfort) of the celebrated Ethiopic scholar John Ludolph; whose types, as used in his printed works, have been highly approved by the Abyssinians.[3]

IV. ARABIC VERSIONS.—Although the Christian religion was preached in Arabia as well as in other countries of the East, at an early period, yet it never was the established religion of the country, as in Syria and Egypt: for even the temple at Mecca was a heathen temple till the time of Mohammed. Historical evidence, therefore, concerning the Arabic versions of the Old Testament, does not extend beyond the tenth century, when

1. Rabbi Saadias Gaon, a celebrated Jewish teacher at Babylon, translated, or rather paraphrased, the Old Testament into Arabic: of this version the Pentateuch was printed at Constantinople, in folio, in the year 1546, in Hebrew characters; and in the Paris and London Polyglotts, in Arabic letters.—The prophecy of Isaiah was published by Paulus in 8vo. at Jena, in 1790, 1791. Jahn, after Simon, observes, that its style is not pure. Saadias is also said to have translated the Book of Job and the Psalms: a manuscript containing Job is preserved in the Bodleian Library: Cod. Huntington. No. 511. The remaining books of this translation have not hitherto been discovered. Besides this, there are several other Arabic versions extant, made immediately from the Hebrew, either by Jews, Samaritans, or Christians, of which the following are the principal; viz.

2. The Arabic version of the Pentateuch, published by Erpenius at Leyden, in 1622, 4to., appears to have been executed in the thirteenth century by some African Jew, who has very closely adhered to the Hebrew.

3. The Arabic version of the Book of Joshua, printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts, is, in the opinion of Bauer, made directly from the Hebrew. Its author and date are not known.

4. The Pentateuch, Psalms, and Prophecy of Daniel, were translated by Saadi Ben Levi Asnekot, who lived in the early part of the seventeenth century: they are extant only in MS. in the British Museum,[4] and are of very little value.

Besides these versions, the Arab Christians have a translation of the Book of Job (printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts), and two versions of the Psalms, still in MS., which were respectively made from the Peschito or Old Syriac version. All the Arabic books of the Old Testament (with the exception of the Pentateuch and Job), which are printed in those Polyglotts, were executed from Hesychius's recension of the Septuagint. The Psalms, inserted in Justiniani's Polyglott Psalter, and Gabriel Sionita's Arabic Psalter, were made from Lucian's recension of that version and the Arabic Psalter, printed at Aleppo in 1706, 4to., follows the Melchitic[5] recension of the LXX.[6]

[1] The name of a region, a sea, and a mountain, in Ethiopia; so celebrated, as to be esteemed by the Ethiopians as preferable to even Sinai or Mount Olivet; and, as tradition says, whither Joseph and Mary, with the child Jesus, betook themselves, making it their residence for some time, after the flight into Egypt. *Castell*, sub voce.—*Ludolf*, sub voce, says it is the name of a monastery in Upper Egypt, which was always had in great veneration by the Copts and Ethiopians; and where Christ is said to have resided with his mother, when he fled from Herod.

[2] Eighteenth Report of the Church Missionary Society, pp. 188, 189.

[3] For a notice of such parts of the Ethiopic version of the Scriptures as have been printed, see the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to Vol. II. PART I. CHAP. I. SECT. V. § 3. [v.]; and for other particulars relative to this Version the reader is referred to Mr. Platt's "Catalogue of the Ethiopic Biblical Manuscripts in the Royal Library of Paris, and in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society," &c. London, 1823, 4to.

[4] Cat. Harl. MSS. vol. iii. num. 5505.

[5] The *Melchites* were those Christians in Syria, Egypt, and the Levant, who, though not Greeks, followed the doctrines and ceremonies of the Greek Church. They were called Melchites, that is, Royalists, by their adversaries, by way of reproach, on account of their implicit submission to the edict of the Emperor Marcian, in favour of the council of Chalcedon. Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 188. note (m).

[6] Carpzov. Crit. Sacr. pp. 640—644. Bauer, Crit. Sacr. pp. 321—324. Jahn Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. pp. 78—80. Masch, part ii. vol. i. pp. 108—110.

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There are many Arabic translations of the New Testament, besides those which have appeared in print: for since the Arabic language supplanted the Syriac and Egyptian, the inhabitants of the countries where these had been spoken, have been obliged to annex Arabic translations to the ancient versions, which are no longer understood. These Arabic translations are supposed to have been made at different times between the seventh and the eleventh centuries: in general they were not all executed from the original text, but from the versions which they were intended to accompany. Thus some which are placed together with the Greek text have been made from the Greek, while others have been made from the Syriac, the Coptic, and even from the Latin Vulgate.[1]

V. The ARMENIAN VERSION of the Old Testament was made from the Alexandrian Septuagint: its author was Miesrob, who invented letters fully expressive of the Armenian tongue, towards the close of the fourth or early in the fifth century. It is said to have been subsequently altered according to the Peschito or old Syriac version, and according to the Latin Vulgate, by Uscan, an Armenian bishop, who was specially sent to Amsterdam to superintend the edition there printed in 1666. The translation of the New Testament is ascribed jointly to Miesrob, and to the patriarch Isaac at the end of the fourth or early in the fifth century. It was twice translated from the Syriac, and then from the Greek; and that the copies now extant were made from the latter language, is evident from their containing those books of the New Testament which were never admitted into the Peschito or ancient literal Syriac version. This version, in the opinion of Semler, is of great importance, as faithfully representing the Greek MSS. whence it was made: but Michaelis observes, that it would be an inestimable treasure, had it descended to us unaltered by time and superstition. It has in several instances been made conformable to the Vulgate by Haitho or Hethom, sovereign of the Lesser Armenia from A. D. 1224 to 1270, who was attached to the church of Rome, and skilled in the Latin language.[2]

VI. PERSIC VERSIONS.—Although we have no authentic account of the conversion of the whole Persian nation to Christianity, yet we are informed by Chrysostom and Theodoret, that the Scriptures were very anciently translated into the Persian language. It does not appear, however, that any fragments of this ancient version are extant. The Persic translation of the Pentateuch was executed by Jacob Ben Joseph surnamed Tawosi or Tusi, from Tus, a city of Persia, which anciently possessed a celebrated Jewish academy. The precise time when he lived is not known; but it is evident that he could not have lived earlier than the commencement of the ninth century, because in Gen. x. 10. for *Babel* he has substituted *Babylon*, which city was not founded until A. D. 762 by the caliph Almansor. The Persian version of the Pentateuch, which is for the most part faithfully rendered, was first printed by the Jews at Constantinople in 1546, in Hebrew characters, together with the Hebrew text, the targum of Onkelos, and the Arabic version of Saadias Gaon. From this Constantinopolitan edition the Persian version of the Pentateuch was transcribed into the Persian characters by the eminent orientalist Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Hyde, who added very close Latin translation, and supplied between brackets the words necessary to fill up the chasms which had been caused by the negligence either of the original copyist or of the printer at Constantinople.

Bishop Walton further mentions two Persic versions of the Psalms—one by a Portuguese monk at Ispahan in the year 1618, and another by some Jesuits from the Vulgate Latin version.[3] These are yet in manuscript.

There are extant two *Persian Versions* of the four Gospels, the most ancient and valuable of which was first printed in the London Polyglott, by Bishop Walton, from a manuscript in the possession of Dr. Pococke, dated A. D. 1314: it was made from the Syriac, having sometimes retained Syriac words, and subjoined a Persian translation. The other Persian translation was edited by Wheloc, and after his decease by Pierson, at London, in 1652—57, after a collation of three manuscripts. It is supposed to have been from the Greek.[4]

§ 4. ON THE ANCIENT WESTERN VERSIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES.

I. *Ancient Latin versions of the Scriptures.*—1. *Of the* OLD ITALIC *or* ANTE-HIERONYMIAN VERSION.—2. *Account of the Biblical labours and Latin version of* JEROME.—3. *Of the* VULGATE VERSION *and its revisions.*—4. *Critical value of the Latin Vulgate version.*—II. GOTHIC VERSION.—III. SCLAVONIC VERSION.—IV. ANGLO-SAXON VERSION.

I. ANCIENT LATIN VERSIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES.

1. At the commencement of the Christian æra, the Latin was gradually supplanting the Greek as a *general* language, and it soon might be called the language of the western church. From the testimony of Augustine,[5] it appears that the Latin church possessed a very great number of versions of the Scriptures, made at the first introduction of Christianity, and whose authors were unknown; and that, in the primitive times, as soon as any one found a Greek copy, and thought himself sufficiently versed in both languages, he attempted a translation of it.[6] In the course of time, this diversity of translation produced much confusion, parts of separate versions being put together to form an entire composition, and marginal notes being inserted into the text: but one of these Latin translations appears to have acquired a more extensive circulation than the others, and for several ages was preferably used, under the name of the *Vetus Itala* or old Italic, on account of its clearness and fidelity.[7] This version, which in the time of Jerome was received as canonical, is by him termed sometimes the *Vulgate* and sometimes the *Old*, in opposition to the new translation undertaken by him. He mentions no other version. The Old Italic was translated from the Greek in the Old Testament as well as in the New, there being comparatively few members of the Western church who were skilled in Hebrew. From the above cited expressions of Augustine, it has been inferred that the old Italic version was made in the *first* century of the Christian æra; but the New Testament could not have been translated into Latin before the canon had been formed, which was certainly not made in the first century: and the great number of Hebraisms and Syriasms observable in it, particularly in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, have induced some eminent critics to conjecture that the authors of this translation were Jews converted to Christianity.[8] There is, however, every reason to believe, that it was executed in the early part of the second century: "at least it was quoted by Tertullian before the close of that century. But, before the end of the fourth century, the alterations, either designed or accidental, which were made by transcribers of the Latin Bible, were become as numerous as the alterations in the Greek Bible, before it was corrected by Origen."[9]

2. To remedy this growing evil, Jerome, at the request, and under the patronage of Damasus, bishop of Rome, towards the close of the fourth century, undertook to revise

[1] Michaelis (vol. ii. part i. pp. 81—95.) and Hug (vol. i. pp. 430—454.) have gone fully into the history of the Arabic versions. For a notice of the principal editions of them, see the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to Vol. II. PART I. CHAP. I. SECT. V. § 3. [ii.]

[2] Jahn, p. 82. Masch, pp. 169—173.; Kortholt, pp. 304, 305. On the present state of the Armenian church in India, see Dr. Buchanan's "Christian Researches," pp. 341—346. Semler, Apparatus ad Liberalem Novi Testamenti Interpretationem, p. 69. Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 98—105. 614—617. Hug, vol. i. pp. 384—399.

[3] Walton, Prol. xvi. §§ 6—8. pp. 692—695. Kortholt, c. xix. pp. 301—303. Jahn, p. 86. Rosenmüller, de Versione Pentateuchi Persica Commentatio, pp. 4—10. Lipsiæ, 1813. For an account of editions consult Masch, part [illegible] c. xxx. [illegible]—164

[4] Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 105, 106. 617—619. Semler, p. 69. Walton, Prol. c. xvi. § 9. pp. 695, 696. Hug, vol. i. pp. 389—393.

[5] Augustine, de Doctr. Christ. l. ii. c. 11.

[6] These various ancient Latin versions, which are frequently termed *Ante-Hieronymian*, and of the manuscripts of which some valuable fragments have been preserved to us in the writings of the Fathers, were written in the barbarous Latin, and frequently differed greatly. One single example, out of many that might be offered, will suffice. Col. ii. 15. as cited by Hilary (de Trin. lib. i. c. 13.), runs thus:—"Exutus carnem ex potestates ostentui fecit, triumphatis iis cum fiduciâ in semet ipso." The same passage, as cited by Augustine (contra Faustum, lib. xvi. c. 29.), stands thus:—"Exutus se carnem principatus et potestates exemplavit fiducialiter triumphatus eos in semet ipso." Other examples may be seen in Hug, vol. i. pp. 454—456.

[7] Augustine, de Doct. Christ. l. ii. c. 15. This passage of Augustine is suspected to be incorrect, and Bishop Marsh, after Bentley, Ernesti, Lardner, and other critics, thinks that we ought to read *illa* for *Itala*. (Michaelis, vol. ii. part ii. p. 623. See also Dr. Lardner's Works, vol. v. pp. 115, 116.) But this conjecture is supported by no manuscript, and is also contradicted by the context of Augustine. M. Breyther, who has examined the various conjectures and arguments which have been alleged in support of the reading of *illa*, determines in favour of *Itala* as the genuine reading. (Dissert. de vi quam antiquissimæ versiones, quæ extant, in crisin Evang. IV. habeant, p. 13—24.) Prof. Hug also determines in favour of Itala. (Introd. to New Test. vol. i. pp. 460, 461.)

[8] "The learned and ingenious Eichhorn, in his introduction to the Old Testament, supposes that the first Latin version of the Bible was made in Africa; where Latin alone being understood, a translation was more necessary; where the Latin version was held in the highest veneration; and where, the language being spoken with less purity, barbarisms might have been more easily introduced than in a provincial town in Italy." Bp Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. part ii. p. 628.

[9] Bishop Marsh's Divinity Lectures, part i. p. 66

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this translation, and make it more conformable to the Septuagint. He executed the revision of the Old Testament according to the Hexaplar text of Origen, which he went to Cæsarea to consult, and the New Testament after the original Greek; and completed his task A. D. 390 or 391. Of this revision, the Book of Job and the Psalms (which alone have been preserved to our times), together with the Chronicles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Solomon, are all that were ever published; Jerome's manuscripts, comprising the remaining books of Scripture, being lost or destroyed through the wilful negligence or fraud of some individual whom he has not named.[1] But before Jerome had finished his revisal, he had commenced a translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew into Latin, in order that the Western Christians, who used this last language only, might know the real meaning of the Hebrew text, and thus be the better qualified to engage in controversial discussions with the Jews.

3. This version, which surpasses all former ones, was executed at different times, Jerome having translated particular books in the order requested by his friends. We learn from Augustine, that it was introduced into the churches by degrees, for fear of offending weak persons: at length it acquired so great an authority from the approbation it received from Pope Gregory I., that ever since the seventh century it has been exclusively adopted[2] by the Romish church, under the name of the VULGATE version: and a decree of the fourth session of the Council of Trent, in the sixteenth century, ordained that the Vulgate alone should be *esteemed authentic* (a very ambiguous term, which ought to have been more precisely defined than the members of that assembly chose to define it), *in the public reading of the Scriptures, in disputations, in preaching, and in expounding, and that no one should dare to reject it under any pretext whatever.* "Upon this ground many contended that the Vulgate version was dictated by the Holy Spirit; at least was providentially guarded against all error; was consequently of divine authority, and more to be regarded than even the original Hebrew and Greek texts. And, in effect, the decree of the Council, however limited and moderated by the explanation of some of their more judicious divines, has given to the Vulgate such a high degree of authority, that, in this instance at least, the translation has taken the place of the original; for the learned of the church of Rome, who have taken the liberty of giving translations of Scripture in the modern languages, instead of the Hebrew and Greek texts, profess to translate the Vulgate. When, indeed, they find the Vulgate very notoriously deficient in expressing the sense, they do the original Scriptures the honour of consulting them, and take the liberty, by following them, of departing from their authentic guide; but, in general, the Vulgate is their original text; and they give us a translation of a translation; by which second transfusion of the Holy Scriptures into another tongue, still more of the original sense must be lost, and more of the genuine spirit must evaporate."[3]

The universal adoption of Jerome's new version throughout the Western church rendered a multiplication of copies necessary; and with them new errors were introduced in the course of time, by the intermixture of the two versions (the Old Italic and Jerome's or the Vulgate) with each other. Of this confusion, Cassiodorus was the principal cause, who ordered them to be written in parallel columns, that the old version might be corrected by the Vulgate; and though Alcuin in the eighth century, by the command of Charlemagne, provided more accurate copies, the text again fell into such confusion, and was so disfigured by innumerable mistakes of copyists—(notwithstanding the efforts made to correct it by Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, in the eleventh century, and by Cardinal Nicholas, and some other divines, about the middle of the twelfth and in the thirteenth centuries),—that the manuscripts of the middle ages materially differ from the first printed editions.

Robert STEPHENS was the first who attempted to remedy this confusion, by publishing his critical editions of the Vulgate in 1528, 1532, 1534, 1540,[4] and particularly in 1545 and 1546. These, especially the last, having incurred the censures of the doctors of the Sorbonne, John Hentenius, a divine of Louvain, was employed to prepare a new edition of the Vulgate: this he accomplished in 1547 in folio, having availed himself of Stephens's previous labours with great advantage. A third corrected edition was published by Lucas Brugensis, with the assistance of several other divines of Louvain, in 1573, in three volumes, 8vo., which was also reprinted in 1586 in 4to. and 8vo., with the critical notes of Lucas Brugensis. In the mean time Pius IV. commanded some divines of the Romish church to collect and to collate the most ancient manuscripts which they could procure. This collation was continued during the pontificate of Pius V., who further caused the original text to be consulted. Under Gregory XIII. the work ceased, but it was resumed and completed under the auspices of Sixtus V.; who devoted much time and attention to it, and corrected the proofs of the edition which was published at Rome in 1590, in folio. The text thus revised Sixtus pronounced to be *the authentic Vulgate*, which had been the object of inquiry in the Council of Trent; and ordained that it should be adopted throughout the Romish church. But, notwithstanding the labours of the Pope, this edition was discovered to be so exceedingly incorrect, that his successor Gregory XIV. caused it to be suppressed; and Clement VIII., the successor of Gregory in the pontificate, published *another* authentic Vulgate in 1592. This, however, differs more than any other edition from that of Sixtus V., and mostly resembles that of Louvain. These fatal variances between editions, alike promulgated by pontiffs claiming infallibility, have not passed unnoticed by Protestant divines, who have taken advantage of them in a manner that sensibly affects the church of Rome; especially Kortholt, who has at great length refuted the pretensions of Bellarmine in favour of the Vulgate in a masterly manner,[5] and our learned countryman Thomas James, in his *Bellum Papale, sive Concordia Discors Sixti V.* (London, 1600, 4to.), who has pointed out very numerous additions, omissions, contradictions, and other differences between the Sixtine and Clementine editions.[6] From this very curious and now rare volume the following specimens of the differences between these two editions are selected and arranged:—

1. Clauses omitted in the Sixtine, but inserted in the Clementine Bible.

Num. xxx. 11.	*Uxor in domo viri, &c.* to the end of the verse
Prov. xxv. 24.	*Melius est sedere in angulo domatis, &c*
Lev. xx. 9.	*Patri matrique maledixit.*
Judg. xvii. 2, 3.	*Reddidit ergo eos matri suæ, &c.*
1 Kings iv. 21.	*Quia capta est arca Dei.*
3 Kings (same as our first) xii. 10.	*Sic loquerie ad eos.*
2 Chron. ii. 10.	*Et vini vigenti millia metretas.*
Matt. xxvii. 35.	*Ut impleretur quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem, diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea, et super vestem meam miserunt sortem.*

2. Clauses or words introduced into the Sixtine, but omitted in the Clementine Bible.

1 Sam. xxiv. 8.	*Vivit dominus, quia nisi dominus percusserit eum, aut dies ejus venerit ut moriatur, aut descendens in prælium periret; propitius mihi sit dominus ut non mittam manum meam in Christum Domini.*
1 Sam. xxv. 6.	*Ex multis annis salvos faciens tuos et omnia tua.*
2 Sam. vi. 12.	*Dixitque David, ibo et reducam arcam.*
2 Sam. viii. 8.	*De quo fecit Salomo omnia vasa ærea in templo et mare æneum et columnas et altare.*
2 Sam. xix. 10.	*Et concilium totius Israel venit ad regem.*
Prov. xxiv. ult.	*Usque quo piger dormis? usque quo de somno consurges.*
Hab. i. 3.	*Quare respicis contemptores et taces conculcante impio justiorem se? Et facies homines quasi pisces maris, et quasi reptilia non habentia ducem.*
Matt. xxiv. 41.	*Duo in lecto, unus assumetur, et unus relinqueter.*
Acts xiv. 6.	*Et commota est omnis multitudo in doctrina eorum, Paulus autem, &c.*
Acts xxiv. 18, 19.	*Et apprehenderunt me clamantes et dicentes, tolle inimicum nostrum.*

[1] Jerome, Ep. 64. ad Augustin.

[2] With the exception of the Psalms; which being daily chanted to music in the church service, made it difficult to introduce alterations. The Old Italic Psalter, as corrected by Jerome, has therefore been used ever since the time of Gregory I. The apocryphal books of Baruch, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and the two books of Maccabees, are also retained from the old Latin version.

[3] Bp. Lowth's Translation of Isaiah, vol. i. Prel. Diss. p. lxxiii

[4] The edition of 1540 was Stephens's principal edition of the Latin Vulgate; as his edition of 1550 was his principal edition of the Greek. In *magnificence* it surpasses every edition of the Vulgate that ever was printed; and it is likewise of great value to a critic, as it contains a copious collection of various readings from thirteen Latin manuscripts, and three of the early editions. Father Simon (Hist. Crit. des Versions du N. Test. ch. xi. p. 130.) calls it "*un chef-d'œuvre en fait de Bible*;" and (p. 131.) he terms this edition "*la meilleure et des toutes.*" Hentenius, in his preface to the Louvain edition, calls it "*accuratissima et castigatissima Biblia.*" (See also the praises bestowed on it in Masch's edition of Lelong's Bibliotheca Sacra, part ii. vol. iii. p. 187.) The title-page prefixed to the New Testament bears the date of 1539; though that which is prefixed to the Old Testament is dated 1540. (Marsh's Letters to Travis, p. 254. note.) It is by this latter date, that Stephens's best edition of the Vulgate is usually known and cited.

[5] Kortholt, de variis Scripturæ Editionibus, pp. 110—251.

[6] Additional instances of the contradictions between the above mentioned papal editions, together with a defence of the *Bellum Papale*, may be seen in Mr. James's "Treatise of the Corruptions of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers, by the Prelates, Pastors, and Pillars of the Church of Rome, for the maintenance of Popery," pp. 272—368. London, 1688. 8vo.

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3. Manifest contradictions, or differences between the editions.

Ex. xxiii. 18.	Sixtine *Tuæ*, Clementine *meæ*.
Num. xxxiv. 4.	S. *Ad meridiem*, C. *A meridie*.
Deut. xvii. 8.	S. *Inter lepram et non lepram*, C. *Inter lepram et lepram*.
Josh. ii. 18.	S. *Signum non fuerit*, C. *Signum fuerit*.
iv. 23.	S. *Deo nostro*, C. *Vestro*.
xi. 19	S. *Quæ se non traderet*, C. *Quæ se traderet*
xiv. 3.	S. *Tuo*, C. *Meo*.
1 Sam. iv. 9.	S. *Nobis*, C. *Vobis*.
xx. 9.	S. *A me*, C. *A te*.
1 Kings vii. 9.	S. *Intrinsecus*, C. *Extrinsecus*.
Hab. i. 13.	S. *Quare non respices*, C. *Respices*.
Heb. v. 11.	S. *Interpretabilis*, C. *Ininterpretabilis*.
2 Pet. i. 16.	S. *Indoctas*, C. *Doctas*.

4. Differences in numbers.

Ex. xxiv. 5.	S. *Vitulos duodecem*, C. *Vitulos*.
xxxii. 28.	S. *Trigenta tria millia*, C. *Vigenti millia*.
2 Sam. xv. 7.	S. *Quatuor*, C. *Quadrigenta*.
1 Kings iv. 42.	S. *Quinque millia*, C. *Quinque et mille*.
2 Kings xiv. 17.	S. *Viginti Quinque*, C. *Quindecem*.
xxv. 19.	S. *Sex*, C. *Sexagenta*.
2 Chron. xiii. 17.	S. *Quinquagenta*, C. *Quingenta*.

5. Other remarkable differences.

1 Sam. iii. 2, 3.	S. *Nec poterat videre lucernam Dei antequam extingueretur*. C. *Nec poterat videre; lucerna Dei antequam extingueretur*.
1 Kings ii. 28.	S. *Ad Solomonem*, C. *Ad Jacob*.
2 Kings xv. 19.	S. *In theream*, C. *In terram*.
Judith i. 2.	S. *Fecit, ejus muros in altitudinem* 70 *cubitus*: this is one of those places where paper had been pasted on the text; the word first printed was *latitudinem*, and *altitudinem* was printed on a slip of paper, and put over it, C. *Latitudinem*.
Ibidem.	S. *Latitudinem*, 30 *cu*. C. *Altitudinem*, 30 *cubitus*.
Job xxxi. 7.	S. *Si secutus est oculus meus cor meum*, C. *Si secutum et oculos meus cor meum*.
Psal. xli. 3.	S. *Ad Deum fontem vivum*, C. *Ad Deum fortem, vivum*.
Prov. xix. 23.	S. *Qui affligit patrem et fugit matrem*, C. *Qui affligat, &c. et fugat, &c.*
xx. 25.	S. *Devorare sanctos*, C. *Devotare sanctos*.
Ezek. xiv. 22.	S. *Egredientur*, C. *Ingredientur*.
Sirach xxxviii. 25.	S. *Sapientiam scribæ*, C. *Sapientia scribæ*.
xlii. 9.	S. *Adultera*, C. *Adulta*.
Isaiah xlvi. 12.	S. *Justum*, C. *Avem*.
Jer. xvii. 9.	S. *Cor hominis*, C. *Hominum*.[1]

Besides the preceding revisions by papal authority, there have been several others executed by private individuals; in which the Latin Vulgate has been so much corrected from the original Hebrew and Greek, that they have in some degree been considered (though erroneously) as new translations. Of this number are the Latin Bibles published by Clarius, Eber, and the Osianders.

[i.] Isidore CLARIUS's edition of the Vulgate first appeared at Venice in 1542, and is of extreme rarity: it was reprinted at the same place in 1557 and 1564. He has not only restored the ancient Latin text, but has also corrected it in a great number of places which he conceived to be erroneously translated, so as to make them conformable to the Hebrew original. Although he corrected more than *eight thousand* places, as he states in his preface, yet he omitted some, lest he should offend the Roman Catholics by making too many alterations in the Vulgate version.

[ii.] The method of Clarius was followed by Paul EBER, who corrected the Vulgate from Luther's German version. His edition was published at Wittemberg, in 1565, with the addition of Luther's translation under the authority of Augustus, Elector of Saxony; and was reprinted in 1574, in ten volumes, quarto.

[iii.] The edition of *Luke* OSIANDER appeared in 1578, and has since been very often reprinted; as also has a German translation of it, which was first published at Stutgard in 1600. *Andrew* Osiander's edition was also printed in 1600, and frequently since. They have both corrected the Vulgate, according to the Hebrew originals; and have occasioned some confusion to their readers, by inserting their emendations in a character different from that in which the Vulgate text is printed.

4. The Vulgate is regarded by Papists and Protestants in very different points of view: by the former it has been extolled beyond measure, while by most of the latter it has been depreciated as much below its intrinsic merit. Our learned countryman, John Bois (canon of Ely), was the first who pointed out the real value of this version, in his *Collatio Veteris Interpretis cum Bezâ aliisque recentioribus*. (8vo. 1655.) Bois was followed by Father Simon, in his *Histoire Critique du Texte et des Versions du Nouveau Testament*, who has proved that the more ancient the Greek manuscripts and other versions are, the more closely do they agree with the Vulgate; and in consequence of the arguments adduced by Simon, the Vulgate has been more justly appreciated by biblical critics of later times.

Although the Latin Vulgate is neither inspired nor infallible, as Morinus, Suarez, and other advocates of the Romish church have attempted to maintain, yet it is allowed to be in general a faithful translation, and sometimes exhibits the sense of Scripture with greater accuracy than the more modern versions: for all those which have been made in modern times, by divines in communion with the church of Rome, are derived from the Latin Vulgate, which, in consequence of the decree of the Council of Trent above noticed, has been substituted for the original Hebrew and Greek texts. The Latin Vulgate, therefore, is by no means to be neglected by the biblical critic: and since the Ante-Hieronymian Latin translations are unquestionably of great antiquity, both lead us to a discovery of the readings in very ancient Greek manuscripts, which existed prior to the date of any now extant. Even in its present state, notwithstanding the variations between the Sixtine and Clementine editions, and that several passages are mistranslated, in order to support the peculiar dogmas of the church of Rome, the Latin Vulgate preserves many true readings,[2] where the modern Hebrew copies are corrupted.[3]

II. The GOTHIC VERSION of the Bible was made from the Greek, both in the Old and in the New Testament, by Ulphilas,[4] a celebrated bishop of the Mæso-Goths, who assisted at the council of Constantinople in 359, and was sent on an embassy to the Emperor Valens about the year 378. He is said to have embraced Arianism, and to have propagated Arian tenents among his countrymen. Besides translating the *entire* Bible into the Gothic language, Ulphilas is said to have conferred on the Mæso-Goths the invention of the Gothic characters. The character, however, in which this version of the New Testament is written, is, in fact, the Latin character of that age; and the degree of perfection, which the Gothic language had obtained during the time of Ulphilas, is a proof that it had then been written for some time.

The translation of Ulphilas (who had been educated among the Greeks) was executed from the Greek; but, from its coincidence in many instances with the Latin, there is reason to suspect that it has been interpolated, though at a remote period, from the Vulgate. Its unquestionable antiquity, however, and its general fidelity, have concurred to give this version a high place in the estimation of biblical critics: but, unfortunately, it has not come down to us entire. The only parts extant in print are, a fragment of the book of Nehemiah, a considerable portion of the four Gospels, and some portions of the apostolic epistles.[5]

The most distinguished manuscript of the Gothic version of Ulphilas is the justly celebrated CODEX ARGENTEUS, now preserved in the library of the university of Upsal, in Sweden. It contains the four Gospels, but by no means in a perfect state; the following are the principal lacunæ:—

Matt. i. 1.—v. 15.	Mark vi. 31—53.	Luke x. 30.—xiv. 9.
vi. 33.—vii. 12.	vii. 17—20.	xvi. 24.—xvii. 3
x. 1—23.	xii. 38.—xiii. 16.	xx. 37—end.
xi. 25.—xxvi. 7.	xiii. 29.—xiv. 4.	John i. 1.—v. 45.
xxvii. 19—42.	xiv. 16—41.	xi. 47.—xii. 1.
xxviii. 1—end.	xvi. 12—end.	xii. 49.—xiii. 11
		xix. 13—end.

This manuscript is written on vellum, and has received the name of *Argenteus* from its silver letters: it is of a quarto size, and the vellum leaves are stained with a violet colour: and on this ground the letters, which are all *uncial* or capitals, were afterwards painted in silver, except the initial

[1] Hamilton's Introduction to the Hebrew Scriptures, pp. 163—166.

[2] Cappell has given numerous examples in his Critica Sacra, lib. ii. 2. c. vii.—ix. tom. ii. pp. 856—898. (edit. Scharfenberg.)

[3] The preceding account of the Latin versions has been compiled from Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 107—129. Semler, Apparatus ad Liberalem Vet. Test. Interpretationem, pp. 308—314. Carpzov. Critica Sacra, pp. 671—706. Leusden, Philologus Hebræomixtus, pp. 1—19. Bishop Walton, Prol. c. xi. pp. 470—507.; and Viser, Hermeneutica Sacra Novi Testamenti, vol. ii. part iii. pp. 73—96. See also Muntinghe's Expositio Criticea Veteris Fœderis, pp. 149—156.; and Hug's Introduction, vol. i. pp. 464—483. For the principal editions of the Latin versions of the Scriptures, see the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to Vol. II. PART I. CHAP. I. SECT. V. § 4. [i.]

[4] "This," says Bishop Marsh, "is an original German name, and is a diminutive of the word Wolf: it is written in correct German, Wölfelein, but corruptly pronounced Wölfila or Wulfila, in the dialects of Switzerland, Bavaria, and Austria, to which that of the Mæso-Goths, who likewise inhabited the banks of the Danube, is nearly allied." Michaelis, vol. ii. part ii. p. 631.

[5] Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. pp. 130—133. 149—152. Hug, vol. i. pp. 498—513. A notice of the principal editions of the Gothic versions will be found in the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to Vol. II. PART I. CHAP. I. SECT. V. § 4. [ii.]

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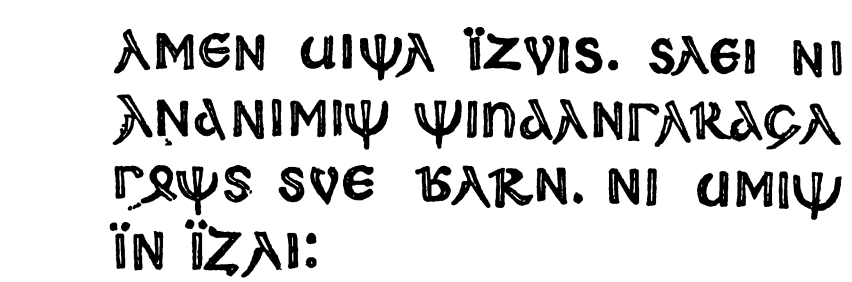
characters and a few other passages, which are in gold. The cover and back of the volume are of silver embossed. From the deep impression of the strokes, Ihre, Michaelis, and Hug are of opinion, that the letters were either imprinted with a warm iron, cut with a graver, or cast for the purpose, and afterwards coloured; but Mr. Coxe (with whom the late eminent traveller Dr. E. D. Clarke seems to coincide), after a very minute examination, was convinced that each letter was painted, and not formed in the manner supposed by those critics. Most of the silver letters have become green by time, but the golden letters are still in good preservation. We have no knowledge of this important manuscript prior to the discovery of it in the abbey of Werden in Westphalia, whence it was taken to Prague. In the year 1648, when that city was stormed by the Swedes, it fell into the hands of a Swedish count, who presented it to his sovereign, queen Christina. After remaining some time in her library, during the confusion which preceded her abdication of the throne of Sweden, it suddenly and unaccountably disappeared, and was again brought to light in the Netherlands. Some have supposed that the celebrated Isaac Vossius received it as a present from the queen; others that he brought it away by stealth. After his death, however, it was purchased for six hundred dollars by count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, who presented it to the university of Upsal, where it at present remains. The following cut is a faithful fac-simile of the characters of the Codex Argenteus: it was traced from the manuscript itself for the late Dr. E. D. Clarke, and is the most correct fac-simile known to be extant. It corresponds with our version of Luke xviii. 17. *Verily, I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, shall in no wise enter therein.* It is worthy of remark, that, in the Codex Argenteus, the well known old Saxon or Gothic word *Barn* is used to signify the original word παιδίον, *a little child.*



Concerning the age of this venerable manuscript critics are by no means agreed. Some of the zealous advocates for its antiquity have maintained that it is the very copy which Ulphilas wrote with his own hand. The librarian by whom it was exhibited to Dr. Clarke stated it to have been completed about the end of the fourth century, by a bishop of Thrace, in the Gothic language used at that time in Mœsia. This brings its age very nearly, if not quite, to the time when Ulphilas lived: but it is not likely—indeed it is utterly improbable—that the only copy of the Gothic translation of the Gospels, which is now extant, should be precisely the original. What proves that this cannot be the identical manuscript of Ulphilas, is the fact, that several various readings have been discovered in the margin, a circumstance which clearly shows that it must have been written at a time when several transcripts had been already made.

Some fragments of the Gothic version of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans were discovered by M. Knittel, in the year 1756, in a Codex Rescriptus belonging to the library of the duke of Brunswick at Wolfenbüttel: they were published by him in 1762, and reprinted in 1763, in 4to., at Upsal, with notes by Ihre. The Brunswick manuscript, which is on vellum, and is supposed to be of the sixth century, contains only the following passages, viz. Rom. xi. 33—36. xii. 1—5. 17—21. xiv. 9—20. xv. 3—13. The version of Ulphilas is in one column, and a Latin translation in the other: it is on vellum, and is supposed to be of the sixth century. In the eighth or ninth century, the *Origines Isidori Hispalensis* were written over the translation of Ulphilas; but the ink had become so exceedingly pale as not to admit of deciphering the original manuscript without great difficulty.[1]

In the year 1817, a most important discovery was made among the Codices Rescripti, in the Ambrosian library at Milan, by signor Angelo Mai. While this indefatigable explorer of ancient literature was examining two Codices Rescripti in the Ambrosian library, he was surprised with the discovery of some Gothic writing in one of them; which on further investigation proved to be fragments of the books of Kings, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The discovery thus auspiciously made stimulated him to further inquiries, which were rewarded with the discovery of *four* other Codices Rescripti containing portions of the Gothic version. He now associated in his researches signor Carolo Ottavio Castillionei; and to their joint labours we are indebted for a specimen and account[2] of these manuscripts, from which the following particulars are abridged.

The *first* of these five Gothic MSS. (which is noted S. 36.) consists of 204 quarto pages on vellum; the later writing contains the homilies of Gregory the Great on the Prophecies of Ezekiel, which from their characters must have been executed before the eighth century. Beneath this, in a more ancien Gothic hand, are contained the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, 1st and 2d Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1st and 2d of Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, together with a fragment of the Gothic Calendar. The Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Ephesians, and to Timothy, are very nearly entire, and form the chief part of this manuscript: of the other Epistles considerable fragments only remain. The titles of the Epistles may be traced at the heads of the pages where they commence. This MS. appears to have been written by two different copyists, one of whom wrote more beautifully and correctly than the other; and various readings may be traced in some of the margins written in a smaller hand. Entire leaves have been turned upside down by the *rescriber* of this manuscript. The annexed fac-simile of it represents the commencement of Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians, and may be thus rendered: *The Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians beginneth. Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ according to the will of God, to the saints who are at Ephesus.*

[1] Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 130—153. 631—635. Semler, pp. 70—72. Viser, Hermeneut. Nov. Test. vol. ii. part iii. pp. 56—58. Schoell, Histoire Abrégé de la Littérature Grecque, tom. ii. p. 131. Hug, vol. i. pp. 488—498. Coxe's Travels in Russia, &c. vol. iv. pp. 173—180. edit. 1802. Dr. E. D. Clarke's Travels, vol. vi. pp. 183, 184. 4to.

[2] Ulphilæ Partium Ineditarum, in Ambrosianis Palimpsestis a Angelo Maio repertarum, Specimen, conjunctis curis ejusdem Mai et Caroli Octavii Castillionei editum, Mediolani, Regiis Typis, M. DCCC. XIX. 4to.

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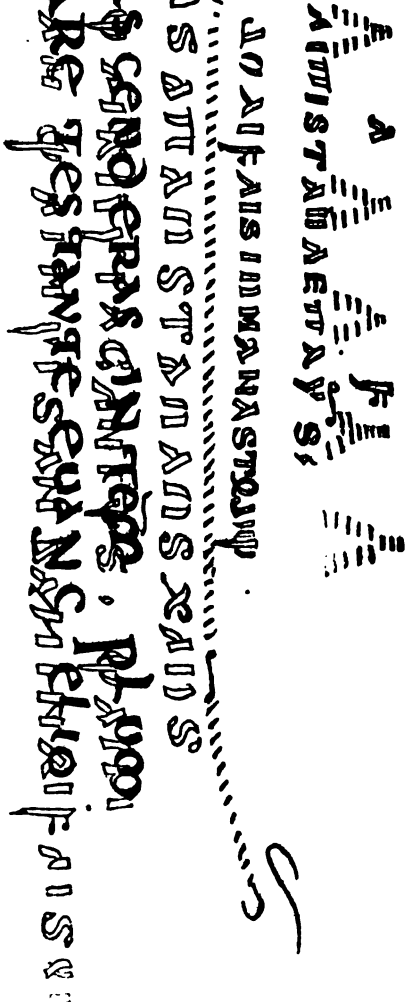

The *second* MS. also, in quarto, and noted S. 45., contains 156 pages of thinner vellum, the Latin writings on which is of the eighth or ninth century, and comprises Jerome's exposition of Isaiah. Under this has been discovered (though with some difficulty, on account of the thickness of the Latin characters and the blackness of the ink) the Gothic version of Saint Paul's two Epistles to the Corinthians, the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, and to Titus. What is deficient in the preceding manuscript is found in this, which has some various readings peculiar to itself, and therefore is an independent codex.

In the *third* manuscript, noted G. 82., a quarto Latin volume, containing the plays of Plautus, and part of Seneca's Tragedies of Medea and Œdipus, signor Mai discovered fragments of the Books of Kings, Ezra, and Nehemiah. This discovery is peculiarly valuable, as not the smallest portion of the Gothic version of the Old Testament was known to be in existence; and, further, as it furnishes a complete refutation of the idle tale repeated by Gibbon after preceding writers, viz. that Ulphilas prudently suppressed the four Books of Kings, as they might tend to irritate the fierce and sanguinary spirit of his countrymen.[1] The date of the Latin writing of this manuscript, which Mai deciphered with great difficulty, is not specified; but, on comparing his specimen of it with other engraved specimens, we are inclined to refer it to the eighth or ninth century.

The *fourth* specimen (noted I. 61.) consists of a single sheet in small quarto, containing four pages of part of Saint John's Gospel in Latin, under which are found the very fragments of the twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-seventh chapters of Matthew's Gospel, which are wanting in the celebrated manuscript of the Gothic Gospels preserved at Upsal, and usually known by the appellation of the *Codex Argenteus*.

The *fifth* and last manuscript (noted G. 147.), which has preserved some remains of Gothic literature, is a volume of the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon; under the later writing have been discovered some fragments of ancient authors, whose names signor Mai has not specified; and also a fragment of a Gothic Homily, rich in biblical quotations, and the style of which he thinks shows that it was translated from some one of the fathers of the Greek church. The characters of this manuscript bear a close resemblance to those of the Codex Argenteus, at Upsal, which was executed in the sixth century.

The manuscripts above described are written in broad and thick characters, without any division of words or of chapters, but with contractions of proper names, similar to those found in ancient Greek MSS. Some sections, however, have been discovered, which are indicated by numeral marks or larger spaces, and sometimes by large letters. The Gothic writing is referred to the sixth century.

The portions of the Gothic version of the Old and New Testament, printed by signors Mai and Castillionei, are, I. Nehemiah, chap. v. verses 13—18. chap. vi. 14—19. and vii. 1—3. II. A Fragment of Saint Matthew's Gospel, containing chap. xxv. 38—46. xxvi. 1—3. 65—75. and xxvii. 1. III. Part of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, chap. ii. 22—30. and iii. 1—16. IV. Saint Paul's Epistle to Titus, chap. i. 1—16. ii. 1.; and V. verses 11—23. of his Epistle to Philemon. The Gothic text is exhibited on the left-hand page, and on the right-hand page the editors have given a literal Latin translation of it, together with the Greek original. These are succeeded by fragments of a Gothic Homily and Calendar, with Latin translations, Gothic alphabet, and a glossary of new Gothic words which they have discovered in the passages which they have printed. In 1829 signor Castillionei published the fragments of Ulphilas's version of the second Epistle to the Corinthians.

III. The SCLAVONIC, or Old Russian Version, was also made from the Greek, both in the Old and New Testaments. It is ascribed to the two brothers, Cyril[2] (or Constantine, surnamed the Philosopher on account of his learning) and Methodius, sons of Leo, a Greek nobleman of Thessalonica, who, in the latter part of the ninth century, first preached the Gospel among the Moravo-Sclavonians: but it is questionable, whether these missionaries translated the whole of the sacred code, or whether their labours comprised only the books of the New Testament and the Psalms of David. Dr. Dobrowsky (who has bestowed more pains on the critical study of the Sclavonic Scriptures than any person now living) is of opinion "that, with the exception of the Psalms, no part of the Old Testament was translated at so early a period. So much, however, is certain, that the book of Proverbs must have been translated before, or in the twelfth century, as the frequent quotations made from it by Nestor (author of the Russian Chronicle, who died in 1156) agree, on the whole, with the common text. The books of Job, on the other hand, the Prophets, and the apocryphal books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, appear to have been done in Servia, in the thirteenth or fourteenth century; and the Pentateuch and remaining books in the fifteenth, either in Russia or Poland, at which time the whole were collected into one volume, and arranged according to the order of the books in the Bohemian Bible, printed in 1488 or 1489." The extreme

[1] Decline and Fall, vol. vi. p. 269.

[2] To this Cyril is ascribed the invention of the Sclavonic letters:—"But it is manifest, this invention consisted in nothing more than the adaptation of the uncial characters of the Greek alphabet, so far as they went, to express the sounds of the new language, with the addition of certain other letters, borrowed or changed from other alphabets, to make up the deficiency. He also substituted Sclavonic for the Phenician names of the letters; on which account the alphabet has been called the Cyrillic, after his name." Dr. Henderson's Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia, p. 67. (London, 1826.) In pp. 60—102. the learned traveller has given an extended and very interesting account of the Sclavonic language and sacred literature, from which the present notice of the Sclavonic version is abridged

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rarity and recent date of MSS. of the entire Sclavonic Bible greatly corroborated this hypothesis of Dr. Dobrowsky, respecting the late execution of this version of the Old Testament.[1] Dr. Henderson has shown, by actual collation, that the Sclavonic text of the Old Testament, in the editio princeps of the Bible printed at Ostrog in 1581, was made with the assistance of the Vulgate or some ancient Latin MSS. found in the Bulgarian monasteries, or that it was at least revised and altered according to them; and he is of opinion that, if this edition were carefully collated, it would yield a rich harvest of various readings, some of which might prove of essential service to a future editor of the Septuagint.[2]

According to Professor Hug, the Sclavonic version exhibits the text of the Constantinopolitan recension. Dr. Dobrowsky pronounces it to be a very literal translation from the Greek, the Greek construction being very frequently retained, even where it is contrary to the genius of the Sclavonian language; and in general it resembles the most ancient manuscripts, with which it agrees, even where their united evidence is against the common printed reading. "It contains at least *three fourths* of the readings which Griesbach has adopted into his text" [in his critical edition of the New Testament]. "Where he has few authorities, the Sclavonic mostly corroborates the authority of the textus receptus; and, where a great agreement obtains among the ancient MSS. in favour of a reading, it joins them against the common editions. It varies from Theophylact as often as it agrees with him, and has neither been altered from him nor the Vulgate;"[3] and it possesses few or no *lectiones singulares*, or readings peculiar to itself.[4] From an edition of this version, printed at Moscow in 1614, M. Alter selected the readings of the four Gospels, and from a manuscript in the imperial library, the readings of the Acts and Epistles, which are printed in his edition of the Greek New Testament. (Vienna, 1787, 2 vols. 8vo.) Dr. Dobrowsky states that these various lections are given with great accuracy, but that those which Matthai has selected from the Revelation are erroneous and useless. Griesbach has given a catalogue of the Sclavonic manuscripts collated for his edition of the New Testament, communicated to him by Dobrowsky.[5]

IV. ANGLO-SAXON VERSION.—Although Christianity was planted in Britain in the first century, it does not appear that the Britons had any translation of the Scriptures in their language earlier than the eighth century. About the year 706, Adhelm, the first bishop of Sherborn, translated the Psalter into Saxon; and at his earnest persuasion, Egbert or Eadfrid, bishop of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, soon after executed a Saxon version of the Four Gospels.[6] Not many years after this, the learned and venerable Bede (who died A. D. 735) translated the entire Bible into that language. There were other Saxon versions, either of the whole or of detached portions of the Scriptures, of a later date. A translation of the book of Psalms was undertaken by the illustrious King Alfred, who died A. D. 900, when it was about half finished; and Elfric, who was archbishop of Canterbury in 995, translated the Pentateuch, Joshua, Job, Judith, part of the book of Kings, Esther, and Maccabees. The *entire* Anglo-Saxon version of the Bible has never been printed: King Alfred's translation of the Psalms, with the interlineary Latin text, was edited by John Spelman, 4to. London, 1640; and there is another Saxon interlineary translation of the Psalter, deposited in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth. Of the Four Gospels, there have been three editions printed; an account of which will be found in the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to VOL. II., PART I. CHAP. I. SECT. V. § 4. [iv.]

The Anglo-Saxon version being evidently translated from the Old Latin, Michaelis is of opinion that it may be of use in determining the readings of that version; and Semler has remarked, that it contains many readings which vary both from the Greek and Latin texts, of which he has given some examples. Dr. Mill selected various lections from this version: which, from the difference of style and inequalities observable in its execution, he ascribes to several authors: it is supposed to have been executed in the eighth century.[7]

*** On the application of ancient versions to the ascertaining of various readings, see pp. 286, 287. *infra.*; and on the benefit which may be derived from them in the interpretation of the Scriptures, see Part II. Book I. Chap. II. Sect. I. § 2. of this volume.

SECTION IV.

ON THE AUTHORITY OF ANCIENT EDITIONS OF THE SCRIPTURE, CONSIDERED AS A SOURCE OF THE TEXT OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

THE first and fundamental editions, whether of the Old or of the New Testament, are of equal authority with the manuscript from which they were derived. Referring the reader to the Bibliographical Appendix to Vol. II. for a detailed account of the various editions of the Old and New Testament,[8] we may here remark that almost all other editions of the OLD TESTAMENT owe their origin either to that of Soncino, printed in 1488, to that of Brescia in 1494, which was followed by the Complutensian Polyglott in 1517; or lastly, to the second Bomberg edition printed at Venice in 1525–26. Almost all editions of the Hebrew Bible are masoretical, that is, have the masoretic notes and vowel points, a few only excepted, in which corrections have been introduced from manuscripts. Among the latter, De Rossi reckons all those which preceded the second Bomberg edition, that of 1525–26. All the later editions he terms *masoretic*; the *non-masoretic* editions are the more valuable.

With respect to the NEW TESTAMENT, after a few detached portions had been separately printed,[9] two *Editiones Principes* of the entire New Testament (both derived from manuscripts alone) were published in the sixteenth century, viz. that of Erasmus, and that in the Complutensian Polyglott, the editors of which availed themselves of only a few critical aids in arranging the Greek text. According to one or other of these fundamental editions, many other editions were printed in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among the editions printed about the middle of the sixteenth century those of Robert Stephens[10] claim a special notice, from his having collated many manuscripts which had not before been consulted. The text of Stephens's editions was reprinted several times. Theodore Beza, however, was the first who undertook a new revision of the text of the New Testament, with the aid of a more copious critical apparatus than his predecessors had enjoyed. Beza's text, which was first published in 1582, became the basis of numerous minor editions, until the publication of the editions printed by the Elzevirs at Leyden, in 1624 and 1633, the text of which is formed partly after that of Beza and of Stephens; and which, from its general adoption in the majority of subsequent editions, has received the appellation of the *textus receptus*.

SECTION V.

ON THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE WORKS OF THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH AND OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS.

A FOURTH source of the text of Scripture is the Quotations made from the Old and New Testaments in the writings of the FATHERS and other ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS.

[1] Dr. Henderson's Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia, pp. 73, 74.

[2] Ibid. p. 88.

[3] Ibid. pp. 89, 90.

[4] Dr. Henderson corroborates this account of Dr. Dobrowsky, and states that this version "may be considered as one of the most verbal ever executed. Not only is every word and particle scrupulously expressed, and made, in general, to occupy the same place in the translation that it does in the original, but the derivation and compounds, as well as the grammatical forms, are all successfully imitated." (Ibid. pp. 91, 92.)

[5] Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 153—158. 636, 637. Griesbach, Prolegomena, vol. i. pp. cxxvii.—cxxxii. Beck, Monogrammata Hermeneutices Novi Testamenti, pp. 108, 109. Hug, vol. i. pp. 513—517.

[6] The manuscript of this translation is now deposited in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum (Nero, D. iv.): Mr. Astle has given a specimen of it in plate xiv. of his "Origin and Progress of Writing," and has described it in pp 100, 101.

[7] Johnson's Hist. Account of English Translations of the Bible, in Bishop Watson's Collections of Theological Tracts, vol. iii. pp. 61—63. Bp. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 158. 637. Kortholt, pp. 351—353. Semler, Apparatus ad Lib. Novi Test. Interp. pp. 72, 73.

[8] See Bibliogr. App. to Vol. II. Part I. Chap. I. Sect. I. for an account of the editions of the Old Testament; and Sect. III. for an account of the editions of the New Testament.

[9] The earliest portion of the New Testament, printed in Greek, is the hymns of Mary and of Zacharias in Luke i. 46—55. 68—80. They are found in the appendix to an edition of the Book of Psalms in Greek. Venice, 1486, in quarto. These portions were followed by the first six chapters of Saint John's Gospel in the appendix to the Aldine edition of Gregory Nazianzen's poems, translated into Latin. Venice, 1504. 4to. Verses 1—14. of the first chapter of Saint John's Gospel appeared at Tubingen in 1514 · and in 1520 Melancthon edited Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans at Wittemberg, in 8vo. The little demand for the original text of the New Testament, at that period, has been attributed to the universal acquiescence in the use of the Latin Vulgate version, of which there were numerous editions printed at the close of the fifteenth and at the commencement of the sixteenth century. Schott, Isagoge ad Libros Novi Fœderis, p. 632.

[10] Paris, 1546, 1549, 1550, 1568. Geneva, 1551.

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Among the ancient Fathers of the church, those are particularly worthy of attention and collation who wrote in the Greek language; because they spoke, and read, and wrote that very language in which the sacred writings of the New Testament were originally composed. The phrase and diction of those writings were, therefore, familiar to them; they naturally expressed themselves in the Scripture style and language. When they referred to any texts of Scripture, or discoursed more at large upon them, they would of course be guided by the original *Greek* of the New Testament,[1] and not by any version which had been made, and which might possibly vary from it: whereas the Latin fathers being accustomed only to the *Latin version*, it is as much to be expected that they should conform their language, quotations, and comments to it; though, perhaps, upon some occasions, and according to their ability, taking notice also of the Greek original. A Latin father will be an evidence for the Latin version, where he takes no express notice of the Greek; and according to the clearness and fulness of that evidence, we may argue, that the Latin version, or some copy or copies of it, had that reading in his time, which is cited by him. And this may deserve to be attended to with regard to any omissions in the Greek MSS. which the Latin may be thought to have supplied; but still the testimony of the Latin father in this case will prove nothing more than the reading of a Latin version: by what authority that version is supported is a matter of further inquiry. Indeed where it can be shown that a Latin father followed no particular version, but translated directly for himself (as Tertullian and Cyprian have frequently done); this brings us somewhat nearer to some manuscript in the original language, and may be considered, according as it shall happen to be circumstantiated, as a distinct testimony for the reading of some Greek manuscript in particular. The Greek fathers generally quote the Old Testament from the Septuagint version. Origen and Jerome are the only fathers who certainly made use of Hebrew manuscripts; and their evidence is equivalent to that of manuscripts of their age.

Upwards of one hundred and eighty fathers and other ecclesiastical writers, besides Catenæ (or expositions of portions of Scripture compiled from collections out of several authors), are enumerated by Professor Scholz, as having cited the New Testament, either from the original Greek, or from the ancient Ante-Hieronymian Latin, and from the Syriac versions. (Those fathers who confined themselves exclusively to the use of the Latin Vulgate are designedly omitted.) Among the ancient writers, the critical testimonies of the following are justly valued, viz.:—in the second century, Irenæus and Clemens Alexandrinus; in the third century, Origen; in the fourth century, Gregory bishop of Nyssa, Gregory bishop of Nazianzum, and Chrysostom bishop of Constantinople; in the fifth century, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, and Isidore of Pelusium; in the eleventh century, Theophylact; and in the twelfth century, Euthymius Zigabenus.

As the criteria laid down by Michaelis and other eminent critics, for determining the text of Scripture from quotations of it in the writings of the FATHERS, more properly belong to the subject of Various Readings (see pp. 288, 289. *infra*), the following remarks on the relative value of the testimonies contained in the works of the writers just enumerated, may be found worthy of attention:—

1. IRENÆUS.—It is to be regretted that so few fragments of this father's writings are now extant in the original Greek. What has been transmitted to us has been found only in an ancient Latin version, the author of which appears to have inserted the quotations made by Irenæus from some ancient Latin translation of the Scriptures, or has rendered them inaccurately. It is evident, however, from those passages which are cited in the original Greek, that this father made use of different manuscripts; and though he sometimes coincides with the Alexandrine recension, yet he most frequently agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension.

2. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS mostly cites the New Testament from memory; but those passages which he has given accurately agree with the manuscripts of the Alexandrine family. Griesbach has given a collection of the passages quoted by Clemens and Origen, collated with the common or vulgate Greek text, in the second volume of his Symbolæ Criticæ, pp. 227—620.

3. ORIGEN used the Alexandrine text, of which he had many manuscripts. His readings are known from the references made by subsequent ecclesiastical writers to his copies of the Scriptures, as well as from his own quotations, and also from fragments inserted in the Greek Catenæ, and ascribed to him.

4, 5. The quotations which are to be found in the writings of GREGORY bishop of Nyssa, and GREGORY bishop of Nazianzum, chiefly agree with the Constantinopolitan recension. Scholz states that these authors have so interwoven passages of Scripture in their works, that they cannot be easily detached; consequently but few various readings, and those not very important, are to be gleaned from them.

6. Great caution is requisite in making use of the quotations of CHRYSOSTOM, bishop of Constantinople; for though in his admirable commentaries on the New Testament, he very frequently adduces the very words of the sacred writers, yet, distracted by the multiplicity of business in which he was engaged, or borne away by his ardour in writing, he has cited a great number of passages from memory. Consequently, he has confounded together similar passages of the same author or of different writers: in some instances he has changed a text which he had just before quoted correctly, and very often he follows Origen. The text, therefore, which is found in Chrysostom's works, sometimes agrees with the Constantinopolitan, and sometimes with the Alexandrine recension. The entire writings of this father were collated by Matthæi; and select passages by Scholz.

7. CYRIL of Alexandria faithfully follows the Alexandrine text.

8. THEODORET, bishop of Cyra in Syria, in his commentaries for the most part agrees with the received text, though he has sometimes rashly followed either Origen or Chrysostom.

9. ISIDORE of Pelusium agrees with the manuscripts of the Alexandrine family.

10. THEOPHYLACT, archbishop of Bulgaria, in his commentaries on the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, mostly agrees with the received text, but he also has many Alexandrine readings.

11. Lastly, EUTHYMIUS Zigabenus for the most part agrees with the Constantinopolitan text in his commentaries on the Gospels, which are chiefly collected from the writings of Basil, Gregory of Nazianzum, and Chrysostom.[2]

SECTION VI.

ON THE VARIOUS READINGS OCCURRING IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

§ 1. ON THE CAUSES OF VARIOUS READINGS.

I. *The Christian faith not affected by what are called various readings.*—II. *Nature of various readings.—Difference between them and mere errata.*—III. *Notice of the principal collations and collections of various readings.*—IV. *Causes of various readings:—1. The negligence or mistakes of transcribers;—2. Errors or imperfections in the manuscript copied;—3. Critical conjecture;—4. Wilful corruptions of a manuscript from party-motives.*

I. THE Old and New Testaments, in common with all other ancient writings, being preserved and diffused by transcription, the admission of mistakes was unavoidable; which increasing with the multitude of copies, necessarily produced a great variety of different readings. Hence the labours of learned men have been directed to the collation of manuscripts, with a view to ascertain the genuine reading; and the result of their researches has shown, that these variations are not such as to affect our faith or practice in any thing material: they are mostly of a minute, and sometimes of a trifling, nature. "The real text of the sacred writers does not now (since the originals have been so long lost) lie in any single manuscript or edition, but is dispersed in them all. It is competently exact indeed, even in the worst manuscript now extant; nor is one article of faith or moral precept either perverted or lost in them."[3] It is therefore a very ungrounded

[1] Dr Ferriman's Dissertation on 1 Tim. iii. 16. pp. 28, 29.

[2] Schott, Isagoge in Nov. Test. pp. 630, 631. Scholz, Nov. Test. Prolegom. pp. cxiv. cxiii. cxlvii. cl. cxlvi. cli.

[3] Dr. Bentley's Remarks on Free-thinking, rem. xxxii. (Bp. Randolph's Enchiridion Theologicum, vol. v. p. 163.) The various readings that affect doctrines, and require caution, are extremely few, and easily distinguished by critical rules; and where they do affect a doctrine, other passages confirm and establish it. See examples of this observation in Michaelis, vol. i. p. 266., and Dr. Nares's Strictures on the Unitarian Version of the New Testament, pp. 219—221.

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fear that the number of various readings, particularly in the New Testament, may diminish the certainty of the Christian religion. The probability, Michaelis remarks, of restoring the genuine text of *any* author, increases with the increase of the copies; and the most inaccurate and mutilated editions of ancient writers are precisely those, of whose works the fewest manuscripts remain.[1] Above all, in the New Testament, the various readings show that there could have been no collusion; but that the manuscripts were written independently of each other, by persons separated by distance of time, remoteness of place, and diversity of opinions. This extensive independency of manuscripts on each other is the effectual check of wilful alteration; which must have ever been immediately corrected by the agreement of copies from various and distant regions out of the reach of the interpolator. By far the greatest number of various readings relate to trifles, many of which cannot be made apparent in a translation; and, of the rest, *very few produce any alteration in the meaning of a sentence, still less in the purport of a whole paragraph.* Thus we have Δαβὶδ for Δαυὶδ; Σολομαντα for Σολομωντα; και for δε; καγω for και εγω (& for *and I*); ωλαττων for ελασσων; Κυριος for Θεος; λαλουσιν for λαλουσουσιν; Μωσης for Μωυσης; and γενεσθαι for γινεσθαι; all which in most cases may be used indifferently.

In order to illustrate the preceding remarks, and to convey an idea of their full force to the reader, the various readings of the first *ten* verses of St. John's Gospel are annexed in Greek and English;—and they are particularly chosen because they contain one of the most decisive proofs of the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Common Reading.	*Various Reading.*	*Authorities.*
Ver. 1. Ο λογος ην ΠΡΟΣ τον Θεον. The Word was WITH God.	EN τω Θεω—IN God.	Clemens Alexandrinus.
2. Ουτος ην εν αρχη προς τον Θεον. The same was in the beginning with God.	*omitted.*	The MSS. 47. and 64. of Griesbach's notation; Matthæi's 19.
3. Εν αυτω ζωη ΗΝ. In him WAS life.	ΕΣΤΙΝ—IS life.	The Codex Bezæ, Origen, Augustine, Hilary, and other fathers.
4. Και η ζωη ην το φως των ανθρωπων. And the life was the light of men.	*omitted.*	The fragment of St. John's Gospel, edited by Aldus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Origen.
the light OF MEN.	The light was the life.	B. The Codex Vaticanus.
5. Η σκοτια ΑΥΤΟ ου κατελαβεν. The darkness comprehended IT not.	AUTON—HIM not.	B. The Codex Vaticanus, the MSS. 13. and 114*. of Griesbach, three other MSS. of less note, and Theodotus.
7. Ινα παντες πιστευσωσι δι αυτου. That all men might believe through him.	*omitted.*	The MS. 235. of Griesbach, the Aldine Fragment of St. John's Gospel, Irenæus, and Hilary.
9. Ερχομενον εις ΤΟΝ κοσμον. That cometh into THE world.	*In* HUNC *mundum*—into THIS world.	The Vulgate and Italic (or old Ante-Hieronymian) Versions, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, and other fathers.
10. Εν ΤΩ κοσμω ην. He was in THE world.	HOC *mundo*—in THIS world	The MSS. of the old Latin Versions, denominated the Codices Veronensis, Vercellensis, Brixiensis, and Corbeiensis, edited by Blanchini and Sabatier; Irenæus, Cyprian, Ambrose, *once*, Augustine, *repeatedly*.

On the whole, these various readings,—though not selected from any single manuscript, but from all that have been collated, together with the ancient versions and the quotations from the fathers,—nowhere contradict the sense of the evangelist; nor do they produce any material alteration in the text.[2]

II. However plain the meaning of the term "*Various Reading*" may be, considerable difference has existed among learned men concerning its nature. Some have allowed the name only to such readings as may *possibly* have proceeded from the author; but this restriction is improper. Michaelis's distinction between mere errata and various readings appears to be the true one. "Among two or more different readings, one only can be the true reading; and the rest must be either wilful corruptions or mistakes of the copyist." It is often difficult to distinguish the genuine from the spurious: and whenever the smallest doubt can be entertained, they all receive the name of VARIOUS READINGS; but in cases where the transcriber has evidently written falsely, they receive the name of *errata*.

III. Human life is too short to allow of a thorough examination of all those monuments which are indispensably necessary to sacred criticism, in addition to the many other subjects which are equally worthy of attention. But, as many learned men have from time to time investigated different documents, extensive collections of various readings have gradually been formed, of which the critic should avail himself.

With regard to the OLD TESTAMENT, some beginnings were made by those ancient Jews to whom we owe the rejections and corrections of the scribes, and other observations, already noticed in pp. 201, 202, 203. of this volume. More recently the rabbis Todrosi, Menahem, and Norzi, collected a larger apparatus.[3] Sebastian Munster was the first Christian editor, who in 1536 added some various readings. Not many more are found in Vander Hooght's edition, printed in 1705; but in the subsequent editions of John Henry Michaelis, in 1720, and of Houbigant in 1753, the critical collation of various readings was very considerably enlarged. At length, after many years of unremitting toil, Dr. Kennicott produced his edition of the Hebrew Bible, printed at Oxford in 1776—80, which contained various readings collected throughout Europe, from six hundred and fifteen manuscripts, from fifty-two editions, and from both the Talmuds. From this apparatus De Rossi selected the more important readings; and after collating seven hundred and thirty-one other manuscripts and three hundred editions, and examining fully the ancient versions and books of the rabbins, even in manuscript, he published all the various readings he had observed, in four volumes, quarto, in 1784—88, at Parma, to which he added a supplement or scholia, in 1798. As the price of their publication necessarily places them out of the reach of very many biblical students, the reader, who is desirous of availing himself of the results of their laborious and learned researches, will find a compendious abstract of them in Mr. Hamilton's "*Codex Criticus.*" (London, 1821, 8vo.)

For the SEPTUAGINT VERSION, the principal collation of various readings will be found in the edition commenced by Dr. Holmes, and completed by the Rev. Dr. Parsons, at Oxford, in 1798—1827, in six volumes, folio.

For the NEW TESTAMENT, the principal collations are those of Erasmus, the editors of the Complutensian and London Polyglotts, Bishop Fell, Dr. Mill, Kuster, Bengel, Wetstein, Griesbach, Matthaei, and Scholz. The collations of three hundred and fifty-five manuscripts, besides ancient versions and quotations from the fathers, were given in Dr. Griesbach's edition; and in that of Dr. Scholz we have the collations of six hundred and seventy-four manuscripts, viz. three hundred and forty-three, which were collated by his predecessors, and three hundred and thirty-one, which for the first time were collated by himself.[4]

IV. As all manuscripts were either dictated to copyists or transcribed by them, and as these persons were not supernaturally guarded against the possibility of error, different readings would naturally be produced:—1. By the negligence or mistakes of the transcribers; to which we may add, 2. The existence of errors or imperfections in the manuscripts copied; 3. Critical emendations of the text; and, 4. Wilful corruptions made to serve the purposes of a party. Mistakes thus produced in one copy would of course be propagated

[1] Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. pp. 263—268. "In profane authors," says Dr. Bentley, "(as they are called), whereof one manuscript only had the luck to be preserved,—as Velleius Paterculus among the Latins, and Hesychius among the Greeks,—the faults of the scribes are found so numerous, and the defects so beyond all redress, that notwithstanding the pains of the learnedest and acutest critics for two whole centuries, those books still are, and are likely to continue, a mere heap of errors. On the contrary, where the copies of any author are numerous, though the various readings always increase in proportion, there the text, by an accurate collation of them made by skilful and judicious hands, is ever the more correct, and comes nearer to the true words of the author." Remarks on Free-thinking, in Enchirid. Theol. vol. v. p. 158.

[2] Christian Observer for 1807, vol. vi. p. 221. Novum Testamentum, a Scholz, tom. i. p. 345.

[3] An account of their labours is given by Dr Kennicott in his Dissertatio Generalis, pp. 111—131., and by De Rossi, in his Variæ Lectiones, pp. 39—43.

[4] Detailed accounts of the critical editions of the Old and New Testaments, above mentioned, will be found in the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to Vol. II. Part I. Chap. I. Sect. II. and III.

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through all succeeding copies made from it, each of which might likewise have peculiar faults of its own; so that various readings would thus be increased, in proportion to the number of transcripts that were made.

1. *Various readings have been occasioned by the* NEGLIGENCE *or* MISTAKES OF THE TRANSCRIBERS.

(1.) ***When a manuscript is dictated, whether to one or to several copyists, the party dictating might not speak with sufficient clearness; he might read carelessly, and even utter words that were not in his manuscript; he might pronounce different words in the same manner. The copyist, therefore, who should follow such dictation, would necessarily produce different readings.*** One or two examples will illustrate this remark.

In Eph. iv. 19. St. Paul, speaking of the Gentiles, while without the Gospel, says, that *being past feeling, they gave themselves over to lasciviousness*. For ἀπηλγηκότες *past feeling* (which the context shows to be the genuine reading), several manuscripts, versions, and fathers read ἀπηλπικότες, *being without hope*. Dr. Mill is of opinion, that this lection proceeded from some ignorant copyist who had in his mind Saint Paul's account of the Gentiles in Eph. ii. 12. where he said that they had no hope, ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντες. But for this opinion there is no foundation whatever. The ancient copyists were not in general men of such subtile genius. It is therefore most probable that the word ἀπηλπικότες crept in, from a mis-pronunciation on the part of the persons dictating. The same remark will account for the reading of νήπιοι, *young children*, instead of ἤπιοι, *gentle*, in 1 Thess. ii. 7, which occurs in many manuscripts, and also in several versions and fathers. But the scope and context of this passage prove that νήπιοι cannot be the original reading. It is the Thessalonians, whom the apostle considers as *young children*, and himself and fellow-labourers as the *nurse*. He could not therefore with any propriety say that he was among them as a *little child*, while he himself professed to be *their nurse*.

(2.) ***Further, as many Hebrew and Greek letters are similar both in sound and in form, a negligent or illiterate copyist might, and the collation of manuscripts has shown that such transcribers did, occasion various readings by substituting one word or letter for another.***

As the permutation, or interchanging, of vowel points, letters, and even entire words, which are to be found in Hebrew manuscripts, are copiously treated by Muntinghe,[1] the following instance will suffice to show how easily various readings may thus be produced:—

Judg. viii. 16. *He taught the men of Succoth.*—Instead of וידע *he taught*, Houbigant reads וידש *he tore:* and this reading is not only agreeable to what Gideon had threatened in the seventh verse, but is also supported by the Septuagint, Chaldee, Syriac, Vulgate, and Arabic versions. The Hebrew text might have been easily corrupted in this place by the change of ש (shin) into ע (ain); letters which are very similar to each other.[2]

Of the permutations in Greek MSS. the Codex Cottonianus of the book *of Genesis* presents many very striking examples.

Thus, Β and Μ are interchanged in Gen. xliii. 11. τερμινθον is written for τερεβινθον—Γ and Κ, as γυνηγος for κυνηγος, x. 9.; and *è contra* φαλεκ for φαλεγ, xi. 16.—Γ and Ν, as συγκεφουσιν for συνκεφουσιν, xxxiv. 30.—Γ and Χ, as δραχματα for δραγματα, xxxvii. 6.—Δ and Λ as Καλμαιους for Καδμαιους, xv. 19.; and *è contra* Αιδαμ for Αιλαμ, xxxvi. 2.—Δ and Ν, as Ναβεδ for Ναβεδ, x. 9.—Δ and Τ, as Ατατ for Αταδ, x. 10., &c.—Ζ and Σ, as Χασαδ for Χαζαδ, xxii. 22.; and μακαριζουσιν for μακαρισουσιν, xxx. 13.—Θ and Χ, Οχοζαχ for Οχοζαθ, xxvi. 26.—Θ and Τ, αποσφαγητι for αποσφαγηθι, xvi. 9.—Κ and Χ, as Καλαχ for Χαλαχ, x. 11.; and ουχ for ουκ, xiii. 9.—Π and Φ, as νεφθαλιμ for νεπθαλιμ, xxxix. 9. Sometimes *consonants are added* to the end of the words apparently for the sake of euphony; as Σαβαλ for Σαβα, xiv. 15.—γεναικαν for γεναικα, xi. 13.—Ευιλατ for Ευιλα, x. 7.—Μ is generally retained in the different flexions of the verb λαμβανω, in the future λημψομαι, λημψονται, xiv. 23, 24, &c. and in the aorist, λημφθεντα, xviii. 4. And also in the word συμπαραλημφθης, xix. 17. This also is common in the *Codex Vaticanus*. Sometimes a *double consonant* is expressed by a *single* one, and *vice versa:* for instance, τεσσαρακοντα for τεσσαρακοντα, v. 9., and Σεννααρ for Σενααρ, x. 10.; ψελλια for ψελλια, xxiv. 47, &c.

The VOWELS are often interchanged; for instance, Α and Ε, as τεσσαρακοντα for τεσσαρακοντα, vii. 4., ανεση for ανεση, xxi. 14.—Α and Η, as ανεωξεν for ηνεωξεν, viii. 6., μαχαιρα for μαχαιρη, xxvii. 40.—Ε and Η, as ειπας for ειπης, xxv. 29., ηυλογηθη for ευλογηθη, xxviii. 12.—Η and Ι, as Κιτιοι for Κητιοι, x. 4., ελιξιν for ηλιξιν, xlix. 11.—Η and Υ, as πηχην for πηχυν, vi. 17.—Ρισημα for Ρισυμα, xxi. 24.—Ο and Υ, as διωρυφα for διορυφα, vi. 17.—Ο and Ω, as Ρουβωθ for Ροωβωθ, x. 11.—The *Vowels* are often interchanged with the *Diphthongs;* for instance, ΑΙ and Ε, as απελευσεσθαι for απελευσεσθε, xix. 2., αυτογυναι for αυτογυνε, xxii. 2., παιδιου for παιδιου, xxxv. 27., κατεαξεται for καταξεται, xlii. 38.—ΕΙ and Α, as γηρει for γηρα, xv. 15.—ΕΙ and Ε, as ειπειν for ειπειν, xviii. 5.—ΕΙ and Η, as ειδειν and ιδειν, xviii. 19.—ΕΙ and Ι, as παρειγγαι for παρεγγαι, xviii. 8., γυναικεια for γυναικεια, xviii. 11., ουδεις for ουδεις, xxxi. 41., κρειον for κριον, xv. 9, &c.—ΟΙ and Η, as λαοις for λαοις, xxxi. 50.—ΟΥ and Η, as πληρης for πληρους, xxvii. 27.; and, lastly, ΟΥ and Ω, as καταρωμενους for καταρωμενους, xii. 13.[3]

The manuscripts of the New Testament abound with similar instances of permutations.

Thus we meet with Αμιναδαμ for Αμιναδαβ, in Matt. i. 4.; Αχειμ for Αχιμ, in Matt. i. 14.; δια των μαθητων for δυο των μαθητων, in Matt. xi. 2.; Ματθαν for Ματθατ, in Luke iii. 24.; μαρανθη for μωρανθη, in Luke xiv. 34.; τοπον for τοπον, in John xx. 25.; καιρω for κυριω, in Rom. xii. 11.; Δαυιδ for Δαβιδ, in Matt. i. 1., and in many other passages. The reader will find numerous other examples in the elder Michaelis's Dissertation on various readings.[4] Permutations of this kind are very frequent in ancient manuscripts, and also in inscriptions on coins, medals, stones, pillars, and other monuments of antiquity.

(3.) *In like manner the transcribers might have mistaken the line on which the copy before them was written, for part of a letter; or they might have mistaken the lower stroke of a letter for the line; or they might have mistaken the true sense of the original, and thus have altered the reading; at the same time they were unwilling to correct such mistakes as they detected, lest their pages should appear blotted or defaced, and thus they sacrificed the correctness of their copy to the beauty of its appearance. This is particularly observable in Hebrew manuscripts.*

(4.) ***A person having written one or more words from a wrong place, and not observing it, or not choosing to erase it, might return to the right line, and thus produce an improper insertion of a word or a clause.***

Of this we have a striking instance in John vii. 26.—*Do the rulers know* INDEED (αληθως), *that this is the* VERY Christ (αληθως ὁ Χριστος, TRULY *the Christ*)? The second αληθως is wanting in the Codices Vaticanus, Cantabrigiensis (or Codex Bezæ), Cyprius, Stephani η, or Regius 62, Nanianus, and Ingolstadiensis, in numbers 1, 13, 28, 40, 63, 69, 116, 118, and 124, of Griesbach's notation, and nine other manuscripts of less note, which are not specified by him; it is also wanting in the manuscripts noted by Matthæi with the letters a, l, s, and 10, in all the editions of the Arabic version, in Wheeloc's edition of the Persian version, in the Coptic, Armenian, Sclavonic, and Vulgate versions; and in all the copies of the Old Italic version, except that of Brescia. Origen, Epiphanius, Cyril, Isidore of Pelusium, Chrysostom, and Nonnus, among the ancient fathers; and Grotius, Mill, Bengel, Bishop Pearce, and Griesbach, among the modern writers, are all unanimous in rejecting the word αληθως. The sentence in 1 Cor. x. 28. Του γαρ Κυριου η γη και το πληρωμα αυτης, *The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof*, is wanting in the Codices Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, Cantabrigiensis, Basileensis, Boreeli, Harleianus No. 5864, and Seidelii, and in Nos. 10, 17, 28, 46, 71*, 73, and 80, of Griesbach's notation; it is also wanting in the Syriac version, in Erpenius's edition of the Arabic version, in the Coptic, Sahidic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Vulgate, and Old Italic versions, and in the quotations of the fathers, Johannes Damascenus, Ambrosiaster, Augustine, Isidore of Pelusium, and Bede. Griesbach has left it out of the text, as a clause that ought most undoubtedly to be erased. There is, in fact, scarcely any authority to support it; and the clause is superfluous; in all probability it was inserted from the twenty-sixth verse, which is word for word the same.

(5.) ***When a transcriber had made an omission, and afterwards observed it, he then subjoined what he had omitted, and thus produced a transposition.***[5]

Thus, Matt. v. 4. is *subjoined* to 5. in the Codex Bezæ, in the Vulgate version, and in the quotation of Jerome. Luke xxiii. 17. is *omitted* in the Codices Alexandrinus, Vaticanus Cyprius, and Stephani η, in the Coptic and Sahidic versions, and in the Codex Vercellensis of the Old Italic version; and it is subjoined to the nineteenth verse in the Codex Bezæ.

In like manner, Rom. i. 29. is very different in different copies.

In the Textus Receptus or common editions, we read, αδικια, πορνεια, πονηρια, πλεονεξια, κακια,—*unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness.*

In the Codex Alexandrinus and Ethiopic version, we read, αδικια, πονηρια κακια, πλεονεξια,—*unrighteousness, wickedness, maliciousness, covetousness.*

In the Codex Claromontanus, we read, αδικια, κακια, πορνεια, πλεονεξια,—*unrighteousness, maliciousness, covetousness.*

In the Vulgate version, we read, *iniquitate, malitiâ, fornicatione, avaritiâ, nequitiâ*, whence it is evident that the authors of that translation read αδικια, πονηρια, πορνεια, πλεονεξια, κακια. And

The order of the words in the Syriac version shows that its authors read, αδικια, πορνεια, πονηρια, κακια, πλεονεξια,—*unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, maliciousness, covetousness.*

(6.) ***Another cause of various lections in Hebrew manuscripts referable to this head, is the addition of letters to the last word in the lines in order to preserve their symmetry; and in Greek manuscripts omissions are frequently occasioned by what is called*** ὁμοιοτελευτον (homoeoteleuton), ***or when a word after a short interval occurs a second time in a passage. Here, the transcriber having written the word at the beginning of the passage, on looking at the book again from which he copies, his eye catches the same word at the end of the passage, and continuing to write what immediately follows, he of course omits intermediate words.***

This fact will account for the *omission* of the concluding sentence of Matt. v. 19., and the whole of verse 30., in the Codex Bezæ, and also 1 John ii. 23. Again, in Matt. xxviii. 9. the words απαγγειλαι τοις μαθηταις αυτου (*to tell his disciples*), are *omitted* from the same cause, in the Codices Vaticanus and Bezæ, in the MSS. by Griesbach numbered 10, 33, 49, 59, 60, 69, 119, 142*, 225, 227, the Evangelisteria numbered 1, 13, 15, 17, 32, in the second of the Barberini MSS., and in those noted d. and q. by Matthæi; as well as in the Syriac, Arabic (as printed in the London Polyglott), Persic, Coptic, Armenian, Vulgate Latin, Saxon, and Old Italic Versions (except the manuscript of Brescia), and by the fathers Origen, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine. And Mark ix. 26. is *omitted* in the Codices Vaticanus 1209, Stephani η, Vaticanus 354, and the MSS. by Griesbach numbered 2, 27, 63, 64, 121, 157, in Matthæi's 17, in the Coptic Version, the Codex Sangermanensis 2 of the Italic Version, in the printed editions of Aldus and Frobenius, and by Theophylact.

(7.) ***As all the most ancient manuscripts were written in capital letters, and without any spaces between words, or even sentences, syllables are frequently omitted or repeated. So, careless or ignorant transcribers have very often mistaken the notes of abbreviation, which are of frequent occurrence in***

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[1] Brevis Expositio Critices Veteris Fœderis, pp. 87—108.
[2] Dr. A. Clarke, on Judg. viii. 16.
[3] Dr. Holmes's Edition to the Septuagint, vol. i. Præf. cap. ii. § i.
[4] D Christiani Benedicti Michaelis Tractatio Critica de Variis Lectionibus Novi Testamenti. pp. 8—10. Halæ Magdeburgicæ, 1749, 4to.
[5] Dr. Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism, p. 238.

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ancient manuscripts. A few specimens of such abbreviations are given in the preceding part of this volume.

From this source probably originated the reading in 1 Pet. ii. 3. of Χριστος (*Christ*) instead of Χρηστος (*gracious*), which occurs in the MSS. by Griesbach numbered 40, 68, and others of less note, in Matthæi's g, in some printed editions, and also in the verse as cited by Clemens Alexandrinus, Gregory Nazianzen, and Procopius, and by Theophylact in his commentary on this text. The reading in the manuscript whence the transcriber made his copy must have been $\overline{\text{XC}}$, which, not being understood by him, he altered into Χριστος.

(8.) *Lastly, the ignorance or negligence of transcribers has been a most fruitful source of various readings, by their having mistaken marginal notes or scholia for a part of the text. It was not unusual in ancient manuscripts to write in the margin an explanation of difficult passages, or a word synonymous to that in the text, but more usual and more easily understood, or with the intent of supplying a seeming deficiency; any or all of which might, in the copies taken from the manuscript in which these notes were written, be easily obtruded on the text itself.*

Thus, to Matt. vi. 33. some copies, as well as the fathers Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and Eusebius, add the following clause, as having been uttered by Jesus Christ:—Αιτειτε τα μεγαλα, και τα μικρα υμιν προστεθησεται· και αιτειτε την επουρανιον και την επιγειον προστεθησεται υμιν:—*Seek ye great* things, *and little* things *shall be added unto you; and seek ye heavenly* things, and *earthly* things *shall be added unto you.* But this addition is manifestly a gloss.

So, in Mark vii. 35., after *he spake plain*, the following sentence is added in MS. 90 of Griesbach's notation:—Και ελαλει ευλογων τον Θεον,—*and he spake, praising God.* That the man did this, we may readily conclude; but this sentence was not added by the evangelist. It was evidently a gloss.

Again, in Luke vii. 16., after the sentence *God hath visited his people*, the words εις αγαθον, *for good*, are added in the manuscripts by Griesbach noted M. 13, 50, 69, 71, 106, 114, and eight others, in Matthæi's x, in the Syriac (as printed in the London Polyglott), in the Armenian, and in all the Arabic versions, and in the Codices Veronensis, Vercellensis, Corbeiensis, Colbertinus 4051, San-germanensis 1, and Forojuliensis, of the Old Italic version. But it is manifestly a gloss, and is rejected as such by Dr. Mill and Griesbach.

It is worthy of remark, that the differences caused by these or similar additions do in no respect whatever affect any point of faith or morality. Several eminent critics, for instance, are of opinion that the controverted clause in 1 John v. 7, 8. crept into the text in this manner; because it is not found in any ancient manuscripts, nor in the writings of the fathers who disputed against the Arians. The evidence for the passage in question is fully considered in Vol. II. Part VI. pp. 366—376. But, for the sake of argument, let us suppose it to be an omission in the manuscripts where it is wanting, or an addition to those where it occurs; it cannot in any way be prejudicial to the Christian faith; because, whatever sense we may put upon that passage, the same truth being most clearly and indisputably taught in other places of the New Testament, there is no more occasion for adding it, than there is inconvenience in omitting it.

2. ERRORS *or* IMPERFECTIONS *in the manuscript from which a transcriber copied, are a further source of various readings.*

Besides the mistakes arising from the strokes of certain letters being faded or erased, others of a contrary nature may arise from the transparency of the paper or vellum, whence the stroke of a letter on one side of the leaf may seem to be a part of the letter on the other side of the leaf, and in this manner O may be taken for Θ.

According to Wetstein, this very accident happened to Mill, in examining the celebrated passage (1 Tim. iii. 16.) in the Codex Alexandrinus. Mill had asserted in regard to the OC in this manuscript, that some remains of a stroke were still visible in the middle of the omicron, and concluded therefore that the word was properly ΘC. But Wetstein, who examined this manuscript more accurately, could discover no trace of any stroke in the omicron, but took notice of a circumstance which he supposes led Mill into error. On the other side of the leaf, directly opposite to O, is the letter Є, in the word ЄYCEBЄIA, the middle stroke of which is visible on the former side, and occupies the hollow of O. Wetstein, having made the discovery, called several persons to witness, who confirmed the truth of it. But this hypothesis of Wetstein's has been questioned by Dr. Woide,[1] and has been most clearly *disproved* by Dr. Berriman.[2] In order to discover the genuine reading of a manuscript where the letters are faded, Michaelis recommends the critic to have recourse to such as are related to it, either in time, place, or character, and if possible to those which were immediately copied from it while the letters were still legible. Velthusen and Griesbach are unanimous in regard to the propriety of this rule, but in their application of it to 1 Tim. iii. 16. they have drawn directly opposite conclusions. Those who endeavour to supply what time has destroyed, and venture to write anew the remnant, or seeming remnant, of a faded stroke, are guilty of an act that deserves the highest censure: the Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Ephrem, and Codex Claromontanus, have all suffered in this manner, but the authors of these amendments have deprived their successors of the means of judging for themselves, and have defeated the end which they intended to answer.

Again, the omission of a passage in an ancient manuscript, which the writer added afterwards in the margin, might lead a copyist into error, unless it was particularly marked in what part of the text the passage ought to be inserted. Many manuscripts are still extant, in which omissions are in this manner supplied, especially in those preserved at Moscow, which Matthæi has extracted and accurately described in his critical edition of the New Testament.

3. *A third source of various readings is* CRITICAL CONJECTURE, *or an intended improvement of the original text.*

"In reading the works of an author of known literary reputation we ascribe grammatical or orthographical errors, if any are to be found, rather to a mistake of the printer than to a want of knowledge in the writer. In the same manner the transcriber of a manuscript attributes the faults of his original to the error of a former copyist, and alters them as he supposes they were written by the author. But if he carries his critical conjectures too far, he falls himself into the error which he intended to avoid." This may be done in various ways.

(1.) *Thus the transcriber may take an expression to be faulty which in reality is not so; or he may mistake the sense of the author, and suppose that he has discovered a grammatical error, when, in fact, he himself construes falsely:—or the grammatical error intended to be corrected actually proceeded from the author himself.*[3]

(2.) *Further, some critical copyists have not only corrected ungrammatical or inaccurate expressions, but have even converted inelegant into elegant phrases; and they have likewise omitted words that appeared to them superfluous, or the difference of which they did not understand.*

Thus, in Mark vii. 37. τους αλαλους, *the dumb*, is omitted as superfluous in Griesbach's MS. 28. (Colbertinus 4705. or Colbertinus 2. of Dr. Mill's notation.) So, in Mark x. 19. Μη αποστερησης, *defraud not*, is omitted in the Codices Vaticanus and Cyprius, and in eighteen other manuscripts, as well as in the Armenian version, and also in Theophylact. It seems included in μη κλεψης, *do not steal*, and does not occur in the other Gospels. Once more, λεγοντος, *saying*, (Matt. i. 22.), is *omitted*, because the transcriber deemed it an unnecessary addition after the words, *that which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet.*

(3.) *But of all the sources of various lections which are referable to this head, the most ample, according to Michaelis, and the most productive of spurious passages in the New Testament, is the practice of altering parallel passages so as to render more perfect their conformity to each other. The Gospels in particular have suffered in this way; and Saint Paul's Epistles have very frequently been interpolated, in order to make his quotations from the Old Testament harmonize with the Septuagint version, where they differed from the exact words of the latter.*

Two or three instances of alterations from parallel passages will confirm this remark.

Thus, in Matt. xii. 8. *For the son of man is lord even of the sabbath-day*, και, *even*, is omitted in eighty-seven manuscripts, and in several printed editions, as well as in the Syriac, Arabic, the Persic in Bp. Walton's Polyglott, the Coptic, Armenian, Sclavonic, and Italic versions, and also in the passage as quoted by Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, Chrysostom, Euthymius, and Theophylact. It has been added from the parallel passage in Mark ii. 28. or in Luke vi. 5.; and is justly rejected by Griesbach as an interpolation. In Matt. xii. 35. της καρδιας, *of the heart*, is wanting in one hundred and seven manuscripts as well as in several printed editions, and in the Arabic, Persic, Sclavonic, Anglo-Saxon, Old Italic, and Vulgate version; it is also wanting in the passage as cited by Origen, the author of the Dialogue against the Marcionites, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Theophylact, Cyprian, Lucifer, Hilary, and Ambrosiaster. It has been inserted from the parallel place in Luke vi. 45.

The clause in Matt. xxvii. 35. ινα πληρωθη το ρηθεν (*that it might be fulfilled which was spoken*), &c. to the end of that verse, is omitted in one hundred and sixty-one manuscripts in the Syriac MSS. and also in some Syriac editions, in the Arabic version both MSS. and also as printed in Bp. Walton's Polyglott, in the Persic version of the Polyglott, in all the manuscripts, and in most printed editions of the Coptic, Sahidic, Ethiopic, and Sclavonic versions, in most MSS. and editions of the Vulgate Latin version, in several MSS. of the old Italic version; and likewise in the verse as cited by Chrysostom, Titus of Bostra, Euthymius, Theophylact, Origen, the old Latin translator of Irenæus, Augustine, and Juvencus. This clause has been interpolated from John xix. 24. Griesbach justly omits it as decidedly spurious.

Numerous similar interpolations have been made in the Acts of the Apostles, by these supposed amendments; and where the same story is related more than once, transcribers, and more frequently translators, have supplied from the one what seemed to be deficient in the other. Not to multiply examples unnecessarily in illustration of this last remark, it will be sufficient to compare the narrative of Saint Paul's conversion, as related by Saint Luke (Acts ix.), with the apostle's own account of it in Acts xxii. and xxvi.; and also the two narratives of the conversion of Cornelius, described in Acts x. and xi.

(4.) *Lastly, some critics have altered the text of the New Testament in conformity to the Vulgate version; but various readings, which are evidently derived from this source, are utterly undeserving of attention.*

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[1] Novum Testamentum Græcum, e Codice MS. Alexandrino; Præfat. § 87. p. xxxi.

[2] Critical Dissertation upon 1 Tim. iii. 16. pp. 153—160.

[3] With regard to these corrections of grammatical errors, Michaelis has laid down the four following rules; viz.

"1. In those passages where we find only an apparent grammatical error, the seemingly erroneous reading may be generally considered as the genuine, and the other readings as corrections, and therefore spurious.

"2. Real grammatical errors, in the works of a correct and classical writer, are justly ascribed to a mistake of the copyist, and the same sentiments may be entertained of an author of less eminence, when among several copies one or two only have the false reading.

"3. But when expressions that deviate from the strictness of grammar are found in the writings of an author who had not the advantage of a learned education, and was totally regardless of the accuracy of his style, not in single but repeated instances, and retained in a very great number of manuscripts, they must be attributed, not to the transcriber, but the author.

"4. When one grammatical error in particular is frequently found in one and the same writing, as the improper use of the nominative in the book of Revelation, no doubt can be made that it proceeded from the author himself."—Michaelis vol. i. p. 305.

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4. WILFUL CORRUPTIONS, *in order to serve the purposes of a party, whether orthodox or heterodox, are another source of various readings.*

Among the ancient heretics no one has been more severely charged with falsifying the sacred text, in order to support his tenets, nor has any one more justly deserved the censure, which has been bestowed upon such unwarrantable conduct, than Marcion. Yet Michaelis has shown that all his deviations from the text in common use are not wilful corruptions, but that many of them are really various readings; and he has exculpated the Arians from the same charge. It is, however, well known that Marcion caused the first two chapters of Saint Luke's Gospel to disappear from his copy, as also Luke iv. 37, 38,39. In Luke viii. 19. he also expunged the words η μητηρ και οι αδελφοι αυτου, *his mother and brethren.* In Mark xv. 28. instead of μετα ανομων ελογισθη, *he was numbered with the transgressors*, the Eutychians read νεκρων, *dead*, in order to support their hypothesis, that Christ's body was an aërial form and not human.

On the other hand, it is a fact that some corruptions have been designedly made by those who are termed orthodox, and have subsequently been preferred when so made, in order to favour some received opinion, or to preclude an objection against it. As this is a source of various readings (we believe) but little known, and less considered, we shall adduce two or three examples from Pfaff's dissertation on various readings, who has considered the subject at length.

(1.) Mark xiii. 32. Ουδε ο υιος. These words are omitted in some manuscripts, and rejected by some of the fathers, because they thought it favoured the Arians. Ambrose, who flourished in the fourth century, states that many manuscripts in his time omitted them.

(2.) Luke i. 35. After γεννωμενον, the words εκ σου have been added in several manuscripts in the Syriac, Persic, Arabic, Ethiopic, and other translations, as well as in numerous quotations of the fathers, in opposition to the Eutychians, who denied the two natures of Jesus Christ.

(3.) Luke xxii. 43. The whole verse is omitted in the Alexandrian and some other manuscripts, because some orthodox Christians imagined that the mention of an angel's strengthening our Saviour, during his agony in the garden, detracted from his Deity.

(4.) 1 Cor. xv. 5. Saint Paul asserts that Christ appeared after his resurrection *to the twelve*, τοις δωδεκα, though at that time two of the number were wanting, Thomas being absent, and Judas Iscariot being dead. Some manuscripts therefore read ενδεκα, *eleven*, lest the sacred historian should be charged with falsehood, though every attentive reader of the New Testament knows that the apostle, in writing this, used the figure called *synecdoche*, in which a part is put for the whole.

(5.) Matt. i. 18. Πριν η συνελθειν αυτους (*before they came together*), and 25. αυτης τον πρωτοτοκον (*her first born*), are in some copies designedly omitted, lest any should doubt the perpetual virginity of Mary the mother of Christ.

§ 2. SOURCES WHENCE THE TRUE READINGS ARE TO BE DETERMINED.

I. *Manuscripts.*—II. *The most ancient and the best editions.*—III. *Ancient versions.*—IV. *The writings of Josephus (for the Old Testament).*—V. *Parallel passages.*—VI. *Quotations from the Old and New Testaments in the works of the fathers.*—VII. *Critical conjecture.*

THE causes of various readings being thus ascertained, the next step is to consider the SOURCES WHENCE THE TRUE READING IS TO BE DETERMINED.

The legitimate sources of emendation are, 1. Manuscripts 2. The most ancient and best Editions; 3. Ancient versions (and, for the Old Testament in particular, the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch, together with the Masora, and the Talmud); 4. The Writings of Josephus (for the Old Testament); 5. Parallel Passages; 6. Quotations from the Old and New Testaments in the works of the Fathers; 7. Fragments of Heretical Writings; and, 8. Critical Conjecture. But these various sources are all to be used with great judgment and caution, as being fallible criteria; nor is the common reading ever to be rejected but upon the most rational grounds.

I. MANUSCRIPTS.—Having already given some observations on the age of manuscripts, together with an account of some of the most ancient,[1] it will only be necessary that we should in this place offer a few hints concerning their relative value, and the application of them to the determination of various readings.

1. *In general, then, we may affirm that the present copies of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, under the guardianship of the Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian churches, agreeing in every thing essential, are of the same authenticity and authority with the original autographs; notwithstanding the errors that have crept into them, from whatever cause.*

2. *The number of manuscripts, however, is not so much to be considered, as their quality, antiquity, and agreement with the most ancient interpreters; for the true reading may be preserved in a single manuscript.*

3. *Those manuscripts are to be accounted the best, which are most consonant with those used by the ancient interpreters; and, with regard to the Old Testament, in particular, M. de Rossi states, that those manuscripts are in every case preferable which have not been tampered with by the Masoretes, and which have the Chaldee paraphrase interjected, in alternate verses.*

4. *Although, other things being equal, the more anciently and accurately written manuscripts are to be preferred, yet a recent and incorrect copy may often have the better reading, because it may have been transcribed from an excellent and ancient copy.*

5. *An accurate manuscript is preferable to one that is negligently written.*

Various readings, therefore, particularly in the Hebrew Scriptures, which are found in manuscripts transcribed by a learned person, or for a learned person, from some celebrated or corrected copy, are to be preferred to those written for private use; and the readings found in ancient and unpointed manuscripts, written for the use of the synagogue, are better than those found in Masoretic exemplars.

6. *The first erased reading of a manuscript is not always an error of the copyist, nor is the second substituted one always the better reading. Both are to be tried by the touchstone of the ancient versions, and in the Pentateuch by the Samaritan text also.*

7. *Other things being equal, Michaelis states, that a Lectionarium is not of equal value with a manuscript of the same antiquity that contains the books of the New Testament complete, because in the former the text was frequently altered, according to the readings which were most approved at the time when it was written; though Lectionaria sometimes have readings of great importance.*[2]

8. *In reckoning up the number of manuscripts for or against any particular reading, it will be necessary,*

FIRST, *To distinguish properly between one manuscript and another, that the same MS. be not counted twice over, and consequently* ONE *pass for* TWO.

This (it is now ascertained) was the case with the Codex Bezæ, which has been proved to be the same which was the second of Stephens's MSS. marked β, and not two distinct manuscripts. Wherever, therefore, a number of manuscripts bears evident marks of having been transcribed in succession, that is, each of them being first a copy taken from another, and then an original having a copy taken from it, or where all are taken from one common original, they are not to be considered as furnishing so many different instances of various reading, but should be estimated only as one, whose authority resolves itself into that of the first manuscript. Inattention to this circumstance has contributed to increase the number of various readings beyond what they really are. But though two manuscripts, one of which is copied from the other, can be admitted only as a single evidence, yet, if a word is faded in the more ancient one, it may be supplied from that which is more modern. Manuscripts which, though not immediately copied from each other, exhibit a great uniformity in their readings, seem to be the produce of the same country, and to have, as it were, the usual readings of that country. A set of manuscripts of this kind is to be considered as the same edition, in which it is of no importance to the authenticity of a reading whether five hundred or five thousand copies be taken. Numbers alone, therefore, decide nothing in the present instance.

SECONDLY, *We must carefully observe what part of the Scriptures the several manuscripts actually contain, and in what respects they are defective.*

There are few MSS. extant, which contain either the Old or the New Testament entire, and have been transmitted to us without loss and damage. Of the MSS. of the Old Testament, which have been described in pp. 218, 219. *supra*, not one is complete; and with regard to the New Testament, we have already seen that the Codices Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, and Leicestrensis, are mutilated. Other MSS. contain the Gospels, or the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles; others, the Acts and Pauline Epistles, or the Catholic Epistles, or both; others have the Epistles by themselves; and there are several manuscripts which contain the whole of the New Testament except the Apocalypse; to which are to be added the Lectionaries, or select portions of the New Testament, which were read as lessons, or Epistles and Gospels in the service of the church. Now it is absolutely necessary that we observe the state and condition of MSS., in order that we may avoid false conclusions and inferences from the non-production of a manuscript for a various reading by any editor of the New Testament, who professedly gives an account of the various readings of MSS., as if it therefore did not vary, when in reality the text itself was wanting therein; and also in order that we may not cite a MS. in favour of any reading, where in truth such MS. has no reading at all. From inattention to this obvious rule, Amelotte[3] cited the first Codex of Stephens, the Complutensian, Cardinal Ximenes's, Cisneros's, and that of Alcala, as so many different manuscripts, when, in fact, there was but one and the same printed edition.

THIRDLY, *We must also observe whether the MSS. have been entirely and exactly collated.*

Sometimes, perhaps, only the more noted and important texts have been consulted. This was the case with the Codex Claromontanus, as collated by Beza, and also with the MSS. of the Apostolic Epistles in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, which have only been collated for the controverted clause in 1 John v. 7. Sometimes also it happens that MSS. have come late into the hands of editors of the New Testament, after the printing was

[1] See an account of the principal Hebrew and Greek MSS. in pp. 218 -260. of this volume.

[2] Introduction, vol. ii. p. 161.

[3] Amelotte, the bitter enemy of the learned and pious Port-Royalists, published a French translation of the New Testament in four volumes, 8vo., in the years 1666—1668. In his notes he boasted of having consulted all the manuscripts in Europe, *which he afterwards confessed he had not seen.* Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, vol. ii. pp. 96—97.

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begun, and consequently only part of the various lections have been exhibited. This was the case both with Dr. Mill and with Griesbach in their critical editions. Again, it sometimes happens that a manuscript has been collated in the beginning, but, from some accident or other, the collation of it has not been completed. This was the case with the Codex Cyprius, of which we had no entire collation until Dr. Scholz printed one at the end of his Dissertation on that manuscript,[1] and also with the Codex Montfortianus, which was collated in the Gospels and most parts of the Acts of the Apostles, and in part of the Epistle to the Romans. Nor had we any complete collation of it, until the Rev. Dr. Barrett printed one at the end of his fac-simile of the Codex Rescriptus of Matthew's Gospel, now preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.[2] It is therefore absolutely necessary that we should inquire into these particulars, that we may not be deceived ourselves, or deceive others, by alleging an authority that has never been examined.

II. *The best and most ancient* PRINTED EDITIONS, an account of which is given in the Appendix to Volume II. are so far only to be admitted in evidence, as they are *immediately* taken from manuscripts. The various readings, however, which they contain, are not to be neglected, particularly those of the Hebrew Bibles printed in Rabbi Ben Chaim's or Hajim's Masoretical edition. In the New Testament, as the readings found in all the early printed editions rest on the authority of a few manuscripts which are not always the most ancient, the concurrence of all these editions cannot confer great authority on the readings adopted by them, in opposition to others which appear to be well supported.

III. The ANCIENT VERSIONS (of which an account has already been given), though not free from error, nevertheless afford important assistance towards determining the true readings of passages, as they show what readings their authors considered to be genuine: but it is necessary that we consult only correct texts of such versions.

1. *Ancient Versions are a legitimate source of emendation, unless upon collation we have reason to conclude that the translators of them were clearly mistaken.*

One or two examples will illustrate this remark. In James v. 12. many MSS., the Arabic of the London Polyglott, the Armenian and the Sclavonic versions, as also the Monk Antiochus, Oecumenius, and Theophylact, read ἵνα μὴ εἰς ὑποκρίσιν πέσητε, *lest ye fall into hypocrisy*. But the Codices Alexandrinus and Vaticanus, and several other manuscripts, besides the printed editions, and the Syriac, Arabic (as edited by Erpenius), Coptic, Ethiopic, Vulgate, and other versions, all read the clause as it appears in our authorized English version, which is unquestionably the true reading, viz. ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ κρίσιν πέσητε, *lest ye fall into condemnation*. Again, in 1 Pet. v. 13. we read, συνεκλεκτὴ ὑμᾶς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴ. Here some word is evidently to be supplied, in order to complete the sense. Dr. Mill conjectures that Peter's wife was intended. But the word ἐκκλησία, *church*, is found in the margin of two manuscripts (4. and 33. of Griesbach's notation), and in the Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, and Vulgate versions. It ought therefore to be received into the text. It is very properly supplied in *Italic characters* by the learned and venerable translators of our authorized English version, who render the verse thus:—The *church that is* at Babylon, elected together with *you*, saluteth you. Once more, in 2 Pet. ii. 2. the apostle, predicting the false teachers who would corrupt the church by their destructive doctrines, says, that *many shall follow*, αὐτῶν ταῖς ἀπωλείαις, *their destructions*, that is, *their pernicious ways* (as our translators have rendered it), their *heresies of destruction* or *destructive opinions*, mentioned in the preceding verse. This reading, however, is only found in the MSS. 43. and 65. of Griesbach's notation (both of the twelfth century), and in a few others of no note. But instead of it, we read, ἀσελγείαις, that is, *lasciviousness* or *uncleanness*, in the Codices A. B. C. (Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, and Ephremi); and in more than fifty other manuscripts, most of which are among the most ancient, correct, and authentic. This is also the reading of both the Syriac, all the Arabic, the Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Sclavonic, and Vulgate versions, and of the fathers Chrysostom, Theophilus, Oecumenius, and Jerome. The word ἀσελγείαις, *lasciviousness*, is, therefore, beyond all doubt, the true reading, and is very properly printed as such by Griesbach; and it points out the nature of the heresy intended by the apostle. It was a sort of antinomianism. The heretics alluded to pampered and indulged the lusts of the flesh; and if the Nicolaitans are meant, it is very applicable to them, for they taught the community of wives, &c.

2. *Ancient manuscripts, supported by some of the ancient versions and by the sense, render a reading certainly right, though it be not found in the more modern.*

In Isa. lviii. 10. we read, *If thou draw out thy soul to the hungry*. This, Bishop Lowth remarks, is a correct rendering of the present Hebrew text, but it is an obscure phrase, and without example in any other place. Instead, however, of נפשך (NAPESHEK) *thy soul*, eight manuscripts (three of which are ancient) read לחמך (LAHEMEK) *thy bread*; and so it is rendered in the Syriac version. The proper reading thereof is, *draw out* (or *bring forth*) *thy bread*. The Septuagint version expresses both words, τὸν ἄρτον σου ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς σου, *thy bread from thy soul*.[3]

3. *The concurrence of the ancient versions is sufficient to establish a reading as certainly right, when the sense or parallel place shows both the propriety of that reading, and the corruption of what is found in the copies of the original.*

Thus, in Prov. xviii. 21. (22. of English version) we read, Whoso findeth *a wife, findeth a good* thing. This is not true in *every* instance; it contradicts other maxims of the inspired writer, as Dr. Kennicott has shown, who is sufficiently eloquent on this occasion. He therefore conjectured that Solomon originally expressed himself thus; *he that findeth a good wife, findeth a good thing, and obtaineth favour from the* LORD. This reading derives a strong confirmation from the fact, that the epithet for good is uniformly found in the Septuagint Greek, the Syriac, Arabic, and Vulgate versions. It is likewise found in two ancient manuscript Chaldee paraphrases of the Book of Proverbs (one of which is at Cambridge, and the other in the King of Prussia's library at Berlin). All these concurring testimonies, together with the necessary sense of the text itself, prove that the Hebrew originally read, and ought to be so restored, *He that findeth a good wife, findeth a good thing*.[4]

4. *The Samaritan Pentateuch, which is only a different copy of the same original text, being more ancient than the Babylonish captivity, and religiously preserved in the ancient Hebrew characters, is a legitimate source of emendation. Although it differs in many places from the present Hebrew text, and these differences have been made objections against its authority, because it has been taken for granted that it must be wrong wherever it is not conformable to the Hebrew; yet as this assumption proceeds on the erroneous supposition of the absolute integrity of the Masoretic copies, it ought not to be regarded.*

Bauer has given a considerable number of rules for the application of the Samaritan Pentateuch to the determination of various readings, which he has illustrated by examples, for the whole of which we have not room. The following are such of his remarks as are of most general application:—

(1.) Where the Samaritan text has the larger sections repeated from the other chapters of the Pentateuch, it is interpolated, and the Hebrew text is on no account to be corrected from it.

(2.) Where the Samaritan text contains readings in support of the peculiar dogmas entertained by the Samaritans, there it is to be considered as altered by the fraud of that sect.

(3.) Where the Samaritan text more strictly follows the rules of grammar, avoiding enallages of number and gender; and on the other hand, where the Hebrew text departs from those rules, not frequently expressing the enallage both of number and gender;—in such cases the reading of the Hebrew text is preferable to that of the Samaritan.

(4.) Where the Samaritan text contains a clear reading, which removes any difficulty or obscurity, by the addition of a single word or phrase, there it has evidently been corrected by the Samaritan doctors, and the reading of the Hebrew copies is to be preferred. The application of this and the preceding canon to most of the corrections, which Houbigant conceived might be drawn from the Samaritan Pentateuch, will show that those corrections are of no value whatever.

(5.) Where a reading in the Samaritan text departs from that of the Hebrew text, in the guttural letters, the true reading is to be found in the latter.

(6.) A various reading in the Samaritan text, which appears to be derived from the resemblance of the shape of the letters, is to be rejected.

(7.) A reading in the Samaritan text which is entirely unsupported by the authority of the Masoretic copies, and of the ancient versions, is not to be regarded as the true one, and is not preferable to the Masoretic reading.

(8.) If the Samaritan text agrees with the Septuagint version (as frequently is the case), their testimony is to be considered but as one, from the very close affinity subsisting between them.

(9.) A various reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch is of the greatest value when it is confirmed by the ancient versions of Aquila and Symmachus, by the Syriac version, the Chaldee paraphrase, and the best and most ancient Hebrew MSS. Thus, in Gen. xxii. 13. instead of, *behold* BEHIND his אחר (ACHER), the Samaritan reads אחד (ACHOD), *one*, and with this reading agree the Septuagint and Syriac versions, the Targum or Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos, and *twenty-nine* of the manuscripts collated by Dr Kennicott, together with *thirteen* of those collated by De Rossi. The proper rendering, therefore, of this verse is, *And Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked; and behold a ram caught in a thicket by his horns.*

The two following canons are selected from Dr. Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism (pp. 270, 271.), with a few corrections:—

(10.) Readings in the Pentateuch supported by the Samaritan copy, a few Hebrew MSS., the ancient versions, parallel places, and the sense, are certainly right, though they are not found in the generality of Hebrew manuscripts nor in editions.

Thus in Gen. l. 25. after *ye shall carry up my bones from hence*, the parallel text in Exod. xiii. 19., twelve manuscripts, the Samaritan text, the Septuagint, Syriac, Arabic, and Vulgate versions, all add *with you*. The words, therefore, are part of the text, and are very properly incorporated in it by Dr. Boothroyd, in his new translation of the Scriptures.

In Lev. ix. 21. the common reading is, *as Moses commanded*: but in thirty manuscripts, the Samaritan text, the Septuagint and Arabic versions, and the Targum of Onkelos, we read, *as Jehovah commanded Moses*; which unquestionably is the true reading, and is supported not only by these authorities, but also by the whole chapter itself.

(11.) Readings in the Pentateuch, supported by the Samaritan text, ancient versions, parallel places, and the sense, are certainly right, though they are not found in any (or in only one) Hebrew manuscript now extant.

Thus in Gen. ii. 24. we read, *and they shall be one flesh*; but it is *they* two in the Samaritan text, and in the Septuagint, Syriac, Old Italic, Vulgate and Arabic versions, compared with Matt. xix. 5. Mark x. 8. 1 Cor. vi. 16 Eph. v. 31., Philo Judæus, Tertullian, Epiphanius, Jerome, and Augustine In Exod. vi. 20. after *she bare him Aaron and Moses*, "and Miriam their sister," is added in the Samaritan text, the Septuagint, and Syriac versions,

[1] Scholz, Curæ Criticæ in Historiam Textus Evangeliorum, pp. 80—90. The collation of the Codex Cyprius, in this publication, is very incorrectly given, as Dr. Scholz, being absent from the press on his Biblico-Critical Travels, could not correct the proof-sheets. He has, however, given the various readings of this manuscript with the utmost fidelity and accuracy practicable, in the first volume of his Critical Edition of the New Testament.

[2] Barrett, Evangelium secundum Matthæum ex Codice Rescripto in Bibliotheca Collegii SS. Trinitatis juxta Dublin. Appendix. pp. 5—35.

[3] Gerard's Institutes, p. 271. Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. p. 343. Another eminent commentator, however, defends the common reading and rendering. He is of opinion, that the emendation above proposed is a gloss, and should not be adopted. "*To draw out the soul* in relieving the poor, is to do it not of constraint or necessity,—but cheerfully, and is both nervous and elegant. His *soul pities*, and his *hand* gives."—(Dr. A. Clarke on Isa. lviii. 10.)

[4] Kennicott's Second Dissertation on the Hebrew Text, pp. 189—192. Dr Gerard has given four additional instances of the above rule. Institutes pp. 272, 273.

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and in one manuscript. There is no doubt but that it forms parts of the sacred text. Again, in Exod. xii. 40. we read, *The sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years.* But this is not true, for it was only *two hundred and fifteen years*; and it contradicts Gal. iii. 17. which says, that it was only four hundred and thirty years from the calling of Abraham, two hundred and fifteen of which elapsed before the going into Egypt. (Compare Gen. xii. 4. xvii. 1. 21. xxv. 26. and xlvii. 9.) The following is the verse as it appears in all the MSS. and editions of the Samaritan Pentateuch, confirmed by the Alexandrian manuscript of the Septuagint. *Now the sojourning of the children of Israel*, and of their fathers, *which they sojourned* in the land of Canaan and *in the land of Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years.* This is the true reading, and removes all doubt and obscurity. It is proper to remark, that the last three examples of additional passages from the Samaritan text are introduced by Dr. Boothroyd into the text of his translation of the Bible.

5. *Such ancient versions as were immediately made from the original are proper sources of emendation, when our present Hebrew and Greek manuscripts disagree; and their respective value is in proportion to their priority of date, their being made from accurate exemplars, their being literal translations, and their being confirmed by one another, and, as far as respects the Pentateuch, by the Samaritan text; for the sole dissent of versions, unsupported by other authorities, constitutes only a dubious lection.*

Before, however, we admit any various reading into the text on the authority of an ancient version, we must be certain that the text of such version has not been corrupted. And no various reading can be derived from the modern *Latin Versions* of the Greek or Oriental versions, which are given in the Polyglotts, because the Latin translators have in some instances mistaken the sense of such Oriental versions.

6. *The Greek version of the Old Testament, called the Septuagint, being the most ancient and illustrious, is preferable to the Old Syriac version of the same portion of Scripture; but the Old Syriac version of the New Testament, being executed at the close of the apostolic age, and consequently the most ancient of all the translations of the New Testament, is preferable to every other version of it.*

The readings pointed out by the Greek version are sometimes the genuine lections, even when they are not found in any Hebrew manuscripts now extant. For instance, in Gen. iv. 8. we read, *And Cain said to Abel his brother: And it came to pass, when they were in the field, &c.* Here there is a manifest deficiency in all the Hebrew MSS. and printed editions. The translators of the authorized English version, not being able to find that any thing was said on this occasion, ventured to intimate that there was a conversation, indefinitely, and therefore rendered the first clause of the verse, *and Cain talked with Abel his brother.* The deficiency, which exists in all the MSS. and editions, is supplied in the Septuagint version, which is supported by the Samaritan text, the Syriac and Vulgate Latin versions, the two Chaldee Targums, the Greek translation of Aquila, and by the passage as cited by Philo: all of which supply the deficient words, *Let us go out into the field.* There is no doubt, therefore, that they form part of the original text, and that the verse ought to be translated thus:—*And Cain said unto Abel his brother*, Let us go out into the field. *And it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him.*

Again, in Acts xiii. 18. we read *about the time of forty years suffered he* (ἐτροποφόρησεν) *their manners in the wilderness*; that is, he dealt indulgently with them. However the Israelites provoked Jehovah, he mercifully bore with and endured them. On which clause we find in the margin of our authorized version the following conjecture: Gr. ἐτροφοφόρησεν, perhaps for ἐτροφοφόρησεν, *bore* or *fed them as a nurse beareth* or *feedeth her child.* This conjecture is confirmed by the Codices Alexandrinus, Ephremi, and Basileensis, and four others of less note, as well as by the Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, and Ethiopic versions, and the quotations in some of the fathers; all of which read ἐτροφοφόρησεν, *he nourished and fed them*, or *bore them about in his arms as a tender nurse does her child.* This reading agrees excellently with the scope of the place, and is at least of equal value with that in the commonly received text. Griesbach has therefore admitted it, and excluded the other. Both readings, indeed, when rightly understood, speak nearly the same sense; but the latter is the most expressive, and agrees best with St. Paul's discourse, and with the history to which he alludes. The same form of expression occurs in Exod. xix. 4. Num. xi. 12. Isa. xlvi. 3, 4. and lxiii. 9.

7. *The Oldest Latin Versions of the New Testament, being of very high antiquity, notwithstanding they contain some false readings, are nevertheless of great value, because they lead to a discovery of the readings in very ancient Greek manuscripts, that existed prior to the date of any that are now extant. The Vulgate, for instance, in its present state, being (as we have already seen) a mixture of the Old Italic version, and that of Jerome, points out the state of the original text, partly in the first and partly in the fourth century, and it gives great authority to those readings which it clearly indicates: it also contains several which are preferable to the present readings, and are supported by some of the best and oldest manuscripts.*

Thus the literal rendering of Jer. li. 19. is—*He is the former of all things, and the rod of his inheritance*, which is unintelligible. The venerable translators of our authorized version have supplied *Israel* is the rod, &c. most probably from the parallel sentence in Jer. x. 16.; and that this is the true reading is evident from the Vulgate version, which reads *et Israel sceptrum hæreditatis ejus*, and also from the Chaldee paraphrase, which is further supported by twenty-three manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott.[1]

8. *The Syriac version being very literal, ascertains clearly the readings which it followed, to which, on account of its antiquity, it gives great authority; and it has preserved some, that appear to be genuine.*

Thus in 2 Sam. xv. 7. we read, *It came to pass after forty years*, which is manifestly erroneous, though supported by the commonly printed Vulgate, the Septuagint, and the Chaldee. David reigned only forty years, and if we follow the text, the rebellion of Absalom would follow long *after* the death of David. In order to obviate this difficulty, some commentators have proposed to date from the time when David was first anointed by the prophet Samuel. But the Syriac version (which is confirmed by the Arabic version, by Josephus, by the Sixtine edition of the Vulgate, by several manuscripts of the same version, and by Theodoret), reads FOUR. Most learned men are of opinion that ארבעים (ARBAYIM) *forty*, is an error for ארבע (ARBÂ) *four*. Accordingly, Dr. Boothroyd has adopted the reading of the Syriac version, and translates *at the end of* FOUR *years*, in his new version of the Old Testament.

9. *Every deviation in the ancient versions, both of the Old and New Testaments, is not to be considered as a proof of a various reading in the original manuscript whence it was taken; for the translator may have mistaken the original word, or he may have given it a signification different from what it bears at present, and this is the case particularly with the Septuagint.*

10. *One or a few ancient versions may render a reading probable, when it is strongly supported by the sense, connection, or parallel places, in opposition to one that does not agree with these, though found in other versions and in manuscripts.*

Thus, in Gen. xiv. 20. we read, *And he gave tithes of all.* This leaves it uncertain whether Melchizedek or Abram gave tithes. It rather seems to be the former, but it was the latter. In Heb. vii. 4. as well as the Samaritan text, and the Septuagint version, we have *Abram gave to him a tithe of all*, ἐδωκεν αὐτῷ Ἀβραὰμ δεκάτην ἀπὸ πάντων; which is probably the genuine reading.

Again, in Isa. xl. 5. we read, *All flesh shall see together*, which is an imperfect sentence. The translators of our authorized version have supplied *it*, referring to the glory of God mentioned in the preceding part of the verse. This omission is ancient, being prior to the Chaldee, Syriac, and Vulgate versions: but all the copies of the Septuagint version and the parallel passage in Isa. lii. 10. reads, *shall see the salvation of our God*, which lection is acknowledged by Luke. (iii. 6.) Bishop Lowth therefore considers it as genuine, and has admitted it into the text of his translation of Isaiah.

11. *The concurrence of all or most of the ancient versions, in a reading not found in manuscripts now extant, renders such reading probable, if it be agreeable to the sense, though not absolutely contrary to it.*[2]

Thus, in 1 Sam. ix. 7. we read, *What shall we bring the man* לאיש (LA-ISH)? In *one* of the manuscripts collected by Dr. Kennicott (No. 182. a manuscript of the fourteenth century), we read לאיש האלהים (LA-ISH H-ELOHIM), *to the man of God?* which is confirmed by the Chaldee paraphrase, and by the Septuagint, Syriac, Vulgate, and Arabic versions, and is probably the genuine reading.

12. *Of the Chaldee paraphrases,*[3] *when manuscripts vary those are to be preferred which are the most ancient, and which have not been corrected, according to the present Masoretic text.*

13. *The Masora,*[4] *Talmud, and Talmudical writers are also sources of emendation, but of no great authority in readings of any moment.*

With regard to the Masora, that reading only is to be admitted from it which is supported by ancient versions, and is in perfect harmony with the context, the analogy of language, and parallel passages.

In Isa. ix. 2. (Heb.; 3. of English version) we read, *Thou hast multiplied the nation, and not the joy.* The Ketib has לא (LA) *not*, with which the Vulgate version and that of Symmachus agree; but the Keri reads לו (LO) *to him*, or *it*, that is, *the nation*; and with this agree the Chaldee paraphrase, the Septuagint, the Vulgate version, the readings in the text of fifteen manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott, and six of those collated by M. de Rossi. The latter reading is not only best supported, but it is also excellently in unison with the preceding verse. Bishop Lowth has therefore adopted it, and translates thus—*Thou hast multiplied the nation, thou hast increased their joy.*

Readings derived from the Talmud and Talmudical writers are only to be admitted, when they expressly cite the Hebrew text, and when their readings are confirmed by manuscripts. In judging of the various lections obtained from the Jewish writers, those which are collected from the Talmud (though few in number) are of great value, and equal to those furnished by Aquila, Symmachus, the Syriac version, and the Chaldee paraphrase. But such as are derived from the commentaries and lexicons of the Rabbins, who lived between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, are (according to Prof. Bauer) to be accounted equal to the readings of manuscripts.[5]

[1] Gerard's Institutes, p. 87. Kennicott's Second Dissertation, pp. 439, 440 and his Dissertatio Generalis, § 41. at the end of the second volume of his Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible.

[2] Gerard's Institutes, pp. 280, 281. where several additional examples given, for which we have not room.

[3] See an account of the Chaldee paraphrases, pp. 262—264. of this

[4] See an account of the Masora in pp. 201, 202 *supra*, and of th in Part II Book I. Chap. II. Sect. II. § 6. *infra*, of this Volume.

[5] Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 444, 445.

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IV. As JOSEPHUS derived his representations of sacred history principally from the Hebrew text, the collation of his writings will be found a valuable aid in the determination of various readings in the Old Testament.

1. Thus, in 2 Sam. viii. 17., according to the Hebrew text, we read that *Zadok the son of Ahitub and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar* were *the priests;* which statement is directly contrary to 1 Sam. xxii. 20. and xxiii. 6., where Abiathar is expressly termed the *son of Ahimelech.* But Josephus,[1] when he says that David appointed Zadok to be priest, together with Abiathar, appears to have read the Hebrew words, much more correctly, thus transposed:—*And Zadok the son of Ahitub and Abiathar the son of Ahimelech were the priests.* Dr. Boothroyd has properly adopted this rendering:[2] in the history of David, we never read of Ahimelech being priest, but the name of Abiathar frequently occurs.

2. In 1 Sam. vi. 19. we read that the Lord smote fifty thousand and seventy of the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh for looking into the ark; which number, in the Arabic and Syriac versions, is five thousand and seventy. Three of the manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott (of the twelfth century), and Josephus,[3] read *seventy* men only, and omit fifty thousand. Seventy is evidently the true number; for, as Beth-shemesh was but a "small village," it is improbable that it could contain so many as fifty thousand inhabitants.[4]

V. PARALLEL PASSAGES afford a very material help in determining various readings, where all other assistance fails. Cappel[5] and Dr. Kennicott[6] have shown at great length what use may be made of parallel passages, in order to ascertain the genuine reading where it may be dubious, or to restore it where it may be lost. Professor Bauer has given an abstract of Cappel's collection of parallel passages in pp. 235—238. of his *Critica Sacra;* and two or three instances will show the importance of them in ascertaining a true reading in the New Testament.

In Matt. i. 4. not fewer than fourteen manuscripts and two of the fathers read Αμιναδαμ, *Aminadam*; but the parallel passage in 1 Chron. ii. 10. has *Aminadab*, which therefore is the genuine reading of the Evangelist. Again, in Matt. xxvii. 46. instead of λαμα (*lama*), many MSS. read λειμα (*leima*), λιμα (*lima*), or λημα (*lema*); but a reference to Psal. xxii. 2. (Heb.; or 1. of English version) shows that λαμα is the proper reading. Once more, in Matt. ii. 23. the common reading is Ναζαρετ (*Nazaret*); but in the Codices C. E. K. (Ephremi, Basileensis B. VI. 21. and Cyprius), and many other MSS. of less note, besides several printed editions, and the Coptic, Armenian, Italic, Vulgate, and Anglo-Saxon versions, and also in the quotations of Eusebius and Cyril, we read Ναζαρεθ (*Nazareth*). And that this is the true reading is evident from comparing the numerous other passages of the four Gospels in which this place is called *Nazareth*, and not *Nazaret*.

1. *Where parallel passages, together with the sense, support the reading of ancient manuscripts, they show that such reading is perfectly right.*

Thus in Isa. lxi. 4. we read, *they shall build the old wastes:* but the sentence is incomplete, as we know not who are the builders. After *they shall build*, four MSS. (two of which are ancient) add מסך (MAMACH) *they that spring from thee;* and this reading is confirmed by lviii. 12. where the sentence is the very same, this word being added. Bishop Lowth therefore receives it into the text, and translates the sentence thus:—

And they that spring from thee shall build up the ruins of old times.

2. *In a text evidently corrupted, a parallel place may suggest a reading perfectly genuine.*[7]

Thus, in the common printed editions of Judg. vii. 18. we read, *Say, of the Lord and of Gideon.* This is defective. The venerable English translators have, with great propriety, supplied *the sword*, חרב (HEREB) from the successful exploit of Gideon, related in v. 20. The word which those learned but much traduced men thus supplied from a parallel place proves to be right; for it is found in ten manuscripts besides the Chaldee paraphrase, and the Syriac and Arabic versions. In like manner they have supplied the word *fourth* in 2 Kings xxv. 3. from Jer. lii. 6. to complete the sense; and this supply is also confirmed by the different versions.

3. *To determine with accuracy the authority of parallel passages in the Old Testament, they should be divided into four classes; viz.*

(1.) Passages containing the historical narration of an event which occurred *but once*, or the record of a prayer or speech *but once* uttered. *Ex. gr.* Josh. xix. 50. xxiv. 30. comp. with Judg. ii. 9. 2 Sam. xxii. with Ps. xviii. The Book of Kings with that of Chronicles. 2 Kings xxv. with Jer. lii. 2 Kings xviii. to xx. with Isa. xxxvi. to xxxix. Isa. ii. 2. 4. with Micah iv. 1—3.

(2.) Passages containing a command, and either a repetition of it, or a record of its being obeyed: Ex. xx. 2—17. with Deut. v. 6—22. Ex. xxv. to xxx. with xxxvi. to xxxix. Lev. xi. 13—19. with Deut. xiv. 12—18. Ezekiel xii. 6. with 7.

(3.) Proverbial sayings, or expressions frequently repeated: Num. xxi. 28, 29. and xxiv. 17. with Jer. xlviii. 45, 46. Ezek. v. 7. with xi. 12. Jer. v. 9. and 29. with ix. 9. Psalm xlii. 5. 11. with xliii. 5. Jer. x. 25. with Psalm lxxix. 6, 7. Jer. x. 16. with li. 19. Isa. xxiv. 17, 18. with Jer. xlviii. 43, 44.

(4.) Records of the same genealogies, 1 Chron. with several chapters of Genesis, and Ezra with Nehemiah.

In any such passages as these, where there is a difference in numbers or names—where there is more than a verbal difference in records of the same transaction—or where there is even a verbal difference in copies of the same prayer or speech, in the printed text, but not in manuscripts and versions, there it is erroneous, and ought to be corrected.[8]

VI. QUOTATIONS *from the Old and New Testaments in the Writings of the* FATHERS are an emendatory source which is by no means to be neglected; but only *correct* editions of their works should be consulted. In order to judge of the true reading of any text of Scripture, from any quotation of it, with which we meet in the writings of the fathers, the following criteria have been laid down, principally by J. D. Michaelis:—

1. *In considering the testimony of a single father, we are in the first place to inquire in what age he lived, and what were his abilities? Whether he was a person of learning and judgment, of accuracy and exactness, or otherwise? And also whether the treatise or work, in which the Scriptures are so quoted, be the genuine production of the writer whose name it bears?*

2. *Wherever it is certain that the quotations were actually taken from manuscripts, they are of very great importance in deciding on the authenticity of a true reading, and are in general to be preferred to any manuscripts of the Greek Testament now extant, the oldest of which cannot be placed earlier than the end of the fourth or the commencement of the fifth century.*

If therefore a father, who flourished in the fifth and subsequent ages, has a particular reading, it is the same as if we found it in a manuscript of that time.

3. *As the fathers have frequently, though not always, quoted from memory, it is necessary to make a distinction between those passages which they expressly declare that they have taken literally from manuscripts; and those which they quote without any such assurance.*

4. *We are not therefore to reject the quotation of a father, because it differs from the common text, but must first examine whether it cannot be discovered in manuscripts of the New Testament; and to enable those who have access to manuscripts to make this comparison with as much ease as possible, we should endeavour to procure the most accurate and copious extracts from the writings of the fathers.*

If a reading, then, which had the appearance of being an error of memory, is actually discovered in manuscripts, we may without hesitation put it down in the list of various readings: its antiquity will be determined by the age in which the father who quoted it lived; and the manuscripts which contain it will afford a secondary evidence of its age and authenticity. But we must not judge of the writings of all the fathers, nor of all the writings of the same father, in the same manner. They may be divided into three different classes. 1. Commentaries, to which may be referred also those discourses which were written as expositions of parts of the Bible. 2. Works of education. 3. Polemical writings. In the first it is evident that the book which is expounded is not quoted from memory, but the author, in writing his commentary, had lying before him a manuscript of the Greek Testament. But with respect to the polemical writings of the fathers, those who are acquainted with their mode of disputation and know that their principal object is sometimes to confound their adversaries rather than to support the truth, will refer the quotations which appear in these productions to the lowest class. If a father was acquainted with more than one reading to a passage, he would certainly quote that which best suited his purpose, and with which he could most easily confute his opponents. It is therefore not sufficient to know what reading he quotes, but we must likewise consider where he quotes it; and those therefore who collect various readings from the writings of the ancient fathers would do well to point out the book, chapter, edition, and page, in order to enable the reader to form a proper judgment.

5. *It is necessary to make an accurate distinction between a quotation properly so called, and a passage of Scripture introduced and applied as part of a discourse.*

For if a writer, in treating any known doctrine of the Bible, uses the words of Scripture, he is at liberty to add or subtract, to contract or dilate them in a manner that is best adapted to the tenor of his discourse. But even such passages are not unworthy of notice, for if they are different in different manuscripts, and any one of these latter coincides with the former, the coincidence is not to be considered as a matter of chance. But when no manuscript corroborates the reading in such a passage, it is entitled to no voice in deciding on the text of the Greek Testament.

6. *In collecting readings from the works of the fathers, an accurate distinction must be made between those who wrote in Greek, and those who wrote in another language.*

Properly speaking, the former only are to be considered when we select readings for the Greek Testament, and the latter immediately relate to the

[1] Ant. Jud. l. vii. c. v. § 4.
[2] Dr. Boothroyd's New Version of the Bible, on 2 Sam. viii. 17.
[3] Ant. Jud. l. vi. c. i. § 4.
[4] Kennicott, Diss. i. p. 532. Diss. ii. p. 208. Dr. A. Clarke and Dr. Boothroyd, on 1 Sam. vi. 19.
[5] See his Critica Sacra (lib. i. cc. iii.—xiv.), vol. i. pp. 14—136. 8vo. edition, with Professor Vogel's notes.
[6] In his first Dissertation on the Hebrew Text, pp. 13. 79. 198. 444. 457. 461. 481. 484. 502. 510.
[7] Gerard's Institutes, p. 273. Where the reader will find several additional illustrations of this canon.
[8] Hamilton's Codex Criticus of the Hebrew Bible, p. 18.

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text of the version from which they are quoted, unless particular mention be made of the Greek, or the writer, like Jerome, made a practice of correcting the translation of his country from the original.

7. *It must also be observed whether a Father takes notice of a text only once, or but seldom, or very often.*

For a *frequent* repetition will make the slighter kinds of difference deserving of more attention; whereas a single instance or two of that sort will be the more easily imputed to a slip of the memory, or a casual mistake.

8. *It is necessary to observe whether an author be uniform and consistent with himself, or different and various.*

If a text be found differently expressed by the same author, we shall often be at a loss to know which he esteemed the right: and sometimes, perhaps, he may be wrong in each; and yet sometimes, too, it may be easily discovered, that one passage was designed to express the text more exactly, and another was only a reference by memory, and from thence proceeded the variation. An example of this we have in Chrysostom. In his comment upon Acts xx. 28. he reads it εκκλησιαν του Θεου, *Church of God, three times* (though Dr. Mill cites him there for the reading of Κυριου (*Lord*): but in his comment on Eph. iv. 12. he casually refers to this text, and quotes it probably by memory, and there he puts it down εκκλησιαν του Κυριου, that is, *Church of the Lord.*

9. *The writings of the Fathers are to be compared, one with another; and an inquiry must be instituted, what testimony arises from them upon the whole.*

If it be a point, of which they generally take notice, or in which they are agreed; if we meet with no contrary voice, or none worthy of being regarded, or with some who argue for it, while others criticise or comment upon it, this will afford the clearest and strongest testimony that can be either desired or obtained.

10. *We must compare the evidence arising from an examination of the writings of the Fathers, with that which appears to be the reading of the Greek manuscripts in general, and see how well they agree together. Where the MSS. in general and the Fathers do agree, it must be something very extraordinary that will make it reasonable to believe that they are altogether in a mistake. Nay, that evidence from the Fathers must be very strong, which will make it reasonable to think the Greek MSS. agreeing in general among themselves, are mistaken.*

A casual citation of a text will not be sufficient to prove them so mistaken, nor a bare comment upon a version, where it varies from the original: much less will this do, where opposite testimonies can be produced from Greek writers; and especially where those opposite testimonies are so full upon the point, as supposes and implies that they found the reading which they mention in the Greek copies which were in use in their days. If any instance can be found in which it can be clearly proved from the writings of the fathers, that the general and allowed reading of the Greek copies in the early ages of the church was different from the general reading of the Greek MSS. in our days, we should without hesitation give up such general reading of our present MSS. But it is very questionable whether one single instance of this sort can any where be found; and those persons who raise general clamours about the corruption of the manuscripts of the sacred writings, *unsupported by any solid proofs*, are no more to be heard, but still more to be condemned, than those who speak in this manner of the writings of the Fathers. But in a matter of doubt and uncertainty, where the MSS. of the sacred writings in the original language are divided, the united testimony of the Fathers will turn the scale in favour of the side for which they appear, and will more powerfully establish and confirm the general reading of the Scripture MSS. where they are agreed.[8]

11. *The Fathers having in general quoted the Scriptures very exactly, as they had it in their copies, whenever a reading followed by them agrees with any ancient manuscript, it is in all probability the genuine reading.*

Thus, in most copies of Matt. vi. 1. we read, *Take heed that you do not your* ALMS (ελεημοσυνην): But in the Codices Vaticanus and Cantabrigiensis, and three or four other MSS. of less antiquity, as also in the old Italic and Vulgate Versions and most of the Fathers, we read δικαιοσυνην, *righteousness*, that is, acts of righteousness. This reading is most agreeable to the mode of speech which obtained among the Jews,[9] and consequently is the genuine one. Griesbach has therefore inserted it in the text.

Again, in Luke x. 1. we read that the *Lord appointed other seventy* disciples. The Codices Vaticanus, Cantabrigiensis, and Medicæus (No. 42. of Griesbach's notation), together with the Persian, Armenian, Vulgate, and four copies of the Old Italic versions, read εβδομηκοντα δυο, seventy-two; and in this reading they are supported by eleven Fathers principally of the Latin or Western Church. On the contrary, all the other MSS. have simply εβδομηκοντα, *seventy*, in which reading they are supported by the learned Greek Fathers, Eusebius, Gregory Bishop of Nyssa, Cyril, Euthymius, Theophylact, and Theophanes, and by Irenæus, Tertullian, Ambrose, Jerome Damasus, and others among the Latin writers. The common reading, therefore, is established as the genuine one by the concurrence of the Fathers with MSS.

Once more, in John i. 28. we read that *These things were done in Bethabara.* This lection is found in thirty-one manuscripts, in the printed editions, in the Armenian version, and a late exemplar of the Sclavonic version, and is preferred by Origen, and after him by Eusebius, Suidas, Jerome, and others. But it is *certain* that, instead of Βηθαβαρα, we ought to read Βηθανια, *Bethany*, which word is found in the Codices Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, Ephremi, Basileensis, Harleianus No. 5684., Seidelii, Stephani η, Stephani π, Regius No. 2243[8]. (now 48.) and Vaticanus 354., in B. and V. of Matthæi's notation, in upwards of one hundred other MSS. of less antiquity, and in the Syriac, Armenian, Persic, Coptic, and Vulgate versions, and in three MSS. of the Sclavonic version (one of the twelfth, the other two of the fourteenth century). The reading of Βηθανια, *Bethany*, is also confirmed by the most eminent of the primitive Fathers *prior* to the time of Origen (who is supposed to have first changed the reading); and is unquestionably the genuine one Griesbach has therefore inserted it in the text.

12. *The total silence of the Fathers concerning a reading, which would have confirmed their opinion in a controverted point, justly renders that reading suspicious, unless such total silence can be satisfactorily accounted for.*

This negative argument against a reading will be of little weight where it respects the writings of one single author only; and where it is founded only upon some particular part of his works, and such author has himself taken notice of the text in other places, it will be of no weight at all. Nay, if but one or two only have made mention of a text, this will be a better proof that it was read in their days than any omission of their contemporaries, or of those that lived after them, will be a proof that it was not. But let us take this argument in the strongest light, and let the utmost possible be made of it; it can only furnish matter of doubt and inquiry; it can at most amount to no more than probable and presumptive evidence, and nothing can be positively and certainly concluded from it. One plain positive proof from the original MSS. or the ancient versions will be able to weigh it down, unless it can be shown that they have been altered and corrupted.

VII. The fragments of HERETICAL WRITINGS are not to be overlooked in the search for various readings: for the supposition is rash, that they generally corrupted the text of *all* parts of the sacred writings.[3]

Although Marcion wilfully corrupted various parts of such books of the New Testament as he chose to admit into *his* collection of canonical books, yet not all his deviations are to be ranked in the list of wilful corruptions. Michaelis therefore divides the various readings, for which he has been branded with the name of heretic, into the three following classes; viz.

"1. Unwarranted alterations made in favour of Marcion's own system.

"2. Alterations grounded on the authority of manuscripts, which had various readings that differed from the common text, and which are still retained in very many of our present manuscripts.

"3. Readings that are not only warranted by authority, but preferable to the text of our own common editions."

For instance, the words και προσκολληθησεται προς την γυναικα αυτου (*and shall be joined unto his wife*), in Eph. v. 31., were omitted by Marcion; and Jerome[4] was of opinion that the passage came not from the hands of St. Paul. Again Χριστου (*Christ*), which is the reading preferred by Marcion, in 1 Cor. x. 8. is most probably the genuine reading, and the other reading [Κυριον, *Lord*] a correction of a copyist; at least we cannot ascribe it to the heterodoxy of Marcion, as it affords no argument in his favour. Χριστου is retained by Griesbach. Michaelis remarks that the readings belonging to the second and third classes are of importance in the criticism of the New Testament. Dr. Mill and Wetstein, and after them Griesbach, have given all the readings of Marcion which could be discovered. Dr. Scholz charges Epiphanius with falsehood, in affirming that Marcion corrupted the Epistles to the Philippians, Thessalonians, and Philemon, and he states that Marcion for the most part agrees with the Alexandrine family of MSS.[5]

VIII. CRITICAL CONJECTURE is not *alone* a legitimate source of emendation, nor is it at all to be applied, unless the text is manifestly corrupted, and in the most urgent necessity: for the conjectural criticism of an interested party, in his own cause, and in defiance of positive evidence, is little better than subornation of testimony in a court of law.

1. *Conjectural Readings, strongly supported by the sense, connection, the nature of the language, or similar texts, may sometimes be* probable, *especially when it can be shown that they would easily have given occasion to the present reading; and readings first suggested by conjecture have sometimes been afterwards found to be actually in manuscripts, or in some version.*

Thus, in Gen. i. 8. the clause, *And God saw that it was good*, is wanting to complete the account of the second day's work of creation, but it is found in the tenth verse in the middle of the narrative of the third day's work. Hence, many learned men have conjectured, either, 1. That the sentence, *And the evening and the morning were the second day*, has been transposed from verse 10. to verse 8.; or, 2. That the clause, *And God saw that it was good*, has been transposed from verse 8. to verse 10. The latter conjecture affords the most *probable* reading, and is to be preferred, being confirmed by the Septuagint version; the translators of which most evidently found this clause in the copies which they used.

2. *A Conjectural Reading, unsupported by any manuscripts, and unauthorized by similarity of letters, by the connection and context of the passage itself, and by the analogy of faith, is manifestly to be rejected.*

In the address of James to the apostles convened at Jerusalem, he gives it as his opinion that they should write to the believing Gentiles *that they abstain from pollutions of idols, and fornication, and things strangled, and blood* (Acts xv. 20.) As the question related to the *ceremonial* and not to the *moral* law, the celebrated critic Dr. Bentley conjectured that for πορνειας, *fornication*, we should read χοιρειας, *swine's flesh;* and in this conjecture he has been followed by Mr. Reeves in the Scholia to his beautiful and useful editions of the Bible. But this reading is supported by *no* manuscript whatever, nor by any similarity of the letters, nor by the context of the passage; for in the encyclical letter of the apostles (ver. 25.) we read *fornication*. If χοιρειας had been the correct lection in the first

[8] Berriman's Dissertation, p. 38.

[9] That the Jews in the time of Christ understood the word צדקה δικαιοσυνη, *righteousness*, in the sense of alms, is abundantly proved by Mr. John Gregory, Works, pp. 59, 60. (London, 1684, 4to.), and especially by Dr. Lightfoot, Works, vol. ii. pp. 153, 154. folio.

[3] Stuart's Elements of Interpretation, p. 119. (Andover, 1822.)

[4] Hieronymi Opera, tom. iv. part i. p. 392. ed. Martianay.

[5] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. i. pp. 321, 322. Scholz, Nov. Test. vol. i Prolegom. p. cxlvi. Dr. Herwerden has given numerous instances, in which the writings of the apostate Julian are useful for enabling us to judge of various readings in the Septuagint version, as well as in the New Testament. De Juliano Imperatore, pp. 103—109. Lugd. Bat. 1827.

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instance, it would have been unquestionably retained in the second. And when it is recollected that the word πορνεια, which in our version is rendered *fornication*, means not only the crime against chastity usually so called, but also adultery and prostitution of *every* kind (for which very many of the feasts of the idolatrous Gentiles were notorious), the force of the apostolic prohibition will be evident; and the genuineness of the commonly received reading will be established in opposition to Bentley's arbitrary conjecture.[1]

No one should attempt this kind of emendation who is not most deeply skilled in the sacred languages; nor should critical conjectures ever be admitted into the text, for we never can be certain of the truth of merely conjectural readings. Were these indeed to be admitted into the text, the utmost confusion and uncertainty would necessarily be created. The diligence and modesty of the Masorites are in this respect worthy of our imitation: they invariably inserted their conjectures in the margin of their manuscripts, but most religiously abstained from altering the text according to their hypotheses: and it is to be regretted that their example has not been followed by some modern translators of the Old and New Testament (and especially of the latter); who, in order to support doctrines which have no foundation whatever in the sacred writings, have not hesitated to obtrude their conjectures into the text. This is particularly the case with the Greek and English New Testament edited by Dr. Mace in 1729, whose bold and unhallowed emendations were exposed by Dr. Twells, and also with the editors of the (modern Socinian) improved version of the New Testament, whose conjectures and erroneous criticisms and interpretations have been most ably exposed by the Rev. Drs. Nares and Laurence, the Quarterly and Eclectic Reviewers, and other eminent critics.

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§ 3. GENERAL RULES FOR JUDGING OF VARIOUS READINGS IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

HAVING thus stated the causes of various readings, and offered a few cautions with regard to the sources whence the true lection is to be determined, it only remains that we submit to the reader's attention a few GENERAL RULES, BY WHICH AN ACCURATE JUDGMENT MAY BE FORMED CONCERNING VARIOUS READINGS.

1. *We must take care, that we do not attempt to correct that which does not require emendation. The* earlier *manuscript,* cæteris paribus, *is more likely to be right than the later, because every subsequent copy is liable to new errors.*

This rule will prevent us from being misled by an immoderate desire of correcting what we may not understand, or what may at a first glance *appear* to be unsuitable to the genius of the Hebrew or Greek language, or to the design of an author. Wherever, therefore, any difficulty presents itself, it will be necessary previously to consider whether it may not be obviated in some other manner, before we have recourse to emendation; and even ingenuously to acknowledge our ignorance, rather than indulge a petulant licentiousness of making corrections. Examples are not wanting of critics on the sacred writings, who have violated this obvious rule, particularly Houbigant, in the notes to his edition of the Hebrew Bible.

2. *That reading in which all the recensions of the best copies agree, and which is supported by all the ancient versions, is to be accounted genuine.*

3. *Readings are certainly right, and that in the very highest sense, at all consistent with the existence of any various reading, which are supported by* several *of the most ancient manuscripts, or by the majority of them,—by all or most of the ancient versions,—by quotations,—by parallel places (if there be any),—and by the sense; even though such readings should not be found in the common printed editions, nor perhaps in any printed edition.*[2]

Thus, in the common printed editions of 1 Kings i. 20. we read, *And thou, my Lord, O King, the eyes of all Israel* are *upon thee*, which is not sense. Instead of ואתה, *And* THOU, we have עתה, And NOW, in ninety-one of the manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott, in the Chaldee paraphrase, and in the Arabic and Vulgate versions. This is the genuine reading, and is required by the sense.

Again, in Matt. xxv. 29., we read, *From him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he* HATH, και Ὁ ΕΧΕΙ αρθησεται. This is found in all the ancient copies, and in the majority of manuscripts, and in all the versions but one. But in twenty-two other manuscripts, and in the Vulgate, as well as in some copies of the Syriac, Sclavonic, and Old Italic versions, and six Fathers, we read Ὁ ΔΟΚΕΙ ΕΧΕΙΝ, *that which he* SEEMETH TO HAVE. But it is wrong, and has been corrected from Luke viii. 18.

4. *Greater is the authority of a reading, found in only a few manuscripts of* different *characters, dates, and countries, than in many manuscripts of a similar complexion. But, of manuscripts of the* same *family or recension, the reading of the greater number is of most weight. The evidence of manuscripts is to be weighed, not enumerated; for the agreement of several manuscripts is of no authority, unless their* genealogy *(if we may be allowed the term) is known; because it is possible that a hundred manuscripts that now agree together may have descended from one and the same source.*

5. *Readings are certainly right, which are supported by a few ancient manuscripts, in conjunction with the ancient versions, quotations, parallel places (if any), and the sense; though they should not be found in most manuscript or printed editions, especially when the rejection of them in the latter can be easily accounted for.*

(1.) The common reading of Psalm xxviii. 8. is, *The* LORD is *their strength* למו (LAMO); but there is no antecedent. In six manuscripts and all the versions, however, we read לעמו (LEAMMO) *of his people*, which completes the sense. This emendation is pronounced by Bp. Horsley, to be "unquestionable:" he has therefore incorporated it in the text of his New Version of the Psalms, and has translated the sentence thus:—

Jehovah is the strength of his people.

(2.) In most manuscripts and printed editions of Eph. v. 9. we read, *The fruit of the* SPIRIT (του πνευματος), is *in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth.* But it is *the fruit of the* LIGHT (του φωτος) in the Codices Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, and Claromontanus, Augiensis, San-germanensis, and Boernerianus, and six others of less note, as well as in the Syriac version, the Arabic version edited by Erpenius, the Coptic, Sahidic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Old Italic, and Vulgate versions; and it is so quoted by seven of the fathers. Φωτος, *light*, is therefore considered by most critics as the true reading, because the Spirit is not mentioned in any part of the context; and this reading is inserted in the text as genuine by Griesbach. The connection, indeed, shows that this last is the true reading, which was altered by some unknown copyist or critic, because it was uncommon, from Gal. v. 22. As light (Eph. v. 8.) not only means the divine influence upon the soul, but also the Gospel, the apostle Paul might with admirable propriety say, that *the fruit of the light* (that is, of the *Gospel*) is *in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth;—goodness*, αγαθωσυνη, in the principle and disposition;—*righteousness*, δικαιοσυνη, the exercise of that goodness in the whole conduct of life;—and *truth*, αληθεια, the director of that principle and of its exercise to the glory of God and the good of mankind.

(3.) Eph. ii. 21. Πασα ἡ οἰκοδομὴ, *The whole building.*—The Codices Vaticanus, Claromontanus, San-germanensis, and Boernerianus, besides many others of less ancient date, including a large proportion of those collated by Matthæi, *omit* the article ἡ, and many editors adopt this reading: among others, Bengel and Griesbach are disposed to think the article spurious. But thus the sense will be '*every building*,' which the context will not admit, as will be evident by looking at the passage. When Πας in the singular number is used to signify that the *whole* of the thing implied by the substantive, with which it is joined, is intended, the substantive (as in the example here adduced) *has* the article; but when it is employed to denote that *every individual* of that species is spoken of, then the substantive is anarthrous, or without the article. The common reading, therefore, ought to be retained: and this is one of the instances in which the smaller number of MSS. has preserved the true reading.[3]

6. *Of two readings, both of which are supported by manuscripts, the best is to be preferred; but if both of them exhibit good senses, then that reading which gives the best sense is to be adopted. But, in order to determine the nature of the whole passage, the genius of the writer, and not the mere opinions and sentiments of particular interpreters, are to be consulted.*

In Psalm ii. 6. there are two readings, one of which is found in the Masoretic copies, and the other in the Septuagint version. The former may be literally translated thus:—*Yet will I anoint my King upon my holy hill of Sion.* This reading is supported by weighty evidence, viz. the Masora, the quotation of it in Acts iv. 27., the Greek versions of Aquila and Symmachus, the Chaldee paraphrase, and Jerome. The other reading, which is found in the Septuagint, may be thus rendered:—*But as for me, by him I am appointed king on Sion, his holy mountain.* Now here the authority for the two readings is nearly equal: but if we examine their goodness, we shall see that the Masoretic lection is to be preferred, as being more grammatically correct, and more suited to the context.

7. *A good various reading, though supported only by one or two witnesses of approved character, is to be preferred.*

8. *In the prophetical and poetical books of the Old Testament, as well as in the New Testament, that reading is best which accords with the poetical parallelism.*

The subject of poetical parallelism is fully considered in Part II. Book II. Chap. II. *infra*. The application of this canon to the various readings of the Old Testament has long been recognised; but as its applicability to the New Testament is not so obvious, we shall illustrate it by an example drawn from the latter.

Thus in Matt. vii. 2. we read,

Εν ᾧ γὰρ κρινετε, κριθησεσθε.
Και εν ᾧ μετρειτε, αντιμετρηθησεται ὑμιν.

For, with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged;
And with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again

For, αντιμετρηθησεται, *shall be measured again*, (which is the reading of the common printed editions, of the manuscript by Matthæi noted with the letter H, of the manuscript 13. of Griesbach's notation, of the Vulgate version, of some manuscripts of the Old Italic version of Polycarp, of Clement of Alexandria, of Origen sometimes, and of the Latin Fathers, we read μετρηθησεται, *shall be measured*, in the Codices Vaticanus, Harleianus No. 5684., Cyprius, Stephani [2], Regius 2243a (now 48.), and Vaticanus 354., all of which are manuscripts in uncial characters of great antiquity, in twelve manuscripts in smaller characters, by Griesbach, numbered 1. 17. 33. 71. 108. 114. 117. 131. 218. 236. of Professor Birch's Collation, the Evangelistaria, numbered 32. and 36., and seventy other manuscripts of inferior note, and by the manuscripts distinguished by Matthæi with the letters B and V (both of the eighth century), a. c. and d. (all of the tenth or eleventh century), and

[1] Other examples of unsupported conjectural emendations may be seen in Pritii Introd. ad Lectionem Novi Testamenti, p. 393.; Clerici Ars Critica, tom. ii. part iii. sect. i. c. 16. § 11.; and in Wetstein's Prolegom. ad Nov. Test. pp. 170. *et seq.*

[2] Marard's Institutes, pp. 266—268.

[3] Bp. Middleton on the Greek Article, pp. 493. 133.

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by eight others of Matthæi's manuscripts of less note, by the Armenian and Ethiopic versions, by the copies of the Old Italic version preserved at Verona, Vercelli, Forli, and Toledo, by Clement of Rome, by Origen once, by the author of the dialogue against Marcion, by Theodoret, Theophylact, Euthymius, Chrysocephalus, and other Greek writers. The reading of μετρηθησεται, therefore, being supported by such an overwhelming body of evidence, is very properly introduced into the text by Griesbach as preferable to the common reading of αντιμετρηθησεται; and it is further demanded by the parallelism. For κριματι (*judgment*), κρινετε (*ye judge*), and κριθησεσθε (*ye shall be judged*), in the first line, require, in order to preserve the balance of the period, μετρῳ (*measure*), μετρειτε (*ye measure*), and μετρηθησεται (*it shall be measured*), in the second line.[1]

9. *Of two readings of equal or nearly equal authority, that is to be preferred, which is most agreeable to the style of the sacred writer.*

If, therefore, one of two readings in the New Testament exhibits the Hebrew idiom, it is preferable to one that is good Greek, because the latter has the appearance of being a gloss of some Greek writer, which the former does not present. Thus in Jude 1., ηγιασμενοις, *sanctified*, is a better lection than ηγαπημενοις, *beloved*; because the former is more in unison with the usage of the apostles in their salutations, and in the commencement of their Epistles. In Acts xvii. 26. the reading, εξ ενος αιματος, *of one blood*, is preferable to εξ ενος, *of one* (which occurs in Rom. ix. 10.), because it is in unison with the Hebrew style of writing. In John vi. 69. the common reading, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God*, Χριστος ὁ υιος του Θεου, του ζωντος, is preferable to that of *the holy one of God*, ὁ ἁγιος του Θεου, which Griesbach has admitted into the text, omitting του ζωντος, on the authority of the Codices Vaticanus, Ephremi, Cantabrigiensis, Stephani κ, the Coptic version, and some other authorities of less note. That eminent critic, indeed, allows that the received lection is not to be despised; but we may observe that its genuineness is not only confirmed by the consentient testimonies of many MSS., versions, and fathers, but also from the fact and from the style of writing adopted by the Evangelists. For the appellation of *holy one of God* is nowhere applied to our Saviour, except in the confession of the demoniac. (Mark i. 24. Luke iv. 54.) In Acts iv. 27. 30. Jesus is termed αγιος παις, *holy child*; but not *holy one of God*. On the contrary, the appellation of Christ, *the Son of God*, occurs repeatedly in the New Testament, and especially in this Gospel of John (i. 50.; 49. of English version, and xi. 27.), and is elsewhere expressly applied to him by Peter. See Matt. xvi. 16. The common reading, therefore, of John vi. 69. is to be preferred, in opposition to that adopted by Griesbach, as being most agreeable to the style of the sacred writer.

10. *That reading is to be preferred which is most agreeable to the context, and to the author's design in writing.*

Every writer, and much more a divinely inspired writer, is presumed to write in such a manner, as not to contradict himself either knowingly or willingly, and to write throughout with a due regard to the order and connection of things. Now in Mark i. 2., for εν τοις προφηταις, *in the prophets*, several manuscripts read εν Ησαια τω προφητη, *in the prophet Isaiah*. Both Mill and Griesbach reject the common reading. But as the context shows that the Evangelist cited not one but *two* prophets; viz. Mal. iii. 1., and Isa. xl. 3.; the common reading ought to be retained, especially as it is supported by the Codex Alexandrinus, the Ethiopic and Coptic versions, and the quotations of many fathers.

11. *A reading, whose source is clearly proved to be erroneous, must be rejected.*

12. *Of two readings, neither of which is unsuitable to the sense, either of which may have naturally arisen from the other, and both of which are supported by manuscripts, versions, and quotations in the writings of the fathers; the one will be more probable than the other, in proportion to the preponderance of the evidence that supports it: and that preponderance admits a great variety of degrees.*[2]

In Acts xx. 28. we read, *Feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.* Of this sentence there are not fewer than six various readings, viz. 1. Την εκκλησιαν του Χριστου, *the church of Christ*; 2. Του Θεου, *of God*, which lection is expunged by Griesbach, who prefers, 3. Του Κυριου, *of the Lord*. This reading is also preferred by Wetstein; 4. Του Κυριου και Θεου, *of the Lord and God*, which Griesbach has inserted in his inner margin; 5. Του Θεου και Κυριου, *of the God and Lord*; and 6. Του Κυριου Θεου, *of the Lord God*; in order to determine which of these readings is to be adopted, it is necessary briefly to review the various authorities which have been adduced for each.

1. Του Χριστου—*Of Christ.* This reading is supported by no Greek MSS.; but it is found in the *printed* editions of the Peschito or Old Syriac version, even in the Vatican copies of the Nestorians. This reading is also found in the Arabic version edited by Erpenius (which was made from the Syriac), and it seems to be supported by Origen (probably, for the passage is ambiguous), by Athanasius, the anonymous author of the first dialogue against the Macedonians, Theodoret, the interpolated Epistle of Ignatius, Basil, and Fulgentius. The popish synod of the Malabar Christians, held in 1599, under the direction of Mendoza, the Portuguese archbishop of Goa, states that the Nestorians inserted this reading at the instigation of the devil, *instigante diabolo!*

2. Του Θεου—*Of God.* This is the common reading. It is supported by that most ancient and venerable MS., B, or the Codex Vaticanus,[3] and by seventeen others, none of which indeed are older than the eleventh century, and many of them are more modern. It is also supported by two MSS. of the Peschito or Old Syriac version, collated by Professor Lee for his edition of the Syriac New Testament; and which, he states, are much more ancient than those upon which the printed text was formed. This reading is also found in a very ancient Syriac MS. in the Vatican Library, in the Latin Vulgate, the Ethiopic, according to Dr. Mill, though Griesbach thinks it doubtful; and it is quoted or referred to by Ignatius, Tertullian, Athanasius, Basil, Epiphanius, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Celestine bishop of Rome, Oecumenius, Theophylact, and eleven other fathers of the Greek and Latin Church, besides the sixth Synod in Trullo (held A. D. 680), and the second Nicene Synod (held A. D. 787).

3. Του Κυριου—*Of the Lord.* This reading is supported by thirteen manuscripts, viz. the Codices Alexandrinus, Cantabrigiensis, Ephremi, and Laudianus (all of which are written in uncial letters, of great and undisputed antiquity, and derived from different and independent sources), the Moscow MS. which formerly belonged to Chrysostom, according to Matthæi (on Eph. iv. 9.), who has noted it with the letter B, and eight others of less note. This reading is also found in the Coptic, Sahidic, in the margin of the Philoxenian or later Syriac, in the Old Italic as contained in the Codex Cantabrigiensis, and as edited by Sabatier, and in the Armenian versions. The Ethiopic version has likewise been cited, as exhibiting the reading of Κυριου, *Lord*, but its evidence is indecisive, the *same* word being used therein for both *Lord* and *God*. Griesbach thinks it probable that this version reads Κυριου, from the consentient testimony of the Coptic and Armenian versions. Among the fathers, this reading is supported by Eusebius, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Ammonius, Maximus, Antonius, Ibas, Lucifer, Jerome, Augustine, Sedulius, Alcimus, the author of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions, and the second Council of Carthage (which, however, in the Greek, reads Θεου, *of God*).[4]

4. Του Κυριου και Θεου—*Of the Lord and God.* This reading is supported only by the Codex G. (Passionei, assigned by Blanchini to the eighth, but by Montfaucon to the ninth century), and *sixty-three* other MSS.; none of which, though they form the majority in point of number, are among the most correct and authoritative. It is also found in the Sclavonic version, but it is not cited by one of the fathers; and is printed in the Complutensian and Plantin editions.

5. Του Θεου και Κυριου—*Of the God and Lord.* This reading occurs only in the MS. by Griesbach numbered 47.; it is an apograph transcribed in the sixteenth century by John Faber of Deventer from one written in 1293.

6. Του Κυριου Θεου—*Of the Lord God.* This reading is found only in one MS. (95. of Griesbach's notation) of the fifteenth century, and the incorrect Arabic version printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts; and it is cited by Theophylact alone among the fathers.

Of these six readings, No. 2. Του Θεου, *Of God*, No. 3. Του Κυριου, *Of the Lord*, and No. 4. Του Κυριου και Θεου, *Of the Lord and God*, are best supported by external testimony, and it is the preponderance of the evidence adduced for each, that must determine which of them is the genuine reading.

1. The testimony of manuscripts is pretty equally divided between these three readings.

Though Κυριου is supported by the greater number of uncial MSS. (viz. the Codices Alexandrinus, Cantabrigiensis, Ephremi, and Laudianus), yet Θεου is supported by the Codex Vaticanus, which is of the highest authority; and Κυριου και Θεου, though deficient in this respect (for G. or the Codex Passionei, as we have noticed, is not earlier than the eighth or ninth century), yet it is most numerously supported by manuscripts of different families, and especially by the Moscow manuscripts, and by the Complutensian edition.

2. The ancient versions, supporting Θεου and Κυριου, are equal to each other in number indeed, but those which support the former are superior in weigh.. For the Latin Vulgate, the Peschito or Old Syriac, and the Ethiopic, in favour of Θεου, are of higher authority than their competitors, the Coptic, Sahidic, and Armenian. The compound reading Κυριου και Θεου is unsupported by any but the Sclavonic; which is closely connected with the Moscow manuscripts.

3. The testimony of the fathers is greatly in favour of Θεου. For though a considerable number of counter-testimonies in favour of Κυριου is named by Wetstein, and copied by Griesbach; yet no citations from thence are adduced by either, which leads us to suspect, that their testimony is either spurious, slight, or else refuted by the express citations on the other side. Thus, the objection of Athanasius to the phrase "the blood of God," as "being nowhere used in Scripture, and to be reckoned among the daring fabrications of the Arians," recorded by Wetstein,[5] is abundantly refuted by his own counter-testimony, citing the received reading of Acts xx. 28., and by the frequent use of the phrase by the orthodox fathers, Ignatius, Tertullian, Leontius, Fulgentius, Bede, Theophylact, and others above enumerated. The objection, therefore, was urged inconsiderately, and probably in the warmth of controversy; in which Athanasius was perpetually engaged with the Arians, his incessant persecutors.

Κυριου και Θεου, is unsupported by the fathers before Theophylact; and is contradicted by his testimony in favour of Θεου.

From this abstract, it appears to the writer of these pages, that the *external* evidence preponderates, upon the whole, in favour of Θεου; and this is further confirmed by the *internal* evidence. For, in the first place, the expression εκκλησια του Θεου, *church of God*, is in unison with the *style* of St. Paul;[6] and it occurs in not fewer than *eleven* passages of his epistles;[7] while the phrase εκκλησια του Κυριου, *church of the Lord*, occurs *nowhere* in the New Testament. And secondly, Θεου might easily give occasion to the other readings, though none of these could so easily give occasion to Θεου. If (as Michaelis remarks) the Evangelist Luke wrote Θεου, the origin of Κυριου and Χριστου may be explained either as corrections of the text or as marginal notes; because "the blood of God" is a very extraordinary expression; but if he had written Κυριου, it is inconceivable how any one should alter it into Θεου. And on this latter supposition, the great number of various readings is inexplicable. It seems as if different transcribers had found a difficulty in the passage, and that each corrected according to his own judgment.

[1] Bp. Jebb's Sacred Literature, p. 144. In pp. 206. 329—331. of the same work the reader will find other instructive examples of the canon above given.

[2] Gerard's Institutes, p. 275.

[3] From Professor Birch (of Copenhagen) finding nothing noted in his collation of the Codex Vaticanus respecting the reading of Θεου (though he expressly says, that if any variety of reading had taken place in that MS. it could not have escaped him, as he intended to examine this remarkable place above all others in all the manuscripts that came in his way), Griesbach endeavours to set aside the testimony furnished by the Vatican manuscript. But it is a FACT that Θεου is the reading of that manuscript: for (1.) it WAS there in 1738, when it was collated by the very learned Thomas Wagstaffe, then at Rome, for Dr. Berryman, who was at that time engaged in preparing for publication his work on the genuineness of 1 Tim. iii. 16.; and (2.) Θεου IS the reading of the Vatican MS., for a *transcript of it was* obtained by Mr. R. Taylor from the keeper of the Vatican library for the second London edition of Griesbach's Greek Testament, printed by him in 1818. with equal beauty and accuracy.

[4] Irenæus is commonly cited as an authority for the reading του Κυριου; but Dr. Burton has shown that much use *cannot* be made of his authority in deciding this reading. (Testimonies of Ante-Nicene Fathers, p. 17.)

[5] Nov. Test. vol. i. p. 597.

[6] See canon 9. in the preceding column.

[7] Compare 1 Cor. i. 2. x. 32. xi. 16. 22. xv. 9. 2 Cor. i. 1. Gal. i. 13. 1 Thess. ii. 14. 2 Thess. i. 4. and 1 Tim. iii. 5. 15. The phrase εκκλησια του Κυριου, *congregation of the Lord*, is of frequent occurrence in the Septuagint version, whence it might have crept into the text of the MSS. that support it, particularly of the Codex Alexandrinus, which was written in Egypt, where the Septuagint version was made.

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Upon the whole, then, the received reading, εκκλησια του Θεου, *church of God*, is BETTER supported than any of the other readings, and, consequently, we may conclude that it was the *identical expression* uttered by Paul, and recorded by Luke.[1]

13. *Whenever two different readings occur, one of which seems difficult and obscure, but which may be explained by the help of antiquity, and a more accurate knowledge of the language, whereas the other is so easy as to be obvious to the meanest capacity, the latter reading is to be suspected; because the former is more in unison with the style of the sacred writers, which, abounding with Hebraisms, is repugnant to the genius of the pure or strictly classical Greek language.*

No transcriber would designedly change a clear into an obscure reading, nor is it possible that an inadvertency should make so happy a mistake as to produce a reading that perplexes indeed the ignorant, but is understood and approved by the learned. This canon is the touchstone which distinguishes the true critics from the false. Bengel, Wetstein, and Griesbach, critics of the first rank, have admitted its authority; but those of inferior order generally prefer the easy reading, for no other reason than because its meaning is most obvious.

14. *If for a passage, that is not absolutely necessary to the construction, various readings are found, that differ* materially *from each other, we have reason to suspect its authenticity; and likewise that all the readings are interpolations of transcribers who have attempted by different methods to supply the seeming deficiency of the original.*

This rule, however, must not be carried to the extreme, nor is a *single* variation sufficient to justify our suspicion of a word or phrase, though its omission affects not the sense, or even though the construction would be improved by its absence: for, in a book that has been so frequently transcribed as the New Testament, mistakes were unavoidable, and therefore a *single* deviation alone can lead us to no immediate conclusion.

15. *A reading is to be rejected, in respect to which plain evidence is found that it has undergone a* DESIGNED *alteration.*

Such alteration may have taken place, (1.) From doctrinal reasons;—(2.) From moral and practical reasons;—(3.) From historical and geographical doubts (Matt. viii. 28. compared with Mark v. 1.);—(4.) From the desire of reconciling passages contradictory with each other;—(5.) From the desire of making the discourse more intensive; hence many emphatic readings have originated;—(6.) From the comparison of many manuscripts, the readings of which have been amalgamated;—(7.) From a comparison of parallel passages.[2]

16. *Readings, which are evidently* glosses, *or* interpolations, *are invariably to be rejected.*

(1.) *Glosses* are betrayed, 1. When the words do not agree with the scope and context of the passage; 2. When they are evidently foreign to the style of the sacred writer; 3. When there is evident tautology; 4. When words, which are best absent, are most unaccountably introduced; 5. When certain words are more correctly disposed in a different place; and, lastly, when phrases are joined together, the latter of which is much clearer than the former.

(2.) "An *interpolation* is sometimes betrayed by the circumstance of its being delivered in the language of a later church. In the time of the apostles the word Christ was never used as the proper name of a person, but as an epithet expressive of the ministry of Jesus, and was frequently applied as synonymous to 'Son of God.' The expression, therefore, 'Christ is the Son of God,' Acts viii. 37. is a kind of tautology, and is almost as absurd as to say Christ is the Messiah, that is, the anointed is the anointed. But the word being used in later ages as a proper name, this impropriety was not perceived by the person who obtruded the passage on the text."

(3.) "If one or more words that may be considered as an addition to a passage, are found only in manuscripts, but in none of the *most ancient versions*, nor in the quotations of the early fathers, we have reason to suspect an interpolation." In Acts viii. 39. the Alexandrian manuscript reads thus: ΠΝΑ[ΑΓΙΟΝΕΠΕΣΕΝΕΠΙΤΟΝΕΥΝΟΥΧΟΝΑΝΓΕΛΟΣΔΕ]ΚΥ ΗΡΠΑΣΕΝΤΟΝΟΙΑΠΙΠΠΟΝ—*The Spt.* [*holy fell upon the eunuch, but the Angel*] *of the Lord caught away Philip.* The words between brackets, Michaelis thinks, are spurious; and Griesbach decidedly pronounces them to be an emendation of the copyist. They are found in six manuscripts cited by him, but these are *not ancient*; and they are also in the Armenian version executed in the end of the fourth or early in the fifth century, and in the Sclavonic version executed in the ninth century. We are justified, therefore, in stating that they are not to be received into the sacred text.

17. *Expressions that are less emphatic, unless the scope and context of the sacred writer require emphasis, are more likely to be the genuine reading, than readings different from them, but which have, or seem to have, greater force or emphasis. For copyists, like commentators, who have but a smattering of learning, are mightily pleased with emphases.*

18. *That reading is to be preferred, which gives a sense apparently false, but which, on thorough investigation, proves to be the true one.*

19. *Various readings, which have most clearly been occasioned by the errors or negligence of transcribers, are to be rejected. How such readings may be caused, has already been shown in pp.* 283, 284. *supra.*

20. *Lectionaries, or Lesson Books, used in the early Christian church, alone are not admissible as evidence for various readings.*

Whenever, therefore, Ιησους, *Jesus*, αδελφοι, *brethren*, or similar words (which were anciently prefixed to the lessons accordingly as the latter were taken from the Gospels or Epistles, and which are found only in lectionaries), are found at the beginning of a lesson, they are to be considered as suspicious; and fifty manuscripts that contain them have no weight against the same number which omit them.

21. *Readings introduced into the Greek text from Latin versions are to be rejected.*

22. *A reading that is contradictory to history and geography is to be rejected, especially when it is not confirmed by manuscripts.*

In Acts xii. 25. we read that *Barnabas and Saul returned* FROM (εξ) *Jerusalem*, where seven manuscripts, two manuscripts (5. and 7.) of the Sclavonic version, and the Arabic version in Bishop Walton's Polyglott, have εις, TO *Jerusalem*. This last reading has been added by some ignorant copyist, for Barnabas and Saul were returning from Jerusalem to Antioch with the money which they had collected for the poor brethren.

23. *That reading which makes a passage more connected is preferable, all due allowance being made for abruptness in the particular case. Saint Paul is remarkable for the abruptness of many of his digressions.*

24. *Readings,* certainly *genuine, ought to be restored to the text of the printed editions, though hitherto admitted into none of them; that they may henceforth be rendered as correct as possible, they ought likewise to be adopted in all versions of Scripture: and till this be done, they ought to be followed in explaining it.*

1 John ii. 23. The sentence—Ο ομολογων τον Υιον, και τον πατερα εχει, *He that acknowledgeth the Son, hath the Father also*—being wanting in the manuscripts consulted by Erasmus, is omitted in all his editions, and is printed in Italics by the translators of our authorized version, to show that it is of doubtful authority; but that it is genuine, and ought to be restored to the text without any mark of spuriousness, is evident from the unquestionable authorities by which it is supported, viz. the Alexandrian and Vatican manuscripts, and the Codex Ephremi, all which are of great antiquity, besides fourteen others enumerated by Griesbach, which were written between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries; the Peschito and Philoxenian Syriac versions, the Arabic (edited by Erpenius), Coptic, Sahidic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Latin Vulgate versions. It is also quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Meletius, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Cyril of Alexandria, Theophylact, Virgilius bishop of Tapsus, Pelagius, Cerealis, and Cassian. It is further quoted in *substance*, in Greek, thus—Ο ομολογων τον Υιον, και τον Πατερ ομολογει—[*He that acknowledgeth the Son, acknowledgeth the Father also*] by Euthalius and Epiphanius; and, in Latin thus:—*Qui* (or *et qui*, or *qui autem*) *confitetur Filium, et Filium, et Patrem habet*,—by Cyprian, Hilary, Faustinus, Lucifer bishop of Cagliari, Augustine, Vigilius bishop of Tapsus, and Bede. This clause is *omitted* in the Arabic version extant in Bishop Walton's Polyglott, in the Harleian MS. No. 1775, preserved in the British Museum, and some Latin manuscripts. The clause in question is certainly genuine, and it has with great propriety been restored to the text by Griesbach, Matthæi, Knappe, Schott, Tittmann, Vater, Valpy, and Boissonade, in their several editions of the Greek text. And it ought, in all future editions of the authorized English version, to be printed in Roman type as an integral part of the sacred text; as, indeed, it has been, by Dr. Clarke in his Commentary, by Dr. Boothroyd in his new Translation and Commentary, and by Mr. Nourse in his edition of our authorized English version, with an improved punctuation (New York, 1827). In addition to the positive evidence above adduced, it may be remarked that this clause not only seems to be required by the sense, but it also corresponds with the style of St. John; and its *omission* is undoubtedly to be ascribed to an homœoteleuton.[3]

25. Probable *readings may have so high a degree of evidence, as justly entitles them to be inserted into the text, in place of the received readings which are much less probable. Such as have not considerably higher probability than the common readings, should only be put into the margin: but they, and all others, ought to be weighed with impartiality.*

26. *Readings certainly, or very probably false, ought to be expunged from the editions of the Scripture, and ought not to be followed in versions of them, however long and generally they have usurped a place there, as being manifest corruptions, which impair the purity of the sacred books.*

27. Lastly, *since it is admitted in the criticism of the Sacred Scriptures, as in that of other ancient writings, that the true reading cannot always be determined with absolute certainty, but that only a judgment as to what is more probable can be formed, it is evident that more ought not to be required in this department, than can be performed; nor should a positive judgment be given, without the most careful examination. And, further, if in the criticism of profane authors caution and*

[1] Nov. Test. a Griesbach, tom. ii. pp. 112—117. and Appendix, p. (34.) 2d edit. (Halæ Saxonum, 1806.) Dr. Hales, on Faith in the Trinity, vol. ii. pp. 105—131. Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. p. 335. Nolan's Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate, pp. 286—289. 516—518. Dr. N. has given *at length* the quotations from the writings of the fathers in which Θεου is found. It is worthy of remark, that Mr. Wakefield, who was a professed and conscientious Socinian, decides in favour of του Θεου, *of God*, as the *genuine* reading: but instead of rendering the words του ιδιου αιματος, in the following sentence, "*with his own blood*," he translates them by "*his own Son*;" and he adduces some passages from Greek and Roman writers, to show that αιμα and *sanguis* (blood) are used to signify a *son* or near relative. If, indeed, Acts xx. 27. were the only passage, where the phrase "purchasing with *his own blood*" occurred, we might receive this saying: but as the redemption of man is, throughout the New Testament, ascribed exclusively to the vicarious and sacrificial death of Christ, it is not likely that this very *unusual* meaning should apply here.—(Dr. A. Clarke, in loc.)

[2] Stuart's Elements of Interpr. p. 113.

[3] Griesbach, Vater, and Dr A. Clarke on 1 John ii. 23

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modesty should be used, much more ought every thing like rashness or levity to be excluded from the criticism of the Sacred Volume.

The preceding are the *most material* canons for determining various readings, which are recommended by the united wisdom of the most eminent biblical critics. They have been drawn up chiefly from Dr. Kennicott's Dissertations on the Hebrew Text, De Rossi's Compendio di Critica Sacra, and the canons of the same learned author, in his Prolegomena so often cited in the preceding pages, and from the canons of Bauer in his Critica Sacra, of Ernesti, of Pfaff, Pritius, Wetstein, Griesbach, Beck, Muntinghe, and, above all, of Michaelis, with Bishop Marsh's annotations, often more valuable than the elaborate work of his author.[1]

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW—QUOTATIONS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT FROM THE APOCRYPHAL WRITERS, AND FROM PROFANE AUTHORS.

It is obvious, even on the most cursory perusal of the Holy Scriptures, that some passages are cited in other subsequent passages; and, in particular, that numerous quotations from the Old Testament are made in the New. In these references, there is frequently an apparent contradiction or difference between the original and the quotation; of which, as in the contradictions alleged to exist in the Scriptures (which are considered and solved in the second part of this volume), infidelity and skepticism have sedulously availed themselves. These seeming discrepancies, however, when brought to the touchstone of criticism, instantly disappear; and thus the entire harmony of the Bible becomes fully evident. The appearance of contradiction, in the quotations from the Old Testament that are found in the New, is to be considered in two points of view, namely, 1. As to the *external form*, or the words in which the quotation is made; and, 2. As to the *internal form*, or the manner or purpose to which it is applied by the sacred writers.

A considerable difference of opinion exists among some learned men, whether the evangelists and other writers of the New Testament quoted the Old Testament from the Hebrew, or from the venerable Greek version, usually called the Septuagint. Others, however, are of opinion, that they did not confine themselves exclusively to either; and this appears most probable. The only way by which to determine this important question, is to compare and arrange the texts actually quoted. Drusius, Junius, Glassius, Cappel, Hoffman, Eichhorn, Michaelis, and many other eminent biblical critics on the Continent, have ably illustrated this topic; in our own country, indeed, it has been but little discussed. The only writers on this subject, known to the author, are the Rev. Dr. Randolph, formerly Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, the Rev. Dr. Henry Owen, and the Rev. Thomas Scott (the titles of whose publications will be found in the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to the second volume);[2] but they have treated it with so much ability and accuracy, that he has to acknowledge himself indebted to their labours for great part of his materials for the present chapter.[3]

SECTION I.

ON THE EXTERNAL FORM OF THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW.

§ 1. TABLES OF THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES AND FROM THE SEPTUAGINT GREEK VERSION, IN THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY OCCUR IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.[4]

1.	Isa. vii. 14. הנה העלמה הרה וילדת בן וקראת שמו עמנואל׃ Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.	Isa. vii. 14. Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται,[5] καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ. Behold the virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Emmanuel.	Matt. i. 23. Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει, καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσι[6] τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ. Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son; and they shall call his name Emmanuel.
2.	Micah v. 2. ואתה בית־לחם אפרתה צעיר להיות באלפי יהודה ממך לי יצא להיות מושל בישראל But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, *though* thou be little among the thousands of Judah, *yet* out of thee shall he come forth unto me, *that is* to be ruler of Israel.	Micah v. 2. Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ οἶκος Ἐφράθα, ὀλιγοστὸς εἶ τοῦ εἶναι ἐν χιλιάσιν Ἰούδα; ἐκ σοῦ μοι ἐξελεύσεται, τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἀρχοντα τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. But, as for thee, Bethlehem, thou house of Ephratha, art thou the least [or, too little], to become one of the thousands of Judah? Out of thee shall one come forth to me, to be the ruler of Israel.	Matt. ii. 6. Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ, γῆ Ἰούδα, οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα· ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος, ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ.[7] And thou, Bethlehem in the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah: for out of thee shall come a governor that shall rule my people Israel.
3.	Hos. xi. 1. ומצרים קראתי לבני I ..... called my son out of Egypt.	Hos. xi. 1. Ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ. I called his children out of Egypt.	Matt. ii. 15. Ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.[8] Out of Egypt have I called my son.

[1] A Bibliographical Notice of the principal Treatises on, and Collections of Various Readings, will be found in the APPENDIX to the second Volume, PART II. CHAP. III. SECT. IV. §§ 2, 3.

[2] PART II. CHAP. III. SECT. III.

[3] Besides the publications of the writers above mentioned, the author has constantly availed himself of the researches of Drusius (Parallela Sacra), in the 8th volume of the Critici Sacri;—of Cappel's Critica Sacra, lib. ii. (in vol. i. pp. 136—172. of Prof. Vogel's edition);—of Glassius's Philologia Sacra, part ii. pp. 1387. *et seq.* (ed. Dathii); and of Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, translated by Bishop Marsh. (vol. i. pp. 200—246. 470—493.) Dr. Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism have also been occasionally referred to, as well as Schlegelius's Dissertatio de Agro sanguinis et Prophetiâ circa eum allegatâ, in the Thesaurus Dissertationum Exegeticarum ad Nov. Test. tom. ii. pp. 309—340.

[4] In the first edition of this work, the author had simply given the references to these quotations. They are now inserted at length, in order to save the student's *time*, and also to enable him more readily to compare the Hebrew and Greek together; and the English version of the passages is annexed for the convenience of the mere English reader. The text of the Septuagint is that termed the *Vaticana*: and where there are any material variations in the *Alexandrine* text, they are briefly noticed. The English version of the Septuagint is given from Mr. Thompson's Anglo-American translation (with the exception of two or three passages that have been altered to make them more literal), entitled "The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Covenant, commonly called the Old and New Testament, translated from the Greek. Philadelphia, 1808." In four volumes, 8vo.

[5] Ἔξει. Codex Alexandr.

[6] Καλεῖς is the reading of the Codex Bezæ and other MSS., besides several of the fathers.

[7] This quotation agrees exactly neither with the Hebrew nor with the Septuagint. The only material difference is that the evangelist adds the negative οὐδαμῶς, which is in neither of them. But the Syriac translation reads it with an interrogation, *Num parva es?* Art thou little? And so Archbishop Newcome has rendered it:

And thou, Bethlehem Ephrata,
Art thou too little to be among the leaders of Judah?
Out of thee shall come forth unto me
One who is to be a ruler in Israel.

The question, he observes, implies the negative, which is inserted in Matt. ii. 6. and also in the Arabic version. Both the Hebrew and the Greek, as they now stand, are capable of being pointed interrogatively. And it is worthy of remark, that the Codex Cantabrigiensis reads μη, *not*, interrogatively, instead of οὐδαμῶς, in which it is followed by the Old Italic version and by Tertullian, Cyprian, and other Latin fathers.

[8] This rendering of the evangelist agrees with the Greek versions of Symmachus and Theodotion.

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4. Jer. xxxi. 15.

קול ברמה נשמע נהי בכי תמרורים רחל מבכה
על־בניה מאנה להנחם על־בניה כי אינמו :

A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation, *and* bitter weeping; Rachel weeping for her children, refused to be comforted for her children, because they *were* not.

5. Psal. xxii. 6. lxix. 9, 10. Isa. lii. liii. Zech. xi. 12, 13.

6. Isa. xl. 3–5.

קול קורא במדבר פנו דרך יהוה ישרו בערבה
מסלה לאלהינו : כל־גיא ינשא וכל־הר וגבעה
ישפלו והיה העקב למישור והרכסים לבקעה
וגלה כבוד יהוה וראו כל־בשר יחדו כי פי
יהוה דבר :

The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the LORD; make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight; and the rough places plain. And the glory of the LORD shall be revealed; and all flesh shall see *it* together

7. Deut. viii. 3.

לא על־הלחם לבדו יחיה האדם כי על־כל־מוצא
פי־יהוה

Man doth not live by bread only, but by every *word* that proceedeth out of the mouth of the LORD doth man live.

8. Psal. xci. 11, 12.

כי מלאכיו יצוה־לך לשמרך בכל־דרכיך :
על־כפים ישאונך פן־תגוף באבן רגלך :

For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up in *their* hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone.

9. Deut. vi. 16.

לא תנסו את־יהוה אלהיכם

Thou shalt not tempt the LORD thy God.

10. Deut. vi. 13.

את־יהוה אלהיך תירא ואתו תעבד

Thou shalt fear the LORD thy God, and serve him.

11. Isa. ix. 1, 2.

כעת הראשון הקל ארצה זבלון וארצה נפתלי
והאחרון הכביד דרך הים עבר הירדן גליל הגוים :
העם ההלכים בחשך ראו אור גדול ישבי בארץ
צלמות אור נגה עליהם :

At the first he lightly afflicted the land of Zebulun, and the land of Naphtali, and afterwards did more grievously afflict *her* by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, in Galilee of the nations. The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light; they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.

12. Isa. liii. 4.

אכן חלינו הוא נשא ומכאבינו סבלם

Our infirmities he hath borne: And our sorrows he hath carried them. (*Bp. Lowth.*)

Jer. xxxi. 15.

Φωνη εν Ραμα ηκουσθη θρηνου, και κλαυθμου, και οδυρμου· Ραχηλ αποκλαιομενη ουκ ηθελε παυσασθαι επι τοις υιοις αυτης, ὁτι ουκ εισιν.

There was heard at Rama, a sound of lamentation, and weeping and wailing: Rachel, weeping for her children, refused to be comforted, because they are not.

Matt. ii. 18.

Φωνη εν Ραμα ηκουσθη, θρηνος, και κλαυθμος και οδυρμος πολυς, Ραχηλ κλαιουσα τα τεκνα αυτης, και ουκ ηθελε παρακληθηναι, ὁτι ουκ εισι.[1]

In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping *for* her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.

Matt. ii. 23.

Οπως πληρωθη το ῥηθεν διια των προφητων, ὁτι Ναζωραιος κληθησεται.[2]

That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene.

Isa. xl. 3–5.

Φωνη βοωντος εν τη ερημω· Ετοιμασατε την οδον Κυριου, ευθειας ποιειτε τας τριβους του Θεου ἡμων. Πασα φαραγξ πληρωθησεται, και παν ορος και βουνος ταπεινωθησεται· και εσται παντα τα σκολια εις ευθειαν, και ἡ τραχεια εις πεδια.[4] Και οφθησεται ἡ δοξα Κυριου, και ὀψεται πασα σαρξ το σωτηριον του Θεου.

A voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare the way of the Lord; make straight the roads for our God. Every valley shall be filled up; and every mountain and hill be levelled. And all the crooked *places* shall be made a straight *road*, and the rough *way* smooth plains. And the glory of the Lord will appear; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

Matt. iii. 3. Mark i. 3. Luke iii. 4–6.

Φωνη βοωντος εν τη ερημω· Ετοιμασατε την οδον Κυριου, ευθειας ποιειτε τας τριβους αυτου.[5] Πασα φαραγξ πληρωθησεται, και παν ορος και βουνος ταπεινωθησεται· και εσται τα σκολια εις ευθειαν, και αι τραχειαι εις οδους λειας. Και ὀψεται πασα σαρξ το σωτηριον του Θεου.[6]

The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight. Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways shall be made smooth; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

Deut. viii. 3.

Ουκ επ' αρτω μονω ζησεται ὁ ανθρωπος, αλλ' επι παντι ῥηματι τω εκπορευομενω διια στοματος Θεου.

Man shall not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

Matt. iv. 4. Luke iv 4.

Ουκ επ' αρτω μονω ζησεται ανθρωπος, αλλ' επι παντι ῥηματι εκπορευομενω διια στοματος Θεου.

Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

Psal. xci. 11, 12.

Οτι τοις αγγελοις αυτου εντελειται περι σου, του διαφυλαξαι σε εν πασαις ταις οδοις σου· Επι χειρων αρουσι σε, μηποτε προσκοψης προς λιθον τον ποδα σου.

For he will give his angels a charge concerning thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. With their hands they shall bear thee up, lest thou shouldest at any time strike thy foot against a stone.

Matt. iv. 6.

Οτι .... τοις αγγελοις αυτου εντελλεται περι σου, και επι χειρων αρουσι σε, μηποτε προσκοψης προς λιθον τον ποδα σου.

For .... he shall give his angels charge concerning thee; and in *their* hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.

Deut. vi. 16.

Ουκ εκπειρασεις Κυριον τον Θεον σου.

Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God

Matt. iv. 7.

Ουκ εκπειρασεις Κυριον τον Θεον σου.

Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.

Deut. vi. 13.

Κυριον τον Θεον σου φοβησῃ, και αυτω μονω λατρευσεις.[7]

Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him alone.

Matt. iv. 10.

Κυριον τον Θεον σου προσκυνησεις, και αυτω μονω λατρευσεις.

Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

Isa. ix. 1, 2.

Χωρα Ζαβουλων ἡ γη Νεφθαλειμ, και οι λοιποι οἱ την παραλιαν και περαν του Ιορδανου Γαλιλαια των εθνων. Ὁ λαος ὁ πορευομενος[8] εν σκοτει, ἰδετε φως μεγα· οἱ κατοικουντες εν χωρα[9] σκια θανατου, φως λαμψει εφ' ὑμας.

With regard to the region of Zabulon, the land of Nephthalim, and the rest who inhabit the sea shore, and beyond Jordan, Galilee of the nations; ye people who walk in darkness, behold a great light! and ye who dwell in a region, the shade of death, on you a light shall shine.

Matt. iv. 15, 16.

Γη Ζαβουλων, και γη Νεφθαλειμ, ὁδον θαλασσης, περαν του Ιορδανου, Γαλιλαια των εθνων. Ὁ λαος ὁ καθημενος εν σκοτει ειδε φως μεγα, και τοις καθημενοις εν χωρα και σκια θανατου φως ανετειλεν αυτοις.[10]

The land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephthalim, *by* the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles; the people which sat in darkness saw great light: and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up.

Isa. liii. 4.

Οὑτος τας ἁμαρτιας ἡμων φερει, και περι ἡμων οδυνται.

This man beareth away our sins, and for us he is in sorrow.

Matt. viii. 17.

Αυτος τας ασθενειας ἡμων ελαβε, και τας νοσους εβαστασεν.

Himself took our infirmities, and bare our sicknesses.

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[1] Παρακληθηναι. Codex Alexandr.

[2] The quotation in Matthew agrees very nearly with the Hebrew, but not with the Septuagint. Dr Randolph thinks it might possibly be taken from some other translation. (On the Quotations, p. 27.)

[3] As the evangelist cites *the Prophets* in the plural number, it is highly probable that this passage is not a quotation from any particular prophet, but a citation denoting the humble and despised condition of the Messiah, as described by the prophets in general, and especially by the prophet Isaiah. (See Dr. Hunt's sermon on Matt. ii. 23., at the end of his "Observations on several passages in the Book of Proverbs," pp. 170—193.) Though the words, *he shall be called a Nazarene*, are not to be found in the writings of the prophets, yet as the *thing* intended by them is of frequent occurrence, the application is made with sufficient propriety. The Israelites despised the Galileans in general, but especially the Nazarenes; who were so contemptible as to be subjects of ridicule even to the Galileans themselves. Hence, *Nazarene* was a term of reproach proverbially given to any despicable worthless person whatever. Wherefore since the prophets (particularly those above referred to) have, in many parts of their writings, foretold that the Messiah should be rejected, despised, and traduced, they have in reality predicted that he should be called a *Nazarene*. And the evangelist justly reckons Christ's dwelling in Nazareth, among other things, a completion of these predictions; because, in the course of his public life, the circumstance of his having been educated in that town was frequently objected to him as a matter of scorn, and was one principal reason why his countrymen would not receive him. (John i. 46. and vii. 41. 52.) Dr. Macknight's Harmony, vol. i. p. 53. 8vo. edit. See also Rosenmüller, Kuinöel, and other commentators on this text.

[4] Ὁδους λειας. Codex Alexandr.

[5] Του Θεου ἡμων. Codex Alexandr.

[6] This quotation agrees in sense, though not exactly, with the Hebrew, and also with the Septuagint. The whole of it occurs in Luke iii. 4—6. and the first part in Matt. iii. 3. and Mark i. 3.

[7] Προσκυνησεις. Codex Alex.

[8] Καθημενος. Codex Alex.

[9] Και σκια. Codex Alex.

[10] These words are not an exact translation of the Hebrew; and Dr. Randolph observes that it is difficult to make sense of the Hebrew or of the English in the order in which the words at present stand. But the difficulty, he thinks, may easily be obviated, by removing the first six words of Isa. ix. and joining them to the former chapter, as they are in all the old versions: And then the words may be thus rendered: *As the former time made vile, or debased, the land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephtali, so the latter time shall make it glorious. The way of the sea, &c.* A prophecy most signally fulfilled by our Saviour's appearance and residence in these parts. The evangelist, from the first part of the sentence, takes only *the land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephthalim.* What follows is an exact and almost literal translation of the Hebrew: only for הולכים, *walked*, is put καθημενος, *sat*. How properly this prophecy is cited, and applied to our Saviour, see Mr. Mede's Disc. on Mark i. 14, 15. Mr. Lowth's Comment on Isa. ix. and Bishop Lowth's translation (Randolph on the Quotations, p. 28.)

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13. Hos. vi. 3.

כי חפר חפצתי ולא־זבח

desired mercy and not sacrifice.

Hos. vi. 6.

Ελεος θελω η θυσιαν.

I desire mercy rather than sacrifice.

Matt. ix. 13. xii. 7.

Ελεον θελω, και ου θυσιαν.

I will have mercy, and not sacrifice.

14. Mal. iii. 1.

הנני שלח מלאכי ופנה־דרך לפני

Behold I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me.

Mal. iii. 1.

Ιδου εξαποστελλω τον αγγελον μου, και επιβλεψεται οδον προ προσωπου μου.

Behold I send forth my messenger, and he will examine the way before me.

Matt. xi. 10. Mark i. 2. Luke vii. 27.

Ιδου, εγω αποστελλω τον αγγελον μου προ προσωπου σου ος κατασκευασει την οδον σου εμπροσθεν σου.[4]

Behold I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.

15. Isa. xlii. 1—4.

הן עבדי אתמך־בו בחירי רצתה נפשי נתתי רוחי עליו משפט לגוים יוציא: לא יצעק ולא ישא ולא־ישמיע בחוץ קולו: קנה רצוץ לא ישבר ופשתה כהה לא יכבנה לאמת יוציא משפט: ולתורתו איים ייחלו:

Behold my servant whom I uphold, mine elect *in whom* my soul delighteth: I have put my spirit upon him, he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break: and the smoking flax shall he not quench: he shall bring forth judgment unto truth. He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till he have set judgment in the earth: and the isles shall wait for his law.

Isa. xlii. 1—4.

Ιακωβ ο παις μου, αντιλημψομαι αυτου· Ισραηλ ο εκλεκτος μου· προσδεξεται αυτον η ψυχη μου· εδωκα το πνευμα μου επ' αυτον, κρισιν τοις εθνεσιν εξοισει. Ου κεκραξεται, ουδε αρησει, ουδε ακουσθησεται εξω η φωνη αυτου. Καλαμον τεθλασμενον ου συντριψει, και λινον καπνιζομενον ου σβεσει, αλλα εις αληθειαν εξοισει κρισιν—Και επι τω ονοματι αυτου εθνη ελπιουσιν.

Jacob *is* my servant, I will uphold him; Israel *is* my chosen one, my soul hath embraced him. I have put my spirit upon him; he will publish judgment to the nations: he will not cry aloud, nor urge with vehemence, nor will his voice be heard abroad. A bruised reed he will not break, nor will he quench smoking flax, but will bring forth judgment unto truth,—and in his name shall the nations trust (or hope).

Matt. xii. 18—21.

Ιδου, ο παις μου, ον ηρετισα ο αγαπητος μου, εις ον ευδοκησεν η ψυχη μου· θησω το πνευμα μου επ' αυτον, και κρισιν τοις εθνεσιν απαγγελει. Ουκ ερισει, ουδε κραυγασει, ουδε ακουσει τις εν ταις πλατειαις την φωνην αυτου. Καλαμον συντετριμμενον ου κατεαξει, και λινον τυφομενον ου σβεσει· εως αν εκβαλη εις νικος την κρισιν· Και επι τω ονοματι αυτου εθνη ελπιουσι.[5]

Behold my servant whom I have chosen, my beloved in whom my soul is well pleased. I will put my spirit upon him, and he shall show judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not strive nor cry; neither shall any man hear his voice in the streets. A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench, till he send forth judgment unto victory. And in his name shall the Gentiles trust.

16. Isa. vi. 9, 10.

שמעו שמוע ואל־תבינו וראו ראו ואל־תדעו: השמן לב־העם הזה ואזניו הכבד ועיניו השע פן יראה בעיניו ובאזניו ישמע ולבבו יבין ושב ורפא לו:

Hear ye indeed, but understand not: And see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their eyes heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed.

Isa. vi. 9—11.

Ακοη ακουσετε, και ου μη συνητε, και βλεποντες βλεψετε, και ου μη ιδητε. Επαχυνθη γαρ η καρδια του λαου τουτου, και τοις ωσιν αυτων βαρεως ηκουσαν, και τους οφθαλμους εκαμμυσαν, μηποτε ιδωσι τοις οφθαλμοις, και τοις ωσιν ακουσωσι, και τη καρδια συνωσι, και επιστρεψωσι, και ιασομαι αυτους.

By hearing, ye shall hear, though ye may not understand; and seeing, ye shall see, though ye may not perceive. For the heart of this people is stupified, and their ears are dull of hearing; and they have shut their eyes, that for a while they may not see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and return that I may heal them.

Matt. xiii. 14, 15. Acts xxviii. 26, 27. Mark iv. 12. Luke viii. 10.

Ακοη ακουσετε, και ου μη συνητε· και βλεποντες βλεψετε, και ου μη ιδητε. Επαχυνθη γαρ η καρδια του λαου τουτου, και τους ωσι βαρεως ηκουσαν, και τους οφθαλμους αυτων εκαμμυσαν, μηποτε ιδωσι τοις οφθαλμοις, και τοις ωσιν ακουσωσι, και τη καρδια συνωσι, και επιστρεψωσι, και ιασομαι αυτους.[3]

By hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand: and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive: for this people's heart is waxed gross, and *their* ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed; lest at any time they should see with *their* eyes, and hear with *their* ears, and should understand with *their* heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them.

17. Psal. lxviii. 2.

אפתחה במשל פי אביעה חידות מקדם:

I will open my mouth in a parable; I will utter dark *sayings* of old.

Psal. lxxviii. 2.

Ανοιξω εν παραβολαις το στομα μου, φθεγξομαι προβλημματα απ' αρχης.

I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter dark sayings of old.

Matt. xiii. 35.

Ανοιξω εν παραβολαις το στομα μου, ερευξομαι κεκρυμμενα απο καταβολης κοσμου.

I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world.

18. Isa. xxix. 13.

כי נגש העם הזה בפיו וּבשפתיו כבדוני ולבו רחק ממני ותהי יראתם אתי מצות אנשים מלמדה:

This people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me: and their fear towards me is taught by the precept of men.

Isa. xxix. 13.

Εγγιζει μοι ο λαος ουτος εν τω στοματι αυτου, και εν τοις χειλεσιν αυτων τιμωσι με, η δε καρδια αυτων πορρω απεχει απ' εμου· ματην δε σεβονται με, διδασκοντες ενταλματα ανθρωπων και διδασκαλιας.

This people draw near to me with their mouth; and with their lips they honour me, but their heart is far from me: And in vain do they worship me, teaching the commands and doctrines of men.

Matt. xv. 8, 9.

Εγγιζει μοι ο λαος ουτος τω στοματι αυτων, και τοις χειλεσι με τιμα· η δε καρδια αυτων πορρω απεχει απ' εμου· ματην δε σεβονται με, διδασκοντες διδασκαλιας, ενταλματα ανθρωπων.[6]

This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with *their* lips: but their heart is far from me. But in vain do they worship me, teaching *for* doctrines the commandments of men.

19. Gen. ii. 24.

על־כן יעזב־איש את־אביו ואת אמו ודבק באשתו והיו לבשר אחד:

Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh.

Gen. ii. 24.

Ενεκεν τουτου καταλειψει ανθρωπος τον πατερα αυτου και την μητερα, και προσκολληθησεται προς[8] την γυναικα αυτου· και εσονται οι δυο εις σαρκα μιαν.

Therefore a man shall leave *his* father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and they two shall be one flesh.

Matt. xix. 5.

Ενεκεν τουτου καταλειψει ανθρωπος τον πατερα[8] και την μητερα, και προσκολληθησεται τη γυναικι αυτου· και εσονται οι δυο εις σαρκα μιαν.[7]

For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh.

20. Exod. xx. 12—16.

כבד את־אביך ואת־אמך למען יאריכון ימיך על האדמה אשר יהוה אלהיך נתן לך: לא תרצח לא תנאף לא תגנב לא תענה ברעך עד שקר:

Honour thy father and thy mother. Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

Exod. xx. 12—16.

Τιμα τον πατερα σου, και την μητερα σου—Ου μοιχευσεις· Ου κλεψεις· Ου φονευσεις.[9] Ου ψευδομαρτυρησεις.

Honour thy father and thy mother.—Thou shalt not commit adultery.—Thou shalt not steal.—Thou shalt not commit murder.—Thou shalt not bear false witness.

Matt. xix. 18, 19

Ου φονευσεις· Ου μοιχευσεις· Ου κλεψεις· Ου ψευδομαρτυρησεις· Τιμα τον πατερα σου και την μητερα.

Thou shalt do no murder: thou shalt not commit adultery: thou shalt not steal: thou shalt not bear false witness: honour thy father and thy mother.

21. Lev. xix. 18.

ואהבת לרעך כמוך

Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

Lev. xix. 18.

Και αγαπησεις τον πλησιον σου ως σεαυτον.

And thou shalt love thy neighbour, as thyself.

Matt. xix. 19. xxii. 39.

Αγαπησεις τον πλησιον σου ως σεαυτον.

Thou shalt love thy neighbour, as thyself.

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[4] This quotation differs from the Hebrew and all the old versions in these two particulars: the words προ προσωπου σου are added, and what is in Hebrew לפני, *before* me, is rendered εμπροσθεν σου, *before* thee. For the reason of this difference it is not easy to account, but by supposing some corruptions crept into the ancient copies; the sense is much the same. (Dr. Randolph on the Quotations, p. 28.)

[5] This quotation by no means agrees with the Septuagint version, whose authors have obscured this prophecy by adding the words *Jacob and Israel*, which are not in the original Hebrew. It is probably taken from some old translation agreeing very nearly with the Hebrew. The only difficulty is in the words ἕως αν εκβαλη εις νικος την κρισιν. But if by משפט we understand *the cause under trial*, then *to send forth his cause unto truth*, will be to carry the cause, and vindicate its truth; which agrees in sense with εκβαλη εις νικος την κρισιν. (Dr. Randolph on the Quotations, p. 28.)

[6] This quotation is taken almost verbatim from the Septuagint, which has αυτων after οφθαλμους in the Codex Alexandr. In the Hebrew the sense is obscured by false pointing. If, instead of reading it in the imperative mood, we read it in the indicative mood, the sense will be; *ye shall hear but not understand: and ye shall see but not perceive. This people hath made their heart fat, and have made their ears heavy and shut their eyes*, &c. which agrees in sense with the Evangelist and with the Septuagint, as well as with the Syriac and Arabic versions, but not with the Latin Vulgate. We have the same quotation, word for word, in Acts xxviii. 26. Mark and Luke refer to the same prophecy, but quote it only in part. (Dr. Randolph, p. 29.)

[4] The quotation in this passage of St. Matthew's Gospel approaches nearer to the Septuagint than to the Hebrew text, especially in the clause ματην δε σεβονται με—*in vain do they worship me;* which is found in the Septuagint, but not in the Hebrew, and it is retained by the Evangelist. The verbal differences, however, show that an *exact* quotation was not intended. (Scott.) Griesbach's reading makes the quotation still *less exact*, and shows that the MSS. of the Greek Testament were sometimes altered from the Septuagint.

[8] The Codex Alexandr. has τη γυναικι for προς την γυναικην

[8] Αυτου is added by the Codex Ephremi and other MSS.

[7] This quotation agrees with the Hebrew, excepting that the word for *two* is there omitted. But it ought to be inserted in the Hebrew text, as we have already seen in p. 286. *supra*.

[9] Ου φονευσεις· ου μοιχευσεις· ου κλεψεις. Codex Alexandr.

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22. Zech. ix. 9. (and see Isa. lxii. 11.)

גילי מאד בת־ציון הריעי בת־ירושלם הנה מלכך יבוא לך צדיק ונושע הוא עני ורכב על־חמור ועל־עיר בן־אתנות :

Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold, thy king cometh unto thee. He *is* just and having salvation, lowly, and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass.

23. Psal. viii. 3. (2. of English version.)

מפי עוללים ויונקים יסדת עז

Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast ordained strength.

24. Psal. cxviii. 22, 23.

אבן מאסו הבונים היתה לראש פנה : מאת יהוה היתה זאת היא נפלאת בעינינו :

The stone *which* the builders refused, is become the head *stone* of the corner. This is the LORD's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.

25. Exod. iii. 6.

אנכי אלהי אביך אלהי אברהם אלהי יצחק ואלהי יעקב

I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.

26. Deut. vi. 5.

ואהבת את יהוה אלהיך בכל לבבך ובכל־נפשך ובכל־מאדך :

Thou shalt love the LORD thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.

27. Psal. cx. 1.

נאם יהוה לאדני שב לימיני עד־אשית איביך הדם לרגליך :

The LORD said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.

28. Zech. xiii. 7.

הך את־הרעה והתפוצצן הצאן

Smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.

29. Zech. xi. 13.

השלוכהו אל־היוצר אדר היקר אשר יקרתי מעליהם ואקח שלשים הכסף ואשליך אתו בית יהוה אל־היוצר :

Cast it unto the potter; a goody price that I was prized at of them. And I took the thirty *pieces* of silver, and cast them to the potter in the house of the LORD.

Zech. ix. 9.

Χαιρε σφοδρα, θυγατερ Σιων· κηρυσσε, θυγατερ Ἱερουσαλημ· ἰδου, ὁ βασιλευς σου ἐρχεται σοι δικαιος και σωζων· αυτος πραυς, και επιβεβηκως επι υποζυγιον και πωλον νεον.

Rejoice exceedingly, O daughter of Jerusalem. Behold, thy king is coming to thee; he is righteous, and having salvation. He is meek, and mounted on an ass, even a young colt.

Psal. viii. 2.

Εκ στοματος νηπιων και θηλαζοντων κατηρτισω αινον.

Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise.

Psal. cxviii. 22, 23.

Λιθον ὃν απεδοκιμασαν οἱ οικοδομουντες, οὗτος εγενηθη εις κεφαλην γωνιας· παρα Κυριου εγενετο αὕτη, και εστι θαυμαστη εν οφθαλμοις ἡμων.

The stone, which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner. This was from the Lord (or, the Lord's doing); and it is wonderful in our eyes.

Exod. iii. 6.

Εγω ειμι ὁ Θεος του πατρος σου, Θεος Αβρααμ, και Θεος Ισαακ, και Θεος Ιακωβ.

I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.

Deut. vi. 5.

Αγαπησεις Κυριον τον Θεον σου εξ ὅλης της διανοιας[a] σου, και εξ ὅλης της ψυχης σου, και εξ ὅλης της δυναμεως σου.

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole understanding, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole might.

Psal. cx. 1.

Ειπεν ὁ Κυριος τω Κυριω μου, Καθου εκ δεξιων μου, ἑως αν θω τους εχθρους σου ὑποποδιον των ποδων σου.

The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.

Zech. xiii. 7.

Παταξον τον ποιμενα, και διασκορπισθησονται τα προβατα της ποιμνης.[4]

Smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad.

Zech. xi. 13.

Καθες αυτους εις το χωνευτηριον, και σκεψομαι ει δοκιμον εστιν, ὃν τροπον εδοκιμασθην υπερ αυτων· και ελαβον τους τριακοντα αργυρους και ενεβαλον αυτους εις τον οικον Κυριου, εις το χωνευτηριον.

Put them into the smelting furnace, and I will see whether it is proof, in like manner as I have been proved by them. So I took the thirty pieces of silver, and threw them down in the house of the Lord, for the smelting furnace.

Matt. xxi. 5

Ειπατε τη θυγατρι Σιων· ἰδου, ὁ βασιλευς σου ἐρχεται σοι πραυς, και επιβεβηκως επι ονον, και πωλον υἱον υποζυγιου.[1]

Tell ye the daughter of Sion, Behold thy king cometh unto thee, meek and sitting upon an ass, and (*more correctly*, even) a colt the foal of an ass.

Matt. xxi. 16.

Εκ στοματος νηπιων και θηλαζοντων κατηρτισω αινον.

Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise.

Matt. xxi. 42. Mark xii. 10. Luke xx. 17. Acts iv. 11.

Λιθον ὃν απεδοκιμασαν οἱ οικοδομουντες, οὗτος εγενηθη εις κεφαλην γωνιας· παρα Κυριου εγενετο αὕτη, και εστι θαυμαστη εν οφθαλμοις ἡμων.

The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner: this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes

Matt. xxii. 32. Mark xii. 26. Luke xx. 37.

Εγω ειμι ὁ Θεος Αβρααμ, και ὁ Θεος Ισαακ, και ὁ Θεος Ιακωβ.

I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.

Matt. xxii. 37. Mark xii. 30. Luke x. 27.

Αγαπησεις Κυριον τον Θεον σου ἐξ ὅλης της καρδιας σου, και εν ὅλη τη ψυχη σου, και εν ὅλη τη διανοια σου.[2]

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind

Matt. xxii. 44. Mark xii. 36. Luke xx. 42.

Ειπεν ὁ Κυριος τω Κυριω μου, Καθου εκ δεξιων μου, ἑως αν θω τους εχθρους σου ὑποποδιον των ποδων σου.

The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.

Matt. xxvi. 31.

Παταξω τον ποιμενα, και διασκορπισθησονται τα προβατα της ποιμνης.

I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad.

Matt. xxvii. 9, 10.

Και ελαβον τα τριακοντα αργυρια, την τιμην του τετιμημενου, ὃν ετιμησαντο απο υἱων Ισραηλ. Και ἐδωκαν αυτα εις τον αγρον του κεραμεως, καθα συνεταξε μοι Κυριος.[6]

And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value: and gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me.

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[1] This quotation seems to be taken from two prophecies, viz. Isa. lxii. 11. where we read, *Say ye to the daughter of Zion, behold thy salvation cometh*—and from Zech. ix. 9. The latter part agrees more exactly with the Hebrew than with the Septuagint; only both Saint Matthew and the Septuagint seem to have read עני, *meek*, instead of עני, *afflicted*. (Dr. Randolph on the Quotations, p. 29.)

[2] Καρδιας. Codex Alexandr.

[3] The Vatican edition of the Septuagint here translates לבבך, by της διανοιας σου (*thy understanding*). But the Alexandrian edition renders it της καρδιας σου (*thy heart*). St. Matthew takes in both, but puts ψυχη (*soul*) between; he also puts εν ὅλη for εξ ὅλης agreeably to the Hebrew; and he leaves out the latter clause, *with all thy strength*. St. Mark and St. Luke agree entirely with St. Matthew, only they add the latter clause. (Dr. Randolph.) The variation from the Septuagint and Hebrew does not in the least affect the meaning. Mr. Scott thinks, with great probability, that the Evangelists, under the teaching of the Holy Spirit, gave the meaning of this first and great commandment in the most emphatical language, without intending either implicitly to quote the Septuagint, or literally to translate the Hebrew.

[4] This is the reading of the Alexandrine MS. of the Septuagint, excepting that the evangelist reads παταξω, *I will smite*, instead of παταξον. The Arabic version agrees with Saint Matthew; and Drs. Randolph and Owen both think it probable that the Hebrew ought to be read אך instead of הך, for it follows in the first person, *I will turn mine hand*, &c. See Houbigant in loc. Kennicott's Dissertatio Generalis, § 44. Randolph on the Quotations, p. 30. Owen on the Modes of Quotation, p. 54.

[5] This citation is attended with no small difficulty. The prophecy is cited from Jeremiah: but in that prophet no such prophecy is to be found. In Zech. xi. 13. such a prophecy *is* found, but neither do the words there perfectly agree with Saint Matthew's citation. Some critics are of opinion that an error has crept into Saint Matthew's copy; and that Ιερ has been written by the transcribers instead of Ζαχ. or that the word has been interpolated. And it is to be observed, that the word is omitted in the MSS. by Griesbach numbered 33. (of the eleventh or twelfth century), and 157. (of the twelfth century), in the later Syriac and in the modern Greek versions, one or two MSS. of the old Italic version, some manuscripts cited by Augustine, and one Latin MS. cited by Lucas Brugensis. Griesbach's MS. 22. (of the eleventh century) reads Ζαχαριου, which word is also found in the margin of the later Syriac version, and in an Arabic exemplar cited by Bengel in his Critical Edition of the New Testament. Origen, and after him Eusebius, conjectured that this was the true reading. Other eminent critics have thought that the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of what is called Zechariah's Prophecy were really written by Jeremiah, and they have certainly assigned very probable reasons for such opinion both from the matter and style. (See Dr. Hammond on Heb. viii. 9. Mede's Works, pp. 786—833. Bp. Kidder's Demont. of Messiah, part ii. p. 196, &c. Lowth, Praelect. Poet., Lect. xxi. See also Volume II. Part VI. Chap. VII. p. 288, where reasons are assigned to shew that these chapters were actually written by Zechariah.) It is, however, *most likely*, that the original reading of Matthew xxvii. 9. was simply, *that which was spoken* BY THE PROPHET, δια του προφητου, without naming any prophet. And this conjecture is confirmed by the fact that Saint Matthew often omits the name of the prophet in his quotations. (See Matt. i. 22. ii. 5. xiii. 35. and xxi. 4.) Bengel approves of the omission. It was, as we have already shown (see pp. 212, 213. of this volume), the custom of the Jews, to divide the OLD Testament into three parts: the *first*, beginning with the Law, was called THE LAW: the second, commencing with the psalms, was called the PSALMS; and the third, beginning with the prophet in question, was called JEREMIAH: consequently, the writings of Zechariah, and of the other prophets, being included in that division which began with *Jeremiah*, all quotations from it would go under this prophet's name. This solution completely removes the difficulty. Dr. Lightfoot (who cites the Baba Bathra and Rabbi David Kimchi's Preface to the prophet Jeremiah as his authorities) insists that the word Jeremiah is perfectly correct, as standing at the head of that division from which the evangelist quoted, and which gave its denomination to all the rest. With regard to the prophecy itself, if in St. Matthew's Gospel, for εδωκαν, THEY *gave*, we read εδωκα, *I gave*, which is the reading of the Evangelisteria, 24. and 31. of Griesbach's notation (both of the eleventh century), and of both the Syriac versions, the evangelist's quotation will very nearly agree with the original. That we should read εδωκα, *I gave*, appears further to be probable from what follows,—καθα συνεταξε μοι Κυριος, as the Lord commanded me,—Και ελαβον τα τριακοντα αργυρια, και ἐδωκα αυτα εις τον αγρον του κεραμεως· *and I took the thirty pieces of silver, and I gave them for the potter's field.* The translation is literal, excepting only that היוצר is rendered αγρον του κεραμεως· and בית יהוה is omitted; and the same is also omitted in some ancient MSS. (See Kennicott's Dissertatio Generalis, § 49. p. 21.) The words την τιμην του τετιμημενου ὃν ετιμησαντο απο υἱων Ισραηλ and καθα συνεταξε μοι Κυριος are added to supply the sense, being taken in sense, and very nearly in words, from the former part of the verse; this latter clause is in the Arabic version. Dr. Randolph on the Quotations, p. 30. Novum Testamentum, à Griesbach, tom. i. p. 134. Dr. Lightfoot's Horæ Hebraicæ on Matt. xxvii. 9. (Works, vol. ii. p. 695.)

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30. Psal. xxii. 19. (18. of English version.)
יחלקו בגדי להם ועל לבושי יפילו גורל :
They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture.

Psal. xxi. 18. (xxii. 18. of English Bible.)
Διεμερισαντο τα ἱματια μου ἑαυτοις, και επι τον ἱματισμον μου εβαλον κληρον.
They have parted my garments among, and for my vesture have cast lots.

Matt. xxvii. 35. John xix. 24.
Διεμερισαντο τα ἱματια μου ἑαυτοις, και επι τον ἱματισμον μου εβαλον κληρον.
They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots.

31. Psal. xxii. 2. (1. of English version.)
אלי אלי למה עזבתני
My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

Psal. xxii. 1.
Ὁ Θεος, ὁ Θεος μου, προσχες μοι, ἱνατι εγκατελιπες με;
O God, my God, attend to me! Why hast thou forsaken me?

Matt. xxvii. 46.
Ηλι, Ηλι, λαμα σαβαχθανι; τουτ' εστι, Θεε μου, Θεε μου, ἱνατι με εγκατελιπες;[1]
Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani? That is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

32. Isa. liii. 12.
ואת־פשעים נמנה
And he was numbered with the transgressors.

Isa. liii. 12.
Και εν τοις ανομοις ελογισθη.
And he was numbered among the transgressors.

Mark xv. 28. Luke xxii. 37.
Και μετα ανομων ελογισθη.
And he was numbered with the transgressors.

33. Exod. xiii. 2.
קדש־לי כל־בכור פטר כל־רחם
Whatsoever openeth the womb—both of man and of beast, it *is* mine.

Exod. xiii. 2.
Αγιασον μοι παν πρωτοτοκον πρωτογονος, διανοιγον πασαν μητραν.
Consecrate to me every first-born, that openeth every womb.

Luke ii. 23.
Παν αρσεν διανοιγον μητραν ἁγιον τω Κυριω κληθησεται.
Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord.

34. Lev. xii. 8.
שתי־תרים או שני בני יונה
Two turtles or two young pigeons.

Lev. xii. 8.
Δυο τρυγονας η δυο νεοσσους περιστερων.
Two turtle-doves or two young pigeons.

Luke ii. 24.
Ζευγος τρυγονων η δυο νεοσσους περιστερων.
A pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons.

35. Isa. lxi. 1, 2.
רוח אדני יהוה עלי יען משח יהוה אתי לבשר
ענוים שלחני לחבש לנשברי־לב לקרא לשבוים
דרור ולאסורים פקח קוח: לקרא שנת־רצון
ליהוה
The Spirit of the Lord God *is* upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek, he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison *to them that are* bound: to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.

Isa. lxi. 1, 2.
Πνευμα Κυριου επ' εμε, ου ἑνεκεν εχρισε με· Ευαγγελιζεσθαι πτωχοις απεσταλκε με, ιασασθαι τους συντετριμμενους την καρδιαν, κηρυξαι αιχμαλωτοις αφεσιν, και τυφλοις αναβλεψιν· Καλεσαι ενιαυτον Κυριου δεκτον.
The Spirit of the Lord *is* upon me, for the business for which he hath anointed me. He hath sent me to preach the Gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering *of sight* to the blind, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.

Luke iv. 18, 19.
Πνευμα Κυριου επ' εμε, ου ἑνεκεν εχρισε με ευαγγελιζεσθαι πτωχοις· απεσταλκε με ιασασθαι τους συντετριμμενους την καρδιαν, κηρυξαι αιχμαλωτοις αφεσιν, και τυφλοις αναβλεψιν, [αποστειλαι τεθραυσμενους εν αφεσει·][2] Κηρυξαι ενιαυτον Κυριου δεκτον.[3]
The Spirit of the Lord *is* upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor, he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord.

36. Psal. lxix. 10. (9. of English version.)
כי־קנאת ביתך אכלתני
The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up.

Psal. lxix. 9. (lxix. 9. of English Bible.)
Ὁ ζηλος του οικου σου κατεφαγε με.
Zeal for thine house hath consumed me.

John ii. 17.
Ὁ ζηλος του οικου σου κατεφαγε με.
The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up.

37. Psal. lxxviii. 24.
ודגן־שמים נתן למו :
And had given them of the corn of heaven.

Psal. lxxviii. 24.
Και αρτον ουρανου εδωκεν αυτοις.
And he gave them the bread of heaven.

John vi. 31.
Αρτον εκ του ουρανου εδωκεν αυτοις φαγειν
He gave them bread from heaven to eat.

38. Isa. liv. 13.
וכל־בניך למודי יהוה
And all thy children *shall be* taught of the Lord.

Isa. liv. 13.
Και παντας τους υἱους σου διδακτους Θεου.
Even thy sons, all instructed of God.

John vi. 45.
Και εσονται παντες διδακτοι του Θεου
And they shall be all taught of God

39. Isa. xii. 3.

John vii. 38.
Ὁ πιστευων εις εμε, καθως ειπεν ἡ γραφη, ποταμοι εκ της κοιλιας αυτου ῥευσουσιν ὑδατος ζωντος.
He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.

40. Psal. lxxxii. 6.
אני אמרתי אלהים אתם
I have said, Ye are gods.

Psal. lxxxii. 6.
Εγω ειπα, Θεοι εστε.
I said, Ye are gods.

John x. 34.
Εγω ειπα, Θεοι εστε.
I said, Ye are gods.

41. Zech. ix. 9.
See the passage in No. 22. p. 296. *supra*.

Zech. ix. 9.
See the passage in No. 22. p. 296. *supra*.

John xii. 15. (See Matt. xxi. 5. p. 296. *supra*.)
Μη φοβου, θυγατερ Σιων· ἰδου, ὁ Βασιλευς σου ερχεται, καθημενος επι πωλον ονου.[5]
Fear not, daughter of Sion; behold thy king cometh, sitting on an ass's colt.

42. Isa. liii. 1.
מי האמין לשמעתנו וזרוע יהוה על־מי נגלתה :
Who hath believed our report? And to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?

Isa. liii. 1.
Κυριε, τις επιστευσε τη ακοη ἡμων;
Και ὁ βραχιων Κυριου τινι αποκεκαλυφθη;
Lord, who hath believed our report?
And to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed (or made manifest)?

John xii. 38. (and see Rom. x. 16.)
Κυριε, τις επιστευσε τη ακοη ἡμων;
Και ὁ βραχιων Κυριου τινι αποκεκαλυφθη;
Lord, who hath believed our report?
And to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?

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[1] This is taken from the Hebrew, but the words are Syriac or Chaldee. Sabachthani is the word now in the Chaldee Paraphrase. (Dr. Randolph, p. 30.)

[2] The Codex Coislinianus 195. (No. 34. of Griesbach's notation), of the eleventh century, omits the words printed between brackets.

[3] This quotation is made exactly from the Septuagint, as far as the words αιχμαλωτοις αφεσιν, *deliverance to the captives;* and it accords with the Hebrew, except that the word Jehovah twice occurs there, which is omitted in the Septuagint and by the evangelist. But, instead of the Hebrew clause, translated *the opening of the prison to them that are bound*, we read τυφλοις αναβλεψιν, *recovering* of sight *to the blind;* which words are adopted by St. Luke, who adds, αποστειλαι τεθραυσμενους εν αφεσει, *setting at liberty them that are bruised*, which words do not appear in the Septuagint. The difference between this quotation, as it appears in Luke iv. 18. and the original Hebrew, is thus accounted for—Jesus Christ doubtless read the prophet Isaiah in Hebrew, which was the language constantly used in the Synagogue; but the evangelist, writing for the use of the Hellenists (or Greek Jews), who understood and used only the Septuagint version, quotes that version, which on the whole gives the same sense as the Hebrew. Le Clerc, Dr. Owen, and Michaelis are of opinion that they are either a different version of the Hebrew, and inserted from the margin of the evangelical text, or else that they are a gloss upon it, taken from Isa. lviii. 6. where the very words occur in the Greek, though the Hebrew text is very different. The Arabic version agrees nearly with the evangelist. The Hebrew appears formerly to have contained more than we now find in the manuscripts and printed editions. (Scott, Randolph.)

[4] There are no words answering to these either in the Septuagint, or in the Hebrew. It is indeed no citation, but only a reference or allusion. The Jewish writers inform us that, on the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, it was usual to pour water on the altar, to denote their praying then for the blessing of rain, the latter rain, which was then wanted against their approaching seed-time: This water they drew out of Siloah, and brought it with great pomp and ceremony to the temple, playing with their instruments, and singing, and repeating the words of the prophet: *With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation.* (Isa. xii. 3.) Our Lord, according to his usual custom, takes occasion from hence to instruct the people; and applies this ceremony and this scripture to himself: He signifies to them that the water here spoken of was to be had from him alone—*If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink: He that believeth in me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.*—The word κοιλια, here translated belly, signifies a hollow receptacle, and may properly be used for such cisterns or reservoirs as were usually built to receive the waters issuing from their fountains: The meaning then is, that every true believer shall, according to this scripture, repeated by the people on this occasion, abound with living water, have within him such a cistern, as will supply living water, both for his own and others' use: What is signified by water we are informed in the next verse, viz. the gifts of the Spirit: The like metaphor our Lord makes use of, John iv. 10. And in the prophetic writings (see Isa. xliv. 3. lv. 1. Ezek. xxxvi. 25—27. Zech. xiv. 8.) it is often peculiarly used to signify the gifts and graces of the Spirit to be conferred under the gospel dispensation (Dr. Randolph, p. 31.)

[5] This differs both from the Septuagint and the Hebrew, and also from the citation in Matt. xxi. 5. The evangelist either followed some other translation, or chose to express briefly the sense, but not the words of the prophet. (Ibid.)

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43. Isa. vi. 9, 10.
See the passage No. 16. p. 295. *supra*.

Isa. vi. 9, 10.
See the passage in No. 16. p. 295. *supra*.

John xii. 40. (See Matt. xiii. 14, 15. p. 295. *supra*.)
Τετυφλωκεν αυτων τους οφθαλμους, και πεπωρωκεν αυτων την καρδιαν· ινα μη ιδωσι τοις οφθαλμοις, και νοησωσι τη καρδια, και επιστραφωσι, και ιασωμαι αυτους.[1]
He hath blinded their eyes and hardened their heart; that they should not see with *their* eyes, nor understand with *their* heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.

44. Psal. xli. 9.
אוכל לחמי הגדיל עלי עקב:
Mine own familiar friend, ... which did eat of my bread, hath lift up *his* heel against me.

Psal. xli. 9.
Ο εσθιων αρτους μου εμεγαλυνεν επ' εμε πτερνισμον.
He, who ate of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me.

John xiii. 18.
Ο τρωγων μετ' εμου τον αρτον, επηρεν επ' εμε τον πτερναν αυτου.
He that eateth bread with me, hath lifted up his heel against me.

45 Psal. cix. 3. (See Psal. xxxv. 19. and lxix. 4.)
וילחמוני חנם:
They .... fought against me without a cause.

Psal. cix. 3.
Επολεμησαν με δωρεαν.
They fought against me without cause.

John xv. 25.
Εμισησαν με δωρεαν.[2]
They hated me without a cause.

46. Psal. xxii. 19. (18. of English version.)
יחלקו בגדי להם ועל־לבושי ידילו גורל:
They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture.

Psal. xxii. 18.
Διεμερισαντο τα ιματια μου εαυτοις, και επι τον ιματισμον μου εβαλον κληρον.
They parted my raiment among them, and for my vesture they did cast lots.

John xix. 24.
Διεμερισαντο τα ιματια μου εαυτοις, και επι τον ιματισμον μου εβαλον κληρον.
They parted my raiment among them, and for my vesture they did cast lots.

47 Exod. xii. 46. (See Psal. xxxiv. 20.)
ועצם לא־תשברו־בו:
Neither shall ye break a bone thereof.

Exod. xxii. 46.
Και οστουν ου συντριψετε απ' αυτου.
And ye shall not break a bone thereof.

John xix. 36.
Οστουν ου συντριβησεται αυτου.[3]
A bone of him shall not be broken.

48. Zech. xii. 10.
והביטו אלי את אשר־דקרו
They shall look on him whom they pierced. (*Archbp. Newcome's version.*)

Zech. xii. 10.
Επιβλεψονται προς με, ανθ' ων κατωρχησαντο.
They will look to me instead of the things, concerning which (or against which) they have contemptuously danced.

John xix. 37.
Οψονται εις ον εξεκεντησαν.[4]
They shall look on him whom they pierced.

49. Psal. lxix. 26. (25. of English version.) (And see Psal. cxix. 8.)
תהי־טירתם נשמה באהליהם אל־יהי יושב:
Let their habitation be desolate, *and* let none dwell in their tents.

Psal. lxix. 25.
Γενηθητω η επαυλις αυτων ερημωμενη, και εν τοις σκηνωμασιν αυτων μη εστω ο κατοικων.
Let their tent (or habitation) be desolate, and in their dwellings no inhabitant.

Acts i. 20.
Γενηθητω η επαυλις αυτου ερημος, και μη εστω ο κατοικων εν αυτη.[5]
Let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell therein.

50. Psal. cix. 8.
פקדתו יקח אחר:
Let another take his office.

Psal. cix. 8.
Και την επισκοπην αυτου λαβοι ετερος.
And let another take his office [or bishoprick].

Acts i. 20.
Την επισκοπην αυτου λαβοι ετερος.
His bishoprick let another take.

51. Joel iii. 1—5. (ii. 28—32. of English version.)
והיה אחר־כן אשפוך את־רוחי על כל־בשר ונבאו בניכם ובנתיכם זקניכם חלמות יחלמון בחוריכם חזיונות יראו: וגם על־העבדים ועל־השפחות בימים ההמה אשפוך את־רוחי: ונתתי מופתים בשמים ובארץ דם ואש ותמרות עשן: השמש יהפך לחשך והירח לדם לפני בוא יום יהוה הגדול והנורא: והיה כל אשר־יקרא בשם יהוה ימלט

Joel ii. 28—32.
Και εσται μετα ταυτα, και εκχεω απο του πνευματος μου επι πασαν σαρκα, και προφητευσουσιν οι υιοι υμων, και αι θυγατερες υμων, και οι πρεσβυτεροι υμων ενυπνια ενυπνιασθησονται, και οι νεανισκοι υμων ορασεις οψονται. Και επι τους δουλους μου και επι τας δουλας μου εν ταις ημεραις εκειναις εκχεω απο του πνευματος μου. Και δωσω τερατα εν ουρανω, και επι της γης αιμα και πυρ και ατμιδα καπνου. Ο ηλιος μεταστραφησεται εις σκοτος, και η σελην εις αιμα, πριν ελθειν την ημεραν Κυριου την μεγαλην, και επιφανη. Και εσται, πας ος αν επικαλεσηται το ονομα Κυριου σωθησεται.

Acts ii. 17—21. (See Rom. x. 13.)
Και εσται εν ταις εσχαταις ημεραις[6] (λεγει ο Θεος), εκχεω απο του πνευματος μου επι πασαν σαρκα· και προφητευσουσιν οι υιοι υμων· και αι θυγατερες υμων, και οι νεανισκοι υμων ορασεις οψονται, και οι πρεσβυτεροι υμων ενυπνια ενυπνιασθησονται. Και γε επι τους δουλους μου και επι τας δουλας μου, εν ταις ημεραις εκειναις εκχεω απο του πνευματος μου [και προφητευσουσι].[7] Και δωσω τερατα εν τω ουρανω ανω, και σημεια επι της γης κατω, αιμα και πυρ και ατμιδα καπνου. Ο ηλιος μεταστραφησεται εις σκοτος, και η σελην εις αιμα, πριν η ελθειν την ημεραν Κυριου την μεγαλην και επιφανη. Και εσται, πας ος αν επικαλεσηται το ονομα Κυριου, σωθησεται.

And it shall come to pass afterward, *that* I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. And also upon the servants and the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit. And I will show wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness and the moon into blood, before the great and the terrible day of the LORD come. And it shall come to pass, *that* whosoever shall call on the name of the LORD shall be delivered.

And it shall come to pass after those things, that I will pour out *a portion* of my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy; and your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. And on my servants and on my handmaids in those days I will pour out *a portion* of my spirit. And I will exhibit wonders in the heavens and on the earth, blood and fire, and smoky vapour. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the coming of the great and illustrious day of the Lord. And it shall come to pass, *that* whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.

And it shall come to pass in the last days (saith God), I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams: And on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my spirit: and they shall prophesy. And I will show wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath, blood and fire, and vapour of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before that great and notable day of the Lord come. And it shall come to pass *that* whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.

52 Psal. xvi. 8—11.
שויתי יהוה לנגדי תמיד כי מימיני בל־אמוט:
לכן שמח לבי ויגל כבודי אף בשרי ישכן לבטח:
כי לא־תעזב נפשי לשאול לא תתן חסידך לראות שחת: תודיעני ארח חיים שבע שמחות את פניך:

Psal. xvi. 8—11.
Προωρωμην τον Κυριον ενωπιον μου δια παντος, οτι εκ δεξιων μου εστιν, ινα μη σαλευθω. Διο τουτο ηυφρανθη η καρδια μου, και ηγαλλιασατο η γλωσσα μου· ετι δε και η σαρξ μου κατασκηνωσει επ' ελπιδι. Οτι ουκ εγκαταλειψεις την ψυχην μου εις αδην, ουδε δωσεις τον οσιον σου ιδειν διαφθορην. Εγνωρισας μοι οδους ζωης· πληρωσεις με ευφροσυνης μετα του προσωπου σου.

Acts ii. 25—28.
Προωρωμην τον Κυριον ενωπιον μου δια παντος, οτι εκ δεξιων μου εστιν, ινα μη σαλευθω. Διο ευφρανθη η καρδια μου, και ηγαλλιασατο η γλωσσα μου· ετι δε και η σαρξ μου κατασκηνωσει επ' ελπιδι. Οτι ουκ εγκαταλειψεις την ψυχην μου εις αδην, ουδε δωσεις τον οσιον σου ιδειν διαφθορην. Εγνωρισας μοι οδους ζωης· πληρωσεις με ευφροσυνης μετα του προσωπου σου.[8]

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[1] The evangelist has here given us the sense of the prophet in short: If we suppose that λαος ουτος (as it is in the Hebrew העם הזה) is to be understood as the nominative case before τετυφλωκεν (it being not unusual for words that signify a multitude to be joined with plural pronouns or adjectives), and read αυτων with an aspirate, the citation will be a good translation of the original, only somewhat abridged. (Dr. Randolph on Quotations, p. 31.)

[2] This quotation agrees both with the Septuagint and with the Hebrew, except that what the former renders επολεμησαν (*fought against*), is by the evangelist rendered εμισησαν (*they hated*). Or possibly the passage intended to be cited may be Psal. xxxiv. (xxxv. of English Bible) 19. where the Psalmist speaks of those who were his enemies wrongfully:—μισουντες με δωρεαν, *who hate me without cause*. (Randolph, Scott.)

[3] This gives the sense both of the Septuagint and the Hebrew, except that it expresses in the passive voice what is there spoken in the active. Or it may be taken from Psal. xxxiv. 20. where it is expressed passively, thus:— Τηροσται αυτων· εν εξ αυτων ου συντριβησεται. He keepeth all *their bones; not one of them shall be broken*. (Randolph, p. 32.)

[4] It is evident that the evangelist here plainly read אליו (*him*) instead of אלי (*me*) in the Hebrew: But so also read thirty-six Hebrew MSS. and two ancient editions. And that this is the true reading appears by what follows—*and they shall mourn for him*. On the authority of these manuscripts, Archbishop Newcome reads and translates אליו *him*. (Minor Prophets, p. 330. 8vo. edit.)

[5] This agrees in sense, though not in words, with the Septuagint, which is a literal translation of the Hebrew. The only difference is, that the apostle applies to a particular person, what was spoken by David of his enemies in the plural. (Dr. Randolph, p. 32.)

[6] The Codex Vaticanus reads μετα ταυτα for εν ταις εσχαταις ημεραις.

[7] The words between brackets are omitted in the Codex Bezæ, and also in the quotation of this passage by Jerome.

[8] This quotation is taken from the Septuagint, but differs in several respects from the Hebrew. For שויתי is put προωρωμην. The Vulgate here agrees with the Septuagint; the Syriac and Chaldee versions, with the Hebrew. The Arabic differs from them all: for this difference it is no

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I have set the Lord always before me; because he is at my right hand I shall not be moved. Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth; my flesh also shall rest in hope. For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, nor suffer thy Holy One to see corruption. Thou wilt show me the path of life; in thy presence is fulness of joy.

I foresaw the Lord continually before me, because he is at my right hand that I may not be moved. Therefore my heart was gladdened, and my tongue exulted with joy; moreover my flesh also will dwell in hope. For thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades (or, the mansion of dead), nor suffer thine Holy One to see corruption. Thou hast made known to me the ways of life. Thou with thy presence wilt fill me with joy.

I foresaw the Lord always before my face, for he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved: therefore did my heart rejoice, and my tongue was glad; moreover also my flesh shall rest in hope: because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption. Thou hast made known to me the ways of life; thou shalt make me full of joy with thy countenance.

53. Deut. xviii. 15. 19.

נביא מקרבך מאחיך כמני יקים לך יהוה אלהיך אליו תשמעון והיה האיש אשר לא־ישמע אל־דברי אשר ידבר בשמי אנכי אדרש מעמו׃

The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me: unto him shall ye hearken.——And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.

Deut. xviii. 15. 19.

Προφητην εκ των αδελφων σου, ὡς εμε, αναστησει σοι Κυριος ὁ Θεος σου· αυτου ακουσεσθε ——— Και ὁ ανθρωπος ὁς εαν μη ακουσῃ ὁσα αν λαλησῃ ὁ προφητης εκεινος επι τῳ ονοματι μου, εγω εκδικησω εξ αυτου.

The Lord thy God will raise up for thee, from among thy brethren, a prophet like unto me; to him shall ye hearken.—And whosoever will not hearken to what that prophet shall speak in my name, I will execute vengeance on him.

Acts iii. 22, 23.

Προφητην ὑμιν αναστησει Κυριος ὁ Θεος ὑμων εκ των αδελφων ὑμων, ὡς εμε· αυτου ακουσεσθε κατα παντα ὁσα αν λαλησῃ προς ὑμας. Εσται δε, πασα ψυχη, ἡτις αν μη ακουσῃ του προφητου εκεινου εξολοθρευθησεται εκ του λαου.[1]

A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, of your brethren, like unto me: him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you. And it shall come to pass, that every soul which will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people.

54. Gen. xxii. 18.

והתברכו בזרעך כל גויי הארץ׃

And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.

Gen. xxii. 18.

Και ενευλογηθησονται εν τῳ σπερματι σου παντα τα εθνη της γης.

And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.

Acts iii. 25.

Και τῳ σπερματι σου ενευλογηθησονται πασαι αἱ πατριαι της γης.

And in thy seed shall all the kindreds (i. e. *nations, as being derived from one common ancestor*) of the earth be blessed.

55. Psal. ii. 1, 2.

למה רגשו גוים ולאמים יהגו ריק׃ יתיצבו מלכי ארץ ורוזנים נוסדו־יחד על־יהוה ועל־משיחו׃

Why do the nations rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his Anointed.

Psal. ii. 1, 2.

Ἱνατι εφρυαξαν εθνη, και λαοι εμελετησαν κενα; Παρεστησαν οἱ βασιλεις της γης, και οἱ αρχοντες συνηχθησαν επι το αυτο κατα του Κυριου, και κατα του Χριστου αυτου.

Why did the nations rage, and the people imagine (or meditate) vain things? The king of the earth stood up (or combined), and the rulers assembled together against the Lord and his Anointed.

Acts iv. 25, 26.

Ἱνατι εφρυαξαν εθνη, και λαοι εμελετησαν κενα; Παρεστησαν οἱ βασιλεις της γης, και οἱ αρχοντες συνηχθησαν επι το αυτο κατα του Κυριου, και κατα του Χριστου αυτου.

Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things. The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together, against the Lord and against his Christ (*i. e.* Messiah, *or* Anointed one).

56. Gen. xii. 1.

לך־לך מארצך וממולדתך ומבית אביך אל־הארץ אשר אראך׃

Get thee out from thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee.

Gen. xii. 1.

Εξελθε εκ της γης σου και εκ της συγγενειας σου, και εκ του οικου του πατρος σου· και δευρο εις την γην, ἡν αν σοι δειξω.

Depart from thy land, and from thy kindred, and from the house of thy father, and come to the land which I will show thee.

Acts vii. 3.

Εξελθε εκ της γης σου, και εκ της συγγενειας σου,[2] και δευρο εις γην, ἡν αν σοι δειξω.

Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and come into the land which I shall show thee.

57. Gen. xv. 13, 14.

כי־גר יהיה זרעך בארץ לא להם ועבדום וענו אתם ארבע מאות שנה׃ וגם את הגוי אשר יעבדו דן אנכי ואחרי־כן יצאו ברכש גדול׃

That thy seed shall be a stranger in a land *that is* not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them four hundred years. And also that nation whom they shall serve will I judge: and afterwards shall they come out with great substance.

Gen. xv. 13, 14.

Παροικον εσται το σπερμα σου εν γῃ ουκ ιδιᾳ, και δουλωσουσιν αυτους, και κακωσουσιν αυτους, και ταπεινωσουσιν αυτους, τετρακοσια ετη. Το δε εθνος, ᾧ εαν δουλευσωσι, κρινω εγω· μετα δε ταυτα εξελευσονται ὡδε μετα αποσκευης πολλης.

Thy seed shall sojourn in a land not their own. And they shall be enslaved and afflicted, and humbled, four hundred years. But the nation which they shall serve I will judge; and after that they shall come out hither with much wealth.

Acts vii. 6, 7.

Ὁτι εσται το σπερμα αυτου παροικον εν γῃ αλλοτριᾳ, και δουλωσουσιν αυτο, και κακωσουσιν ετη τετρακοσια. Και το εθνος, ᾧ εαν δουλευσωσι, κρινω εγω, ειπεν ὁ Θεος· και μετα ταυτα εξελευσονται, και λατρευσουσι μοι εν τῳ τοπῳ τουτῳ.[3]

That his seed should sojourn in a strange land, and that they should bring them into bondage, and entreat *them* evil four hundred years. And the nation, to whom they shall be in bondage, will I judge, said God: and after that shall they come forth, and serve me in this place.

58. Gen. xlvi. 27.

כל־הנפש לבית־יעקב הבאה מצרימה שבעים׃

All the souls of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt, *were* threescore and ten souls

Gen. xlvi. 27.

Πασαι ψυχαι οικου Ιακωβ αἱ εισελθουσαι μετα Ιακωβ εις Αιγυπτον, ψυχαι ἑβδομηκονταπεντε.

All the souls of Jacob's house, that went with him into Egypt, *were* seventy-five souls.

Acts vii. 14.

Αποστειλας δε Ιωσηφ μετεκαλεσατο τον πατερα αυτου Ιακωβ και πασαν την συγγενειαν αυτου εν ψυχαις ἑβδομηκονταπεντε.

Then sent Joseph, and called his father Jacob to him, and all his kindred, threescore and fifteen souls.

59. (See Josh. xxiv. 32.)

Acts vii. 16.

Ὁ ωνησατο Αβρααμ τιμης αργυριου παρα των υἱων Εμμορ του Συχεμ.[4]

That Abraham bought for a sum of money, of the sons of Emmor, *the* father of Sychem.

60. Amos v. 25—27.

הזבחים ומנחה הגשתם־לי במדבר ארבעים שנה בית ישראל׃ ונשאתם את סכות מלככם ואת כיון צלמיכם כוכב אלהיכם אשר עשיתם לכם׃ והגליתי אתכם מהלאה לדמשק

Amos v. 25, 26.

Μη σφαγια και θυσιας προσηνεγκατε μοι, οικος Ισραηλ, τεσσαρακοντα ετη εν τῃ ερημῳ; Και ανελαβετε την σκηνην του Μολοχ, και το αστρον του θεου ὑμων Ῥαιφαν, τους τυπους αυτων οὑς εποιησατε ἑαυτοις· και μετοικιω ὑμας επεκεινα Δαμασκου.

Acts vii. 42, 43.

Μη σφαγια και θυσιας προσηνεγκατε μοι ετη τεσσαρακοντα εν τῃ ερημῳ, οικος Ισραηλ; Και ανελαβετε την σκηνην του Μολοχ, και το αστρον του θεου ὑμων Ῥεμφαν, τους τυπους οὑς εποιησατε προσκυνειν αυτοις· και μετοικιω ὑμας επεκεινα Βαβυλωνος.[5]

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easy to account. Again, for כבודי, *my glory*, is put ἡ γλωσσα μου, *my tongue*. The Septuagint, Vulgate (which version of the Psalms was made from the Septuagint, being the Old Italic corrected), and Arabic, agree with the apostle; the Chaldee and Syriac with the Hebrew. For שבע is put πληρωσεις με. Here again the Vulgate, Arabic, and Septuagint agree. The Syriac reads *satiabor*; the true reading, Dr. Randolph conjectures, might perhaps be אשבע, which the Septuagint might translate according to the sense πληρωσεις με. These are but trifling differences; the most important is that חסידיך, *Holy One*, in the plural number, is translated by the Septuagint and cited by the apostle, and applied to our Saviour in the singular, τον ὁσιον σου, *Thine Holy One*. This reading is confirmed by the Keri, or marginal reading, by all the ancient versions, and by one hundred and eighty of the best Hebrew MSS., and it is required by the sense. The Masorites have marked their own reading as doubtful. See Kennicott's Dissert. I. p. 496., and also his Dissertatio Generalis, § 17. Randolph, p. 32. Owen, p. 71.

[1] This expresses the sense both of the Hebrew and Septuagint, but not the words; it may possibly be taken from some other translation or paraphrase. (Dr. Randolph, 33.)

[2] The Codex Laudianus and some other MSS. after these words add. και εκ του οικου του πατρος σου, as in the Septuagint.

[3] It seems to have been Stephen's design to give a short account of the conduct of God towards the children of Israel. In this he does not confine himself to the words of Moses, but abridges his history, and sometimes adds a clause by way of explication. The present citation agrees very nearly with the Hebrew. It only adds, ειπεν ὁ Θεος: and again, και λατρευσουσι μοι εν τῳ τοπῳ τουτῳ: which seems to refer to v. 16. where it is said, *they shall come hither again*. (Dr. Randolph on the Quotations, p. 33.)

[4] In this quotation there is a very considerable error in the copies of the New Testament; and some commentators have supposed that Abraham's purchase of a piece of land of the children of Heth, for a sepulchre, was alluded to. But this is clearly a mistake. It is most probably as Bishop Pearce (in loc.) and Dr. Randolph (p. 33.) have conjectured that Αβρααμ is an interpolation, which has crept into the text from the margin. If, therefore, we omit this name, the sense will run very clearly thus:—*So Jacob went down into Egypt and died, he and our fathers. And they* (our fathers) *were carried over into Sychem, and laid in the sepulchre, which he* (Jacob) *bought for a sum of money of the sons of Emmor the father of Sychem.* See Josh. xxiv. 32. and Dr. Whitby on Acts vii. 16.

[5] This seems to be taken from the Septuagint, though with some variation. The only considerable difference is that we here read Βαβυλωνος, *Babylon*, instead of Δαμασκου, *Damascus*, in the Septuagint. The Hebrew and all the ancient versions read Damascus, as also do one or two manuscripts; and this seems to be the true reading. The Septuagint agrees in

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Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings, in the wilderness, forty years, O house of Israel? But ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch and Chiun, your images, the star of your god which ye made to yourselves. Therefore I will cause you to go into captivity beyond Damascus.

Did you, O house of Israel, offer to me burnt-offerings and sacrifices forty years in the wilderness? You have, indeed, taken up the tent of Moloch, and the star of your god Raiphan—those types of them which you have made for yourselves. Therefore I will remove you beyond Damascus.

O ye house of Israel, have ye offered to me slain beasts and sacrifices, forty years in the wilderness? Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Remphan, figures which ye made to worship them: and I will carry you away beyond Babylon.

61. Isa. lxvi. 1, 2.

כה אמר יהוה השמים כסאי והארץ הדם רגלי אי־זה בית אשר תבנו־לי ואי־זה מקום מנוחתי׃ ואת־כל־אלה ידי עשתה

Thus saith the LORD, the heaven *is* my throne, and the earth *is* my footstool: where *is* the house that ye build unto me? And where *is* the place of my rest? For all those *things* hath mine hand made.

Isa. lxvi. 1, 2.

Οὕτως λεγει Κυριος, Ὁ ουρανος μου θρονος, και ἡ γη ὑποποδιον των ποδων μου· ποιον οικον οικοδομησετε μοι; και ποιος τοπος της καταπαυσεως μου; Παντα γαρ ταυτα εποιησεν ἡ χειρ μου.

Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth my footstool. What sort of an house will ye build me? And of what sort shall be the place of my rest? For all these things my hand hath made.

Acts vii. 49, 50.

Ὁ ουρανος μοι θρονος, ἡ δε γη ὑποποδιον των ποδων μου· ποιον οικον οικοδομησετε μοι; λεγει Κυριος· ἡ τις τοπος της καταπαυσεως μου; Ουχι ἡ χειρ μου εποιησε ταυτα παντα;

Heaven *is* my throne, and earth *is* my footstool: what house will ye build me? saith the Lord: or what *is* the place of my rest? Hath not my hand made all these things?

62. Isa. liii. 7, 8.

כשה לטבח יובל וכרחל לפני גזזיה נאלמה ולא יפתח פיו׃ מעצר וממשפט לקח ואת־דורו מי ישוחח כי נגזר מארץ חיים׃

He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter; and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth. He was taken from prison and from judgment; and who shall declare his generation? for he was cut off out of the land of the living.

Isa. liii. 7.

Ὡς προβατον επι σφαγην ηχθη, και ὡς αμνος εναντιον του κειροντος αφωνος, οὕτως ουκ ανοιγει το στομα. Εν τη ταπεινωσει ἡ κρισις αυτου ηρθη· την γενεαν αυτου τις διηγησεται; ὅτι αιρεται απο της γης ἡ ζωη αυτου.

He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before its shearer is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth. In his humiliation his legal trial was taken away. Who will declare his manner of life? Because his life was taken from the earth.

Acts viii. 32, 33.

Ὡς προβατον επι σφαγην ηχθη, και ὡς αμνος εναντιον του κειροντος αυτον αφωνος, οὕτως ουκ ανοιγει το στομα αυτου. Εν τη ταπεινωσει αυτου ἡ κρισις αυτου ηρθη· την δε γενεαν αυτου τις διηγησεται; ὅτι αιρεται απο της γης ἡ ζωη αυτου.[1]

He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and like a lamb dumb before his shearer, so opened he not his mouth. In his humiliation his judgment was taken away, and who shall declare his generation? for his life is taken from the earth.

63. (See Psal. lxxxix. 20. and 1 Sam. xiii. 14.)

Acts xiii. 22.

Εὑρον Δαβιδ τον του Ιεσσαι, ανδρα κατα την καρδιαν μου, ὃς ποιησει παντα τα θεληματα μου.

I have found David the *son* of Jesse, a man after my own heart, which shall fulfil all my will.

64. Psal. ii. 7.

בני אתה אני היום ילדתיך׃

Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.

Psal. ii. 7.

Υἱος μου ει συ, εγω σημερον γεγεννηκα σε.

Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.

Acts xiii. 33.

Υἱος μου ει συ, εγω σημερον γεγεννηκα σε.

Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.

65. Isa. lv. 3.

ואכרתה לכם ברית עולם חסדי דוד הנאמנים

I will make an everlasting covenant with you, *even* the sure mercies of David.

Isa. lv. 3.

Και διαθησομαι ὑμιν διαθηκην αιωνιον,—τα ὁσια Δαυιδ τα πιστα.

And I will make with you an everlasting covenant,—the *gracious* promises to David, which are faithful.

Acts xiii. 34.

Δωσω ὑμιν τα ὁσια Δαβιδ τα πιστα.

I will give you the sure mercies of David.

66. Hab. i. 5.

ראו בגוים והביטו והתמהו תמהו כי־פעל פעל בימיכם לא תאמינו כי־יספר׃

Behold ye, among the heathen, and regard, and wonder marvellously; for I will work a work in your days, *which* ye will not believe, though it be told *you*.

Hab. i. 5.

Ιδετε οἱ καταφρονηται, και επιβλεψατε, και θαυμασατε θαυμασια, και αφανισθητε· διοτι εργον εγω εργαζομαι εν ταις ἡμεραις ὑμων, ὁ ου μη πιστευσητε, εαν τις εκδιηγηται.

Behold, ye despisers, and view intently, and be amazed at wonderful things, and vanish (or perish). For in your days I am doing a work, which ye will not believe, though one tell you.

Acts xiii. 41.

Ιδετε οἱ καταφρονηται,[2] και θαυμασατε, και αφανισθητε· ὅτι εργον εγω εργαζομαι εν ταις ἡμεραις ὑμων, εργον ὡ[3] ου μη πιστευσητε, εαν τις εκδιηγηται ὑμιν.

Behold, ye despisers, and wonder and perish; for I work a work in your days, a work which you shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you.

67. Isa. xlix. 6.

ונתתיך לאור גוים להיות ישועתי עד־קצה הארץ׃

I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the ends of the earth.

Isa. xlix. 6.

Τεθεικα σε εις φως εθνων, του ειναι σε εις σωτηριαν ἑως εσχατου της γης.

I have appointed thee for the light of the nations, that thou mayest be for salvation to the furthest parts of the earth.

Acts xiii. 47.

Τεθεικα σε εις φως εθνων, του ειναι σε εις σωτηριαν ἑως εσχατου της γης.[4]

I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the ends of the earth.

68. Amos ix. 11, 12.

ביום ההוא אקים את־סכת דויד הנפלת וגדרתי את־פרציהן והרסתיו אקים ובניתיה כימי עולם׃ למען יירשו את־שארית אדום וכל־הגוים אשר־נקרא שמי עליהם נאם־יהוה עשה זאת׃

In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David, that is fallen; and I will close up the breaches thereof, and I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old: That they may possess the remnant of Edom, and of all the heathen, which are called by my name, saith the LORD, that doeth this.

Amos ix. 11, 12.

Εν τη ἡμερα εκεινη αναστησω την σκηνην Δαυιδ την πεπτωκυιαν, και ανοικοδομησω τα πεπτωκοτα αυτης, και τα κατεσκαμμενα αυτης αναστησω, και ανοικοδομησω αυτην, καθως αἱ ἡμεραι του αιωνος· Ὅπως εκζητησωσιν οἱ καταλοιποι των ανθρωπων, και παντα τα εθνη, εφ᾽ οὓς επικεκληται το ονομα μου επ᾽ αυτους, λεγει Κυριος ὁ ποιων παντα ταυτα.

In that day I will raise up the tabernacle of David, which hath fallen; I will rebuild those parts of it which have fallen to decay, and repair what have been demolished. I will indeed rebuild it as in the days of old, that the rest of mankind may seek [*the Lord*], even all the nations who are called by my name, saith the Lord, who doth all these things.

Acts xv. 16, 17.

Μετα ταυτα αναστρεψω, και ανοικοδομησω την σκηνην Δαβιδ την πεπτωκυιαν, και τα κατεσκαμμενα αυτης ανοικοδομησω, και ανορθωσω αυτην· Ὅπως αν εκζητησωσιν οἱ καταλοιποι των ανθρωπων τον Κυριον, και παντα τα εθνη εφ᾽ οὓς επικεκληται το ονομα μου επ᾽ αυτους, λεγει Κυριος ὁ ποιων ταυτα παντα.[5]

After this I will return and build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will build up again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up: that the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord, who doeth all these things.

69. Exod. xxii. 27. (28. of English version.)

ונשיא בעמך לא תאר׃

Thou shalt not .... curse the ruler of thy people.

Exod. xxii. 28

Αρχοντας του λαου σου ου κακως ερεις.

Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.

Acts xxiii. 5.

Αρχοντα του λαου σου ουκ ερεις κακως.

Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.

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sense, though not literally, with the Hebrew. Ῥαιφαν, or Ῥεμφαν, was the name of the same idol in Egypt, which was called כיון (CHIUN) in Syria, and represented the planet Saturn. See Hammond, Lud. de Dieu. Annot. Lowth on Amos v. 25. Spencer de Leg. Heb. l. iii. c. 3. Michaelis, Supplem. ad Lex. Heb. p. 1225. (Randolph, p. 34.) The apparent variance between the prophet and Stephen is of no moment; as the prophecy was fulfilled by Salmaneser, king of Assyria, carrying the people of Israel both beyond Damascus and Babylon, into the cities of the Medes. See 2 Kings xvii. 6. (Dr. Randolph.)

[1] The quotation is here made from the Septuagint with no material variation; the pronouns αυτον and αυτου (*him* and *his*) are added by the sacred historian; the latter twice. The variation from the present Hebrew text is greater, but not so great as to effect the general import of the passage. (Scott, Randolph.) This quotation agrees exactly with the Alexandrine MS. of the Septuagint. Some MSS. of the Acts follow the Alexandrian, and some the Vatican MS.

[2] Some MSS. add και επιβλεψατε after καταφρονηται, as in the Septuagint.

[3] Ὁ is the reading of nineteen MSS., five of which are of the greatest antiquity.

[4] This quotation is the reading of the Alexandrine copy of the Septuagint, and is a literal rendering of the Hebrew, merely omitting the pronoun *my; salvation*, instead of *my salvation*. The Vatican MS. differs very much.

[5] This quotation, in general, seems to be taken from the Septuagint, but with several verbal variations. The passage, however, varies more materially from the Hebrew, especially in the clause, *That the residue of men may seek after the Lord;* which, in the authorized English version from the Hebrew, is rendered, *That they may possess the remnant of Edom.* The Septuagint translators evidently read ידרשו (YIDRASHU), not יירשו (YIROSHU) and אדם (ADAM) not אדום (EDOM); and the quotation of it by the apostle or the evangelical historian, according to that reading, gives great sanction to it. (Scott.)

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70 Hab. ii. 4.
וצדיק באמונתו יחיה :
The just shall live by his faith.

Hab. ii. 4.
Ο δε δικαιος εκ πιστεως μου ζησεται.
But the just shall live by faith in me.

Rom. i. 17.
Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.
The just shall live by faith.

71. Isa. lii. 5.
ותמיד כל־היום שמי מנאץ :
My name continually every day *is* blasphemed.

Isa. lii. 5.
Δι' ὑμας δια παντος το ονομα μου βλασφημειται εν τοις εθνεσι.
On your account my name is continually reviled among the nations.

Rom. ii. 24.
Το γαρ ονομα του Θεου δι' ὑμας βλασφημειται εν τοις εθνεσι.[2]
For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you.

72. Psal. li. 6. (4. of English version.)
למען תצדק בדברך תזכה בשפטך :
That thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, *and* seek God. be clear when thou judgest.

Psal. li. 4.
Ὅπως αν δικαιωθης εν τοις λογοις σου, και νικησης εν τω κρινεσθαι σε.
So that thou mayest be justified in thy sayings, and overcome when thou art judged.

Rom. iii. 4.
Ὅπως αν δικαιωθης εν τοις λογοις σου, και νικησης εν τω κρινεσθαι σε.[3]
That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings, and mightest overcome when thou art judged.

73. Gen. xv. 6.
והאמן ביהוה וחשבה לו צדקה :
And he believed in the Lord, and he counted t to him for righteousness.

Gen xv. 6.
Και επιστευσεν Αβραμ τω Θεω, και ελογισθη αυτω εις δικαιοσυνην.
And Abram believed God, and it was counted him for righteousness.

Rom. iv. 3.
Επιστευσε δε Αβραμ τω Θεω, και ελογισθη αυτω εις δικαιοσυνην.
And Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness.

74. Psal. xiv. 1—3.
אין עשה־טוב : יהוה משמים השקיף על־בני־אדם
לראות היש משכיל דרש את־אלהים : הכל סר
יחדו נאלחו אין עשה־טוב אין גם־אחד :
There is none that doeth good. The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men; to see if there were any that did understand *and* seek God. They are all gone aside; they are *all* together become filthy: *there is* none that doeth good, no, not one.

Psal. xiv. 1—3.
Ουκ εστι ποιων χρηστοτητα, ουκ εστιν εως ενος. Κυριος εκ του ουρανου διεκυψεν επι τους υιους των ανθρωπων, του ιδειν ει εστι συνιων, η εκζητων τον Θεον. Παντες εξεκλιναν, ἅμα ηχρειωθησαν· ουκ εστι ποιων χρηστοτητα, ουκ εστιν εως ενος.
There is none who doeth good: no, not one. The Lord looked down from heaven on the children of men, to see if any had understanding, or were seeking God. They had all gone aside, they were altogether become vile. There is none who doeth good, no, not one.

Rom. iii. 10—12.
Ουκ εστι δικαιος, ουδε εἷς. Ουκ εστιν ὁ συνιων· ουκ εστιν ὁ εκζητων τον Θεον. Παντες εξεκλιναν, ἅμα ηχρειωθησαν· ουκ εστι ποιων χρηστοτητα, ουκ εστιν εως ενος.[4]
There is not one righteous; no, not one: there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way; they are altogether become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good; no, not one.

75. Psal. v. 10. (9. of English version.)
קבר־פתוח גרונם לשונם יחליקון
Their throat is an open sepulchre, they flatter with their tongue.

Psal. v. 9.
Ταφος ανεωγμενος ὁ λαρυγξ αυτων· ταις γλωσσαις αυτων ἐδολιουσαν.
Their throat *is* an open sepulchre; with their tongue they have practised deceit.

Rom. iii. 13.
Ταφος ανεωγμενος ὁ λαρυγξ αυτων ταις γλωσσαις αυτων ἐδολιουσαν.[5]
Their throat is an open sepulchre; with their tongues they have used deceit.

76. Psal. cxl. 4. (3. of English version.)
חמת עכשוב תחת שפתימו
Adders' poison *is* under their lips.

Psal. cxxxix. 3. (cxl. 3 of English Bible.)
Ιος ασπιδων υπο τα χειλη αυτων.
The poison of asps *is* under their lips.

Rom. iii. 13.
Ιος ασπιδων υπο τα χειλη αυτων.[6]
The poison of asps (*a venomous species of serpent*) *is* under their lips.

77. Psal. x. 7.
אלה פיהו מלא ומרמות
His mouth is full of cursing and deceit.

Psal. ix. 7. [2d series of verses.]
Οὗ αρας το στομα αυτου γεμει και πικριας.
His mouth is full of cursing and bitterness.

Rom. iii. 14.[6]
Ὧν το στομα αρας και πικριας γεμει.[6]
Whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness.

78. Isa. lix. 7, 8.
רגליהם לרע ירצו וימהרו לשפך דם נקי——שד
ושבר במסלותם : דרך שלום לא ידעו :
Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood —— Wasting and destruction *are* in their paths. The way of peace they know not.

Isa. lix. 7, 8.
Οἱ δε ποδες αυτων εις πονηριαν τρεχουσι, ταχυνοι εκχυσαι αἷμα—Συντριμμα και ταλαιπωρια εν ταις ὁδοις αυτων. Και ὁδον ειρηνης ουκ οἰδασι.
Their feet run to evil, they are swift to shed blood—Destruction and misery are in their ways, and the way of peace they do not know.

Rom. iii. 15—17.
Ὀξεις οἱ ποδες αυτων εκχυσαι αἷμα. Συντριμμα και ταλαιπωρια εν ταις ὁδοις αυτων· Και ὁδον ειρηνης ουκ εγνωσαν.[6]
Their feet *are* swift to shed blood. Destruction and misery *are* in their ways; and the way of peace they have not known.

79. Psal. xxxvi. 2. (1. of English version.)
אין־פחד אלהים לנגד עיניו
There is no fear of God before his eyes.

Psal. xxxv. 1. (xxxvi. 1. of English Bible.)
Ουκ εστι φοβος Θεου απεναντι των οφθαλμων αυτου.
There is no fear of God before his eyes.

Rom. iii. 18.
Ουκ εστι φοβος Θεου απεναντι των οφθαλμων αυτων.
There is no fear of God before their eyes.

80. Psal. xxxii. 1, 2.
אשרי נשוי־פשע כסוי חטאה : אשרי־אדם לא
יחשב יהוה לו עון
Blessed *is he whose* transgression *is* forgiven, whose sin is covered.
Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity.

Psal. xxxii. 1, 2.
Μακαριοι ὧν αφεθησαν αἱ ανομιαι, και ὧν επεκαλυφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτιαι. Μακαριος ανηρ ᾧ ου μη λογισηται Κυριος ἁμαρτιαν.
Happy *are* they, whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Happy *is* the man, to whom (to whose account) the Lord will not impute (or charge) sin.

Rom. iv. 7, 8.
Μακαριοι ὧν αφεθησαν αἱ ανομιαι, και ὧν επεκαλυφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτιαι· Μακαριος ανηρ ᾧ ου μη λογισηται Κυριος ἁμαρτιαν.
Blessed *are* they, whose sins are forgiven, and whose iniquities are covered.
Blessed *is* the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin.

81. Gen. xvii. 5.
אב־המון גוים נתתיך :
A father of many nations have I made thee.

Gen. xvii. 5.
Πατερα πολλων εθνων τεθεικα σε.
I have made thee the father of many nations.

Rom. iv. 17.
Πατερα πολλων εθνων τεθεικα σε.
A father of many nations have I made thee

82. Gen. xv. 5.
כה יהיה זרעך :
So shall thy seed be.

Gen. xv. 5.
Οὕτως εσται το σπερμα σου.
So shall thy seed be.

Rom. iv. 18.
Οὕτως εσται το σπερμα σου.
So shall thy seed be.

83. Psal. xliv. 22.
כי־עליך הורגנו כל־היום נחשבנו כצאן טבחה :
For thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are counted as sheep for the slaughter.

Psal. xliv. 22.
Ὅτι ἑνεκα σου θανατουμεθα ὅλην την ἡμερον· ελογισθημεν ὡς προβατα σφαγης.
For, for thy sake we are killed all the day long, and accounted as sheep for the slaughter.

Rom. viii. 36.
Ὅτι ἑνεκα σου θανατουμεθα ὅλην την ἡμερον· ελογισθημεν ὡς προβατα σφαγης.
For thy sake we are killed all the day long, We are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.

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[1] The Codex Ephremi (or Regius) has μου after πιστεως, as in the Septuagint; which reading was in the MS. consulted by the author of the Philoxenian or later Syriac version, and also by Eusebius and Jerome.

[2] In this quotation from the Septuagint, του Θεου (*of God*), is substituted *for* μου (*my*); and the words εν τοις εθνεσι (*among the nations*), are added to the Hebrew in the Septuagint. (Scott, Randolph.)

[3] This is taken from the Septuagint, which agrees with the Hebrew. The Greek translators render תזכה (TIZKEH) *thou mayest be clear* or *pure by* νικησης, *thou mayest overcome*; for "to be clear in judgment," or to be acquitted, is "to overcome." (Randolph, Scott.)

[4] The former part of this quotation is an abridgment of the Septuagint, but agreeing in meaning with the Hebrew. It is rather an abridgment. The latter part is exactly from the Septuagint. The Hebrew word rendered in our version *they are become filthy*, and which signifies *to be loathsome or putrid*, is in the Septuagint rendered ηχρειωθησαν, they are *become unprofitable*. This the apostle retains. It is not so forcible as the Hebrew, but is sufficient for his argument; and it cannot be supposed that many of the Christians at Rome had any other Scriptures except the Septuagint. (Scott.)

[5] These verses (in Rom. iii. 13—17.) are interpolated in Psalm xiii. between verses 3. and 4. of the modern *printed* editions of the Vatican Septuagint; but they are only in the *margin* of the Vatican *Manuscript*.—"Vaticanus in hæc verba, quæ sunt ad marginem et non in textu conscripta, hæc notat: Ουδαμου κειται των Ψαλμων· ποθεν δε ὁ Αποστολος ειληφεν αυτους ζητητεον." (Montfaucon, Origenis Hexapla, tom. i. p. 492.) These verses are *not* in the Alexandrine MS. of the Septuagint. They are, however, found in the Latin Vulgate translation of Psalm xiii., either interpolated, or copied from some interpolated MS. of the Septuagint.

[6] This quotation agrees with the Septuagint, which also agrees with the Hebrew, excepting that the Greek translators have rendered מרמות (MIRMUTH), deceit, by πικριας, bitterness. Dr. Randolph and Mr. Scott conjecture that they read מרורות (MERORUTH).

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84.	Gen. xxi. 12. כי ביצחק יקרא לך זרע׃	Gen. xxi. 12. Ὅτι ἐν Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεταί σοι σπέρμα.	Rom. ix. 7. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐν Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεταί σοι σπέρμα.
	For, in Isaac, shall thy seed be called.	For in Isaac shall thy seed be called.	But, in Isaac, shall thy seed be called.
85.	Gen. xviii. 10. שוב אשוב אליך כעת חיה והנה־בן לשרה אשתך	Gen. xviii. 10. Ἐπιστρέφων ἥξω πρός σε κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰς ὥρας, καὶ ἕξει υἱὸν Σαῤῥὰ ἡ γυνή σου.	Rom. ix. 9. Κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐλεύσομαι, καὶ ἔσται τῇ Σαῤῥᾷ υἱός.[1]
	I will certainly return to thee according to the time of life; and lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son.	I will return to thee about this time twelve-month; and Sarah, thy wife, shall have a son.	At this time will I come, and Sara shall have a son.
86.	Gen. xxv. 23. ורב יעבד צעיר׃	Gen. xxv. 23. Καὶ ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι.	Rom. ix. 12. Ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι.
	The elder shall serve the younger.	And the elder shall serve the younger.	The elder shall serve the younger.
87.	Mal. i. 2, 3. ואהב את־יעקב׃ ואת־עשו שנאתי׃	Mal. i. 2, 3. Καὶ ἠγάπησα τὸν Ἰακώβ, τὸν δὲ Ἠσαὺ ἐμίσησα.	Rom. ix. 13. Τὸν Ἰακὼβ ἠγάπησα, τὸν δὲ Ἠσαὺ ἐμίσησα.
	I loved Jacob, and I hated Esau.	Yet I loved Jacob, and hated Esau.	Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated.
88.	Exod. xxxiii. 19. וחנתי את אשר אחן ורחמתי את־אשר ארחם׃	Exod. xxxiii. 19. Καὶ ἐλεήσω ὃν ἂν ἐλέω, καὶ οἰκτειρήσω ὃν ἂν οἰκτείρω.	Rom. ix. 15. Ἐλεήσω ὃν ἂν ἐλέω, καὶ οἰκτειρήσω ὃν ἂν οἰκτίρω
	I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and I will show mercy on whom I will show mercy.	I will have mercy on whom I please to have mercy; and I will have compassion on whomsoever I compassionate.	I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion.
89.	Exod. ix. 16. ואולם בעבור זאת העמדתיך בעבור הראתך את־כחי ולמען ספר שמי בכל־הארץ׃	Exod. ix. 16. Καὶ ἕνεκεν τούτου διετηρήθης, ἵνα ἐνδείξωμαί σοι τὴν ἰσχύν μου, καὶ ὅπως διαγγέλῃ τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ.	Rom. ix. 17. Εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐξήγειρά σε, ὅπως ἐνδείξωμαί σοι τὴν δύναμίν μου, καὶ ὅπως διαγγελῇ τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ.
	For this *cause* have I raised thee up, for to show *in* thee my power, and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth.	For thou hast been preserved for this purpose, that by thee I might display my power, and that my name may be celebrated throughout all the earth.	For this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth.
90.	Hos. ii. 23. (Heb. 25.) ורחמתי את־לא רחמה ואמרתי ללא־עמי עמי אתה	Hos. ii. 23. Καὶ ἀγαπήσω τὴν οὐκ ἠγαπημένην, καὶ ἐρῶ τῷ οὐ λαός μου, Λαός μου εἶ σύ.	Rom. ix. 25. Καλέσω τὸν οὐ λαόν μου, λαόν μου· καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἠγαπημένην, ἠγαπημένην.
	I will have mercy upon her that had not obtained mercy, and I will say to *them which were* not my people, Thou art my people.	And I will love her who was not beloved; and to them who were not my people, I will say, Thou art my people.	I will call *them* my people which were not my people; and her beloved which was not beloved
91.	Hos. ii. 1. (i. 10. of English Version.) והיה במקום אשר־יאמר להם לא־עמי אתם יאמר להם בני אל־חי׃	Hos. i. 10. Καὶ ἔσται, ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, οὗ ἐρρήθη αὐτοῖς, Οὐ λαός μου ὑμεῖς, κληθήσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ Θεοῦ ζῶντος.	Rom. ix. 26. Καὶ ἔσται, ἐν τῷ τόπῳ οὗ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς, Οὐ λαός μου ὑμεῖς, ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται υἱοὶ Θεοῦ ζῶντος.
	And it shall come to pass, *that* in the place where it was said unto them, ye *are* not my people, *there* it shall be said unto them, *ye are* the sons of the living God.	But it shall come to pass that, in the place where it was said, "Ye are not my people," they shall be called children of the living God.	And it shall come to pass, *that* in the place where it was said unto them, Ye *are* not my people: there shall they be called the children of the living God.
92.	Isa. x. 22, 23. כי אם־יהיה עמך ישראל כחול הים שאר ישוב בו כליון חרוץ שוטף צדקה׃ כי כלה ונחרצה אדני יהוה צבאות עשה בקרב כל־הארץ׃	Isa. x. 22, 23. Καὶ ἐὰν γενηται ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ κατάλειμμα αὐτῶν σωθήσεται. Λόγον συντέλων καὶ συντέμνων ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ· ὅτι λόγον συντετμημένον Κύριος ποιήσει ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλῃ.	Rom. ix. 27, 28. Ἐὰν ἡ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν, Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ κατάλειμμα σωθήσεται· Λόγον γὰρ συντέλων καὶ συντέμνων ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ· ὅτι λόγον συντετμημένον ποιήσει Κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.[2]
	For though thy people Israel be as the sand of the sea, *yet* a remnant of them shall return: the consumption decreed shall overflow with righteousness. For the LORD GOD of Hosts shall make a consumption, even determined in the midst of all the land.	Though the people of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant of them shall be saved. He is closing an account, and making a deduction with saving goodness. Because with the whole land the Lord will make a reckoning from which a deduction hath been made.	Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved: for he will finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness: because a short work will the Lord make upon the earth.
93.	Isa. i. 9. לולי יהוה צבאות הותיר לנו שריד כמעט כסדם היינו לעמרה דמינו׃	Isa. i. 9. Καὶ εἰ μὴ Κύριος Σαβαὼθ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὡς Σόδομα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν, καὶ ὡς Γόμορῥα ἂν ὡμοιώθημεν.	Rom. ix. 29. Εἰ μὴ Κύριος Σαβαὼθ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα ὡς Σόδομα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν, καὶ ὡς Γόμορῥα ἂν ὡμοιώθημεν.
	Except the LORD of Hosts had left us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, *and* we should have been like unto Gomorrah.	Had not the Lord of Hosts left us a seed, we should have been as Sodom, and made like Gomorrah.	Except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us a seed, we had been as Sodoma, and been made like unto Gomorrah.
94.	Isa. viii. 14. ולאבן נגף ולצור מכשול לשני בתי ישראל	Isa. viii. 14. Καὶ οὐκ ὡς λίθου προσκόμματι συναντήσεις, οὐδὲ ὡς πέτρας πτώματι.	Rom. ix. 33. Ἰδοὺ, τίθημι ἐν Σιὼν λίθον προσκόμματος, καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου· καὶ πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται.[3]
	He shall be ..... for a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel.	And ye shall not run against a stumbling stone, nor as under a falling rock.	Behold I lay in Sion a stumbling stone, and rock of offence; and whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed. See also Rom. x. 11., and 1 Pet. ii. 6, 7.
95.	Isa. xxviii. 16. הנני יסד בציון אבן בחן פנת יקרת מוסד מוסד המאמין לא יחיש׃	Isa. xxviii. 16. Ἰδοὺ, ἐγὼ ἐμβάλλω εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιὼν λίθον πολυτελῆ, ἐκλεκτὸν, ἀκρογωνιαῖον, ἔντιμον, εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ.	

[1] St. Paul here seems to have made use of some other translation, different from any we now have; it agrees in sense both with the Septuagint and the Hebrew. The most remarkable difference from the Hebrew is that כעת חיה is rendered κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον. They seem to have read it חיה, as the same thing is expressed Gen. xvii. 21. The Samaritan agrees with the Hebrew. The Vulgate, Syriac, and Arabic versions agree with the Septuagint. However, the sense of the prophecy, both ways, is much the same, that Sarah should have a son at the time of life, or at the return of time next year. (Dr. Randolph on the Quotations, p. 36.)

[2] This quotation agrees nearly with the Septuagint, and still more nearly with the Arabic. They differ in several particulars from the Hebrew, but the general sense is the same. The prophet foretells a great destruction of the children of Israel, but not a total one; a *remnant should return and be saved;* the apostle very aptly applies this to the times of the Gospel, when some few of the Jews believed, and were saved, and a signal destruction came upon the rest. It is worthy of observation, that the expressions here in Isaiah are the same as we find in Dan. ix. where the destruction of Jerusalem is foretold. See this prophecy and the application of it well explained by Bishop Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, vol. ii. p. 56. (Dr. Randolph on the Quotations, p. 36.)

[3] The quotation in Rom. ix. 33. is taken from two places in the prophecy of Isaiah. St. Paul, in order to prove that the Jews in general should be cast off, and only those among them who believed should be saved, refers to two passages in the prophet Isaiah, of which he quotes such parts as were sufficient to prove his point. The first citation agrees with the Hebrew. The Septuagint differs widely. The other citation agrees nearly with the Septuagint; it differs from the Hebrew only in reading with the Septuagint καταισχυνθήσεται, *shall be ashamed*, which is also the reading of the Arabic version. They seem to have read in the original יבוש (yabosh) instead of יחיש (yachish). (Dr. Randolph on Quotations, p. 36.) The quotation in Rom. x. 13. agrees with the latter clause of Isa. xxviii. 16. with the whole of which also agrees the quotation in 1 Pet. ii. 6.

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Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation: he that believeth shall not make haste. (Be confounded, *Bp. Lowth.*)

96. Lev. xviii. 5.
אשר יעשה אתם האדם וחי בהם
Judgments ..... which if a man do, he shall live in them.

97. Deut. xxx. 12—14.
לא בשמים הוא לאמר מי יעלה־לנו השמימה ויקחה לנו וישמענו אתה ונעשנה: ולא־מעבר לים הוא לאמר מי יעבר־לנו אל־עבר הים ויקחה לנו וישמענו אתה ונעשנה: כי־קרוב אליך הדבר מאד בפיך ובלבבך לעשתו:

It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it? Neither *is* it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, that we may hear it and do it? But the word *is* very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart.

98. Isa. lii 7.
מה־נאוו על ההרים רגלי מבשר משמיע שלום מבשר טוב:
How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good!

99. Psal. xix. 5. (4. of English Version.)
בכל־הארץ יצא קום ובקצה תבל מליהם
Their line (more correctly, sound) is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.

100. Deut. xxxii. 21.
ואני אקניאם בלא־עם בגוי נבל אכעיסם
I will move them to jealousy with *those which* are not a people; I will provoke them to anger by a foolish nation.

101. Isa. lxv. 1, 2.
—— נדרשתי ללוא שאלו נמצאתי ללא בקשני
פרשתי ידי כל־היום אל־עם סורר
I am sought of *them that* asked not *for me;* I am found of them *them that* sought me not. —— *I* have spread out my hands all the day long unto a rebellious people.

102. 1 Kings xix. 14.
את־מזבחתיך הרסו ואת־נביאיך הרגו בחרב ואותר אני לבד ויבקשו את־נפשי לקחתה
The children of Israel have ..... thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword: and I *even* I only am left: and they seek my life to take it away.

103. 1 Kings xix. 18.
והשארתי בישראל שבעת אלפים כל־הברכים אשר לא־כרעו לבעל
I have left *me* seven thousand in Israel, and all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which hath not kissed him.

104. Isa. xxix. 10. (and see Isa. vi. 9. Ezek. xii. 2.)
כי־נסך עליכם יהוה רוח תרדמה ויעצם את־עיניכם
The Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes.

105. Psal. lxix. 23, 24. (22, 23. of English version.)
יהי־שלחנם לפניהם לפח ולשלומים למוקש
תחשכנה עיניהם מראות וחתיהם תמיד המעד:

Behold, I lay for the foundation of Sion a stone of inestimable worth—a chosen precious corner-stone for the foundations of it and he believeth shall not be ashamed.

Lev. xviii. 5.
Ἃ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος, ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.
Which, if a man do, he shall live thereby.

Deut. xxx. 12—14.
Οὐκ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω ἐστὶ, λέγων, Τίς ἀναβήσεται ἡμῖν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ λήψεται ἡμῖν αὐτὴν; καὶ ἀκουσάντες αὐτὴν ποιήσομεν; Οὐδὲ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστὶ, λέγων, Τίς διαπεράσει ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ λάβῃ ἡμῖν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἀκουστὴν ἡμῖν ποιήσῃ αὐτὴν, καὶ ποιήσομεν; Ἐγγὺς σου ἐστὶ τὸ ῥῆμα σφόδρα ἐν τῷ στόματί σου, καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσί σου ποιεῖν αὐτό.
It is not in heaven above, that thou shouldest say, Who will ascend for us into heaven, and bring it to us, that we may hear and do it? Nor is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who will cross the sea for us, and bring it to us, and let us hear it, and we will do it? The word is very near thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart and in thy hand.

Isa. lii. 7.
Ὡς ὡραῖοι ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων, ὡς πόδες εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης, ὡς εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀγαθά.
Like beauty on the mountains,—like the feet of one proclaiming peace, like one proclaiming glad tidings.

Psal. xix. 4.
Εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν.
To every land their sound is gone forth, and their doctrines to the limits of the world.

Deut. xxxii. 21.
Κἀγὼ παραζηλώσω αὐτοὺς ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει, ἐπὶ ἔθνει ἀσυνέτῳ παροργιῶ αὐτούς.
I will provoke them by what is not a nation. By a foolish nation will I vex them.

Isa. lxv. 1, 2.
Ἐμφανὴς ἐγενήθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν, εὑρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν—Ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα.
I became manifest to them who inquired not for me; I was found by them who sought me not. —I stretched out my hands all the day long to a disobedient and gainsaying people.

1 Kings xix. 14.
Τὰ θυσιαστήρια σου καθεῖλαν, καὶ τοὺς προφήτας σου ἀπέκτειναν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ· καὶ ὑπολελείμμαι ἐγὼ μονώτατος, καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχήν μου λαβεῖν αὐτήν.
They have demolished thy altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I only am left, and they seek my life to take it.

1 Kings xix. 18.
Καὶ καταλείψεις ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, πάντα γόνατα ἃ οὐκ ἔκλασαν γόνυ τῷ Βαάλ.
And thou shalt leave in Israel seven thousand men, even all the knees which have not bowed to Baal.

Isa. xxix. 10. (and see Isa. vi. 9. Ezek. xii. 2.)
Ὅτι πνεύματι ὑμᾶς Κύριος πνεύματι κατανύξεως, καὶ κάμμυσε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν.
For the Lord hath drenched you with the spirit of stupefaction, and will close up the eyes of them.

Psal. lxix. 22, 23.
Γενηθήτω ἡ τράπεζα αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν εἰς παγίδα, καὶ εἰς ἀντιπαδοσιν, καὶ εἰς σκάνδαλον· Σκοτισθήτωσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν, καὶ τὸν νῶτον αὐτῶν διὰ παντὸς συγκάμψον.

Rom. x. 5.
Ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.
The man which doeth those things shall live by them.

Rom. x. 6—8.
Μὴ εἴπῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου· Τίς ἀναβήσεται εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; (τουτ' ἔστι, Χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν) Ἢ, τίς καταβήσεται εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον; (τουτ' ἔστι, Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναγαγεῖν) —— Ἐγγύς σου τὸ ῥῆμά ἐστιν, ἐν τῷ στόματί σου, καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου.[1]
Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring down Christ *from above*). Or, who shall descend into the deep? (that is, to bring up Christ, again from the dead) ..... The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart.

Rom. x. 15.
Ὡς ὡραῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην, τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων τὰ ἀγαθά.
How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Gospel of Peace, *and* bring glad tidings of good things!

Rom. x. 18.
Εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν.[2]
Their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.

Rom. x. 19.
Ἐγὼ παραζηλώσω ὑμᾶς ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει, ἐπὶ ἔθνει ἀσυνέτῳ παροργιῶ ὑμᾶς.
I will provoke you to jealousy by *them that are* no people, *and* by a foolish nation will I anger you.

Rom. x. 20, 21.
Εὑρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν, ἐμφανὴς ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσι —— Ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα.
I was found of them that sought me not; I was made manifest unto them that asked not after me. —— All day long I have stretched forth my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people.

Rom. xi. 3.
Κύριε, τοὺς προφήτας σου ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατεσκάψαν· κἀγὼ ὑπελείφθην μόνος, καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχήν μου.[3]
Lord, they have killed thy prophets, and digged down thine altars; and I am left alone, and they seek my life.

Rom. xi. 4.
Κατέλιπον ἐμαυτῷ ἑπτακισχιλίους ἄνδρας, οἵτινες οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βαάλ.
I have reserved to myself seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to *the image of* Baal.

Rom. xi. 8
Ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς πνεῦμα κατανύξεως, ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν, καὶ ὦτα τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν.[4]
God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear.

Rom. xi. 9, 10.
Γενηθήτω ἡ τράπεζα αὐτῶν εἰς παγίδα, καὶ εἰς θήραν, καὶ εἰς σκάνδαλον, καὶ εἰς ἀνταπόδομα αὐτοῖς. Σκοτισθήτωσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν, καὶ τὸν νῶτον αὐτῶν διὰ παντὸς συγκάμψον.

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[1] The apostle here, with some little alteration, accommodates what Moses says in the book of Deuteronomy to his present purpose: Moses there, speaking of the covenant made with the children of Israel, expresses the easiness of that covenant by proverbial phrases taken from the transactions of God with the children of Israel: *Who* (says he) *shall go up for us into Heaven, &c.* alluding to the delivery of the law from Heaven—*Who shall go over the sea for us, &c.* alluding to the passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea: St. Paul makes use of the like phrases, only altering the latter so as to allude to the descent of Christ into the grave: This is a most beautiful allusion; and the latter part, in which the main stress of the argument lies, agrees both with the Septuagint and with the Hebrew, omitting only a word or two. (Dr. Randolph on the Quotations, p. 37.)

[2] This quotation agrees verbatim with the Septuagint; and it agrees with the Hebrew, excepting that instead of קוּם (QUM) *a line or direction*, both the apostle and the Septuagint translators seem to have read קוֹלָם (QULEM.) φθόγγος, *a sound:* Which last is doubtless the true reading, as it agrees best with the context, and is supported by the Chaldee Paraphrase, the Syriac, Arabic, and Vulgate Latin versions, and by Jerome. Symmachus, in his Greek translation, renders the Hebrew by ἦχος, *sound.* (Dr. Randolph on the Quotations, p. 37.) Prof. N. M. Berlin, Psalmi, ex Recensione Textus Hebræi et Versionum Antiquarum, Latine Versi, p. 31. (Upsaliæ, 1805.)

[3] This quotation agrees in sense both with the Septuagint and the Hebrew, but seems to be taken from a different translation. The words of the original are transposed, and somewhat abridged. (Dr. Randolph.) The MS. 30. of Griesbach's notation (Regius 100.), after ψυχήν μου, adds λαβεῖν αὐτήν, which agrees with the Septuagint.

[4] The first part of this quotation agrees with the Hebrew, only altering the person, *them* for *you.* The latter part seems to refer to some other Scripture, either Isa. vi. 9. or Ezek. xii. 2., where the same thing is said. (Dr. Randolph on the Quotations, p. 37.)

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Let their table become a snare before them: and *that which should have been* for their welfare, *let it become* a trap. Let their eyes be darkened that they see not; and make their loins continually to shake.

Let their table before them become a snare, and a recompense, and a stumbling-block. Let their eyes be darkened that they may not see, and bow down their back continually.

Let their table be made a snare and a trap, and a stumbling-block, and a recompense unto them Let their eyes be darkened that they may not see, and bow down their back alway.

106. Isa. lix. 20, 21. (and see Isa. xxvii. 9.)

ובא לציון גואל ולשבי פשע ביעקב נאם יהוה׃
ואני זאת בריתי אותם

And the Redeemer shall come to Sion, and unto them that turn from transgression, saith the LORD. As for me, this *is* my covenant with them, saith the LORD.

Isa. lix. 20, 21. (and see Isa. xxvii. 9.)

Ἥξει ἕνεκεν Σιων ὁ ῥυομενος, και αποστρεψει ασεβειας απο Ιακωβ. Και αυτη αυτοις ἡ παρ' εμου διαθηκη.

For the sake of Sion, the Deliverer will come, and turn away ungodliness from Jacob: And this shall be my covenant with them.

Rom. xi. 26, 27.

Ἥξει εκ Σιων ὁ ῥυομενος, και αποστρεψει ασεβειας απο Ιακωβ. Και αυτη αυτοις ἡ παρ' εμου διαθηκη, ὁταν αφελωμαι τας ἁμαρτιας αυτων.[1]

There shall come out of Sion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob: for this *is* my covenant unto them, when I shall take away their sins.

107. Deut. xxxii. 35.

לו נקם ושלם

To me *belongeth* vengeance and recompense.

Deut. xxxii. 35.

Εν ἡμερᾳ εκδικησεως ανταποδωσω.

In the day of vengeance I will requite.

Rom. xii. 19. (and see Heb. x. 30.)

Εμοι εκδικησις· εγω ανταποδωσω, λεγει Κυριος.

Vengeance *is* mine (literally *to me* belongeth *vengeance*); I will repay, saith the Lord.

108. Prov. xxv. 21, 22.

אם־רעב שנאך האכילהו לחם ואם־צמא השקהו
מים׃ כי גחלים אתה חתה על־ראשו

If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink: For thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head.

Prov. xxv. 21, 22.

Εαν πεινα ὁ εχθρος σου, ψωμιζε αυτον· εαν διψα, ποτιζε αυτον· Τουτο γαρ ποιων ανθρακας πυρος σωρευσεις επι την κεφαλην αυτου.

If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he be thirsty, give him drink; for by doing thus, thou wilt heap coals of fire upon his head.

Rom. xii. 20.

Εαν ουν πεινα ὁ εχθρος σου, ψωμιζε αυτον· εαν διψα, ποτιζε αυτον· τουτο γαρ ποιων ανθρακας πυρος σωρευσεις επι την κεφαλην αυτου.

Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.

109. Isa. xlv. 23.

בי נשבעתי יצא מפי צדקה דבר ולא ישוב
כי־לי תכרע כל־ברך תשבע כל־לשון׃

I have sworn by myself; the word is gone out of my mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, that unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear.

Isa. xlv. 23.

Κατ' εμαυτου ομνυω, οτι μη εξελευσεται εκ του στοματος μου δικαιοσυνη, οἱ λογοι μου ουκ αποστραφησονται· ὅτι εμοι καμψει παν γονυ, και ομειται πασα γλωσσα τον Θεον.

By myself I swear (righteousness shall proceed from my mouth; my words shall not be reversed), that to me every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall swear with respect to God.

Rom. xiv. 11.

Ζω εγω, λεγει Κυριος, ὅτι εμοι καμψει παν γονυ, και πασα γλωσσα εξομολογησεται τῳ Θεῳ.[2]

As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God.

110. Psal. lxix. 10. (9. of English version.)

וחרפות חורפיך נפלו עלי

The reproaches of them that reproached thee, are fallen on me.

Psal. lxix. 9.

Οἱ ονειδισμοι των ονειδιζοντων σε επεπεσον επ' εμε.

On me have fallen the reproaches of them that reproached thee.

Rom. xv. 3.

Οἱ ονειδισμοι των ονειδιζοντων σε επεπεσον επ' εμε.

The reproaches of them that reproached thee fell on me.

111. Psal. xviii. 50. (49. of English version.)

על־כן אודך בגוים יהוה ולשמך אזמרה׃

Therefore will I give thanks unto thee, O Lord, among the heathen, and sing praises unto thy name.

Psal. xviii. 49.

Διοι τουτο εξομολογησομαι σοι εν εθνεσι, Κυριε, και τῳ ονοματι σου ψαλω.

For this cause I will praise thee, O Lord, among the nations; and sing melodiously unto thy name.

Rom. xv. 9.

Διοι τουτο εξομολογησομαι σοι εν εθνεσι, και τῳ ονοματι σου ψαλω.

For this cause will I confess to thee among the Gentiles, and sing unto thy name.

112. Deut. xxxii. 42. (43. of English version.)

הרנינו גוים עמו

Rejoice, O ye nations, *with* his people.

Deut. xxxii. 43.

Ευφρανθητε εθνη μετα του λαου αυτου.

Rejoice, O nations, with his people.

Rom. xv. 10.

Ευφρανθητε εθνη μετα του λαου αυτου.[3]

Rejoice, ye Gentiles, with his people.

113. Psal. cxvii. 1.

הללו את־יהוה כל־גוים שבחוהו כל־האמים׃

Praise the Lord all ye nations: praise him all ye people.

Psal. cxvii. 1.

Αινειτε τον Κυριον παντα τα εθνη, επαινεσατε αυτον παντες οἱ λαοι.

Praise the Lord, all ye nations.
praise him, all ye peoples.

Rom. xv. 11.

Αινειτε τον Κυριον παντα τα εθνη, και επαινεσατε αυτον παντες οἱ λαοι.

Praise the Lord, all ye Gentiles; and laud him all ye people.

114. Isa. xi. 10.

והיה ביום ההוא שרש ישי אשר עמד לנס
עמים אליו גוים ידרשו

And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall be for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek.

Isa. xi. 10.

Εσται εν τη ἡμερᾳ εκεινῃ ἡ ῥιζα του Ιεσσαι, και ὁ ανισταμενος αρχειν εθνων, επ' αυτῳ εθνη ελπιουσι.

There shall be in that day the root of Jesse, even he who riseth up to rule nations; in him nations will put their trust.

Rom. xv. 12.

Εσται ἡ ῥιζα του Ιεσσαι, και ὁ ανισταμενος αρχειν εθνων, επ' αυτῳ εθνη ελπιουσιν.

There shall be a root of Jesse, and he that shall rise to reign over the Gentiles; in him shall the Gentiles trust.

115. Isa. lii. 15.

כי אשר לא־ספר להם ראו ואשר לא־שמעו
התבוננו׃

That, which had not been told them, shall they see, and *that* which they had not heard, shall they consider.

Isa. lii. 15.

Οτι οἱς ουκ ανηγγελη περι αυτου, οψονται, και οἱ ουκ ακηκοασι, συνησουσι.

Because they to whom no publication was made concerning him, shall see; and they, who had not heard, will understand.

Rom. xv. 21.

Οἱς ουκ ανηγγελη περι αυτου, οψονται, και οἱ ουκ ακηκοασι, συνησουσι.

To whom he was not spoken of, they shall see and they that have not heard shall understand.

116. Isa. xxix. 14.

ואבדה חכמת חכמיו ובינת נבניו תסתתר׃

The wisdom of their wise *men* shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent *men* shall be hid.

Isa. xxix. 14.

Και απολω την σοφιαν των σοφων, και την συνεσιν των συνετων κρυψω.

And I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will hide the understanding of the prudent.

1 Cor. i. 19.

Απολω την σοφιαν των σοφων, και την συνεσιν των συνετων αθετησω.

I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent.

117. Isa. lxiv. 3. (4. of English version.)

ומעולם לא־שמעו לא האזינו עין לא־ראתה
אלהים זולתך יעשה למחכה־לו׃

Isa. lxiv. 4.

Απο του αιωνος ουκ ηκουσαμεν, ουδε οἱ οφθαλμοι ἡμων ειδον Θεον, πλην σου, και τα εργα σου, ἃ ποιησεις τοις ὑπομενουσιν ελεον.

1 Cor. ii. 9.

Ἃ οφθαλμος ουκ ειδε, και ους ουκ ηκουσε, και επι καρδιαν ανθρωπου ουκ ανεβη, ἃ ητοιμασεν ὁ Θεος τοις αγαπωσιν αυτον.[4]

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[1] This quotation is taken from the Septuagint, except only that the apostle reads εκ instead of ενεκεν. Perhaps the copy of the Septuagint which he used had it so, or possibly the text of the apostle may have been altered by transcribers: the word ενεκεν (*for the sake of*) comes nearer to the Hebrew, and answers better the apostle's purpose. And again, at the end the apostle adds ὁταν αφελωμαι τας ἁμαρτιας αυτων—*when I shall take away their sins.* This may possibly be taken from Isa. xxvii. 9., where we read in the Septuagint και τουτο εστιν ἡ συλογιη αυτου ὁταν αφελωμαι την ἁμαρτιαν αυτου—*and this is to him a subject of thanksgiving, when I take away his sin.* It is not easy to discover how the Septuagint translators read the Hebrew.

[2] This does not exactly agree either with the Septuagint or with the Hebrew. Instead of Κατ' εμαυτου ομνυω, *By myself I swear*, the apostle gives us an equivalent expression often used in the Scripture, Ζω εγω, *As I live.* The rest of the citation agrees exactly with the Alexandrine copy of the Septuagint, which translates by εξομολογησεται, *shall confess.* The Vatican translates it more literally,—ομειται, *shall swear;* but both of them agree in joining בי־יהוה, in the following verse, with לשון, in this leaving out אך and לי,—and to this the Arabic version agrees. (Dr. Randolph on the Quotations, p. 38.)

[3] This is an exact quotation from the Septuagint. The clause which we have given occurs in the *middle* of the verse; which some writers not having observed, they have supposed that the Septuagint is not quoted. The preceding words of this verse in the Septuagint,

Ευφρανθητε ουρανοι ἁμα αυτῳ,
Και προσκυνησατωσαν αυτῳ παντες αγγελοι Θεου.

Rejoice, O heavens, with him,
And let all the angels of God worship him—

are not in the Hebrew; and the clause, quoted from the Septuagint, evidently gives the genuine meaning of the Hebrew, though in the abrupt language of poetry, the preposition signifying *with* is omitted. (Scott.)

[4] This is a most difficult passage: it does not agree either with the Hebrew, or the Septuagint, or any other translation now extant nor is it pos-

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For since the beginning of the world, *men* have not heard nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen, O God, besides thee, *what* he hath prepared for him that waiteth for him.

118. Isa. xl. 13.
מי־תכן את־רוח יהוה ואיש עצתו יודיענו :

Who hath directed the spirit of the Lord, or *being* his counsellor, *hath* taught him?

119. Job v. 13.
לכד חכמים בערמם

He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.

120. Psal. xciv. 11.
יהוה ידע מחשבות אדם כי־המה הבל :

The Lord knoweth the thoughts of men, that they are vanity.

121. Deut. xxv. 4.
לא־תחסם שור בדישו

Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth *out the corn.*

122. Exod. xxxii. 6.
וישב העם לאכל ושתו ויקמו לצחק :

The people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play.

123. Deut. xxxii. 17.
יזבחו לשדים לא אלה

They sacrificed to devils, not to God.

124. Psal. xxiv. 1.
ליהוה הארץ ומלואה

The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.

125. Isa. xxviii. 11, 12.
כי בלעגי שפה ובלשון אחרת ידבר אל־העם הזה : ——— ולא אבו שמוע :

For with stammering lips and another tongue will he speak to his people: —— Yet they would not hear.

126. Psal. viii. 6.
כל שתה תחת־רגליו :

Thou hast put all *things* under his feet.

127. Isa. xxii. 13.
אכול ושתו כי מחר נמות

Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.

128. Gen. ii. 7.
ויהי האדם לנפש חיה :

Man became a living soul.

129. Isa. xxv. 8.
בלע המות לנצח

He will swallow up death in victory.

130. Hos. xiii. 14.
אהי דבריך מות אהי קטבך שאול

O death, I will be thy plagues; O grave, I will be thy destruction.

131. Psal. cxvi. 10.
האמנתי כי אדבר

I believed, therefore have I spoken.

132. Isa. xlix. 8.
בעת רצון עניתיך וביום ישועה עזרתיך

In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee.

Never have we heard, nor have our eyes seen a God, besides thee, nor works such as thine, which thou wilt do for them who wait for mercy.

Isa. xl. 13.
Τις εγνω νουν Κυριου; και τις αυτου συμβουλος εγενετο, ος συμβιβα αυτον;

Who hath known the mind of the Lord? and who hath been of his counsel to teach him?

Job v. 13.
Ο καταλαμβανων σοφους εν τη φρονησει.[1]

Who entangleth the wise in their wisdom.

Psal. xciv. 11.
Κυριος γινωσκει τους διαλογισμους των ανθρωπων, οτι εισι ματαιοι.

The Lord knoweth the thoughts of men, that they are vain.

Deut. xxv. 4.
Ου φιμωσεις βουν αλοωντα.

Thou shalt not muzzle an ox treading out corn.

Exod. xxxii. 6.
Και εκαθισεν ο λαος φαγειν και πιειν, και ανεστησαν παιζειν.

And the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play.

Deut. xxxii. 17.
Εθυσαν δαιμονιοις, και ου Θεω.

They sacrificed to demons, and not to God.

Psal. xxiv. 1.
Του Κυριου η γη, και το πληρωμα αυτης.

The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.

Isa. xxviii. 11, 12.
Διοι φαυλισμον χειλεων, δια γλωσσης ετερας οτι λαλησουσι τω λαω τουτω—και ουκ ηθελησαν ακουειν.

On account of the mockery of *their* lips, because they will speak to this people with a strange tongue—yet they would not hear.

Psal. viii. 6.
Παντα υπεταξας υποκατω των ποδων αυτου.

Thou hast put all things under his feet.

Isa. xxii. 13.
Φαγωμεν και πιωμεν· αυριον γαρ αποθνησκομεν.

Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.

Gen. ii. 7.
Και εγενετο ο ανθρωπος εις ψυχην ζωσαν.

And man became a living soul.

Isa. xxv. 8.
Κατεπιεν ο θανατος ισχυσας.

Mighty death had swallowed up.

Hos. xiii. 14.
Που η δικη σου, θανατε; που το κεντρον σου, αδη;

O death, where is thy punishment? Where thy sting, O grave?

Psal. cxvi. 10.
Επιστευσα, διο ελαλησα.

I believed; therefore I spake.

Isa. xlix. 8.
Καιρω δεκτω επηκουσα σου, και εν ημερα σωτηριας εβοηθησα σοι.

In an acceptable time I have hearkened to thee; and in a day of salvation helped thee.

Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.

1 Cor. ii. 16. (See also Rom. xi. 34.)
Τις γαρ εγνω νουν Κυριου, ος συμβιβασει αυτον;

For who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct him?

1 Cor. iii. 19.
Ο δρασσομενος τους σοφους εν τη πανουργια αυτων.

He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.

1 Cor. iii. 20.
Κυριος γινωσκει τους διαλογισμους των σοφων, οτι εισι ματαιοι.[2]

The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain.

1 Cor. ix. 9.
Ου φιμωσεις βουν αλοωντα.

Thou shalt not muzzle the *mouth of the* ox that treadeth out the corn.

1 Cor. x. 7.
Εκαθισεν ο λαος φαγειν και πιειν, και ανεστησαν παιζειν.

The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play.

1 Cor. x. 20.
Αλλ' οτι α θυει τα εθνη, δαιμονιοις θυει, και ου Θεω.[3]

But the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils and not to God.

1 Cor. x. 26.
Του γαρ Κυριου η γη, και το πληρωμα αυτης.

For the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.

1 Cor. xiv. 21.
Οτι εν ετερογλωσσοις, και εν χειλεσιν ετεροις, λαλησω τω λαω τουτω, και ουδ' ουτως εισακουσονται μου, λεγει Κυριος.[4]

With men *of* other tongues and other lips will I speak unto this people; and yet for all that will they not hear me, saith the Lord.

1 Cor. xv. 27.
Παντα γαρ υπεταξεν υπο τους ποδας αυτου.

For he hath put all things under his feet.

1 Cor. xv. 32.
Φαγωμεν και πιωμεν· αυριον γαρ αποθνησκομεν

Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die

1 Cor. xv. 45.
Εγενετο ο πρωτος ανθρωπος Αδαμ εις ψυχην ζωσαν.[5]

The first man, Adam, was made a living soul.

1 Cor. xv. 54.
Κατεποθη ο θανατος εις νικος.

Death is swallowed up in victory.

1 Cor. xv. 55.
Που σου, θανατε, το κεντρον; Που σου, αδη, το νικος;[6]

O death, where *is* thy sting? O grave, where *is* thy victory?

2 Cor. iv. 13.
Επιστευσα, διο ελαλησα.

I have believed, therefore have I spoken.

2 Cor. vi. 2.
Καιρω δεκτω επηκουσα σου, και εν ημερα σωτηριας εβοηθησα σοι.

I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee.

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sible either to make sense of the Hebrew, or to reconcile the old versions, either with the Hebrew or with one another. In the apostle's citation the sense is easy and consistent, and agreeable to the context in the prophet. No sense can be made of the Hebrew, but by a very forced construction. Some critics have imagined that the quotation was taken from some apocryphal book: but it is so near to the Hebrew here, both in sense and words, that we cannot suppose it to be taken from any other passage. Nor in this case would the apostle (it is presumed) have introduced it with—*as it is written.* It is more reasonable to suppose that the Hebrew text has been corrupted, and that the apostle took his citation from some more correct copy. See Bishop Lowth's Note on Isa. lxiv. 4., and Dr. Kennicott's Dissertatio Generalis, § 94. 87. (Dr. Randolph on the Quotations, p. 39.)

[1] Αυτων is added after φρονησει in the Codex Alexandrinus.

[2] This quotation agrees both with the Septuagint and with the Hebrew; except that it substitutes σοφων, *of the wise*, for ανθρωπων, *of men*, which however does not alter the sense. (Dr. Randolph.) Several MSS. of the Pauline Epistles, besides the Vulgate and Coptic versions, have ανθρωπων.

[3] This does not appear to be any citation at all, though it agrees near.y both with the Septuagint and Hebrew of Deut. xxxii. 17. (Ibid.)

[4] This is not quoted from the Septuagint, but agrees in *substance* with the Hebrew; excepting that it substitutes the *first* person for the *third*, and adds λεγει Κυριος—*saith the Lord.* The version of Aquila agrees exactly with this quotation as far as τουτω. See Montfaucon's edition of Origen's Hexapla, in loc.

[5] This is taken from the Septuagint, which translates the Hebrew literally; but the apostle, by way of explanation, adds πρωτος—*first*, and Αδαμ—*Adam.* (Scott.)

[6] Dr. Randolph is of opinion that the apostle either had a different reading of this passage of Hosea, or that he understood the words in a different sense from that expressed in the Hebrew Lexicons. But Bishop Horsley has shown that St. Paul only cited the prophet indirectly. (Translation of Hosea, Notes, pp. 163—167.)

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133. Lev. xxvi. 11, 12.

ונתתי משכני בתוככם ——— והתהלכתי בתוככם והייתי לכם לאלהים ואתם תהיו־לי לעם:

I will set my tabernacle among you: —— And I will walk among you, and will be your God, and ye shall be my people.

Lev. xxvi. 11, 12.

Και θησω την σκηνην μου εν υμιν.—Και εμπεριπατησω εν υμιν· και εσομαι υμων Θεος, και υμεις εσεσθε μοι λαος.

And I will fix my tabernacle among you.—And I will walk about among you, and be your God, and ye shall be my people.

2 Cor. vi. 16.

Ὅτι ενοικησω εν αυτοις, και εμπεριπατησω· και εσομαι αυτων Θεος, και αυτοι εσονται μοι λαος.[1]

I will dwell in them and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.

134. Isa. lii. 11, 12.

סורו סורו צאו משם טמא אל־תגעו צאו מתוכה ——— ומאספכם אלהי ישראל:

Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out from thence, touch no unclean *things*, go ye out of the midst of her. And the God of Israel will gather you up. (See the marginal rendering.)

Isa. lii. 11, 12.

Αποστητε, αποστητε, εξελθετε εκειθεν, και ακαθαρτου μη ἁψησθε, εξελθετε εκ μεσου αυτης, αφορισθητε—και ὁ επισυναγων υμας Θεος Ισραηλ.

Depart, depart; come out thence, and touch no polluted thing. Come out of the midst of her, be clean. And the God of Israel will bring up your rear.

2 Cor. vi. 17.

Διο εξελθετε εκ μεσου αυτων, και αφορισθητε, λεγει Κυριος· και ακαθαρτου μη αψησθε· κἀγω εισδεξομαι υμας.[2]

Wherefore, come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord: and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you.

35. (See 2 Sam. vii. 14. in No. 146. p. 307. *infra*.)

2 Cor. vi. 18.

Και εσομαι ὑμιν εις πατερα, και υμεις εσεσθε μοι εις υἱους και θυγατερας, λεγει Κυριος παντοκρατωρ.[3]

And I will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.

136. Exod. xvi. 18.

ולא העדיף המרבה והממעיט לא החסיר

He that gathered much had nothing over; and he that gathered little had no lack.

Exod. xvi. 18.

Ουκ επλεονασεν, ὁ το πολυ· και ὁ το ελαττον, ουκ ηλαττονησεν.

He who gathered much had nothing over; and he who gathered little did not fall short.

2 Cor. viii. 15.

Ὁ το πολυ, ουκ επλεονασε· και ὁ το ολιγον, ουκ ηλαττονησε.

He *that had gathered* much, had nothing over: and he *that had gathered* little, had no lack.

137. Psal. cxii. 9.

פזר נתן לאביונים צדקתו עמדת לעד

He hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor; his righteousness endureth for ever.

Psal. cxii. 9.

Εσκορπισεν, εδωκε τοις πενησιν· ἡ δικαιοσυνη αυτου μενει εις τον αἰωνα του αἰωνος.

He hath dispersed; he hath given to the needy; his righteousness shall endure for ever.

2 Cor. ix. 9.

Εσκορπισεν, εδωκε τοις πενησιν· ἡ δικαιοσυνη αυτου μενει εις τον αἰωνα.

He hath dispersed abroad, he hath given to the poor; his righteousness endureth for ever.

138. Deut. xix. 15.

על־פי שני עדים או על־פי שלשה עדים יקום דבר:

At the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall the matter be established.

Deut. xix. 15.

Επι στοματος δυο μαρτυρων, και επι στοματος τριων μαρτυρων, σταθησεται παν ῥημα.

By the mouth of two witnesses, or by the mouth of three witnesses, every thing shall be established.

2 Cor. xiii. 1.

Επι στοματος δυο μαρτυρων και τριων σταθησεται παν ῥημα.[4]

In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established.

139. Gen. xii. 3. (and see xviii. 18.)

ונברכו בך כל משפחת האדמה:

In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed.

Gen. xii. 3. (and see Gen. xviii. 18.)

Και ευλογηθησονται εν σοι πασαι αἱ φυλαι της γης.

And in thee shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed.

Gal. iii. 8.

Ὅτι ευλογηθησονται εν σοι παντα τα εθνη.

In thee shall all nations be blessed.

140. Deut. xxvii. 26.

ארור אשר לא־יקים את־דברי התורה־הזאת לעשות אותם

Cursed *be* he that confirmeth not *all* the words of this law to do them.

Deut. xxvii. 27. (26. of English version.)

Επικαταρατος πας ανθρωπος, ὁς ουκ εμμενει εν πασι τοις λογοις του νομου τουτου, ποιησαι αυτους.

Cursed be every man who will not persevere in all the words of this law to do them.

Gal. iii. 10.

Επικαταρατος πας ὁς ουκ εμμενει εν πασι τοις γεγραμμενοις εν τῳ βιβλιῳ του νομου, του ποιησαι αυτα.[5]

Cursed *is* every one, that continueth not in all things, which are written in the book of the law, to do them.

141. Deut xxi. 23.

קללת אלהים תלוי

He that is hanged is accursed of God.

Deut. xxi. 23.

Κεκατηραμενος ὑπο Θεου πας κρεμαμενος επι ξυλου.

Every one that is hanged on a tree [gibbet], is accursed of God.

Gal. iii. 13.

Επικαταρατος πας ὁ κρεμαμενος επι ξυλου.[6]

Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.

142. Isa. liv. 1.

רני עקרה לא ילדה פצחי רנה וצהלי לא־חלה כי־רבים בני־שוממה מבני בעולה

Sing, O barren, thou *that* didst not bear; break forth into singing and cry aloud, thou *that* didst not travail with child; for more are the children of the desolate, than of the married wife.

Isa. liv. 1.

Ευφρανθητι στειρα ἡ ου τικτουσα· ῥηξον και βοησον ἡ ουκ ωδινουσα· ὁτι πολλα τα τεκνα της ερημου μαλλον ἡ της εχουσης τον ανδρα.

Rejoice, thou barren, who bearest not: break forth with shouts of joy, thou who sufferest not the pangs of child-birth: for many more are the children of the desolate than of her who hath an husband.

Gal. iv. 27.

Ευφρανθητι στειρα ἡ ου τικτουσα· ῥηξον και βοησον, ἡ ουκ ωδινουσα· ὁτι πολλα τα τεκνα της ερημου μαλλον ἡ της εχουσης τον ανδρα.

Rejoice, *thou* barren that bearest not: break forth and cry, thou that travailest not: for the desolate hath many more children than she which hath an husband.

143. Gen. xxi. 10.

גרש האמה הזאת ואת־בנה כי לא יירש בן־האמה הזאת עם־בני עם־יצחק:

Cast out this bondwoman and her son; for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son, *even* with Isaac.

Gen. xxi. 10.

Εκβαλε την παιδισκην ταυτην, και τον υἱον αυτης· ου γαρ μη κληρονομησει ὁ υἱος της παιδισκης ταυτης μετα του υἱου μου Ισαακ.

Send away this girl and her son, for the son of this girl shall not inherit (or, be the heir) with my son Isaac.

Gal. iv. 30.

Εκβαλε την παιδισκην, και τον υἱον αυτης· ου γαρ μη κληρονομησει ὁ υἱος της παιδισκης μετα του υἱου της ελευθερας.[7]

Cast out the bondwoman and her son: for the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the free woman.

144. Psal. lxviii. 19. (18. of English version.)

עלית למרום שבית שבי לקחת מתנות באדם

Thou hast ascended up on high, thou hast led captivity captive: thou hast received gifts for men.

Psal. lxviii. 18.

Ανεβας εις ὑψος, ηχμαλωτευσας αἰχμαλωσιαν· ελαβες δοματα εν ανθρωπῳ.

Having ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive, and received gifts in the manner of men.

Eph. iv. 8.

Ανεβας εις ὑψος, ηχμαλωτευσεν αἰχμαλωσιαν· και εδωκε δοματα τοις ανθρωποις.

When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.

[1] In this and the following verses, the apostle applies to the Christian church what was spoken of the Israelites, in different places, but with some little variation. The citation is taken from Lev. xxvi. 11, 12, only altering the persons: ונתתי משכני בתוככם *I will set my tabernacle among you*, is very properly translated ενοικησω εν αυτοις, *I will dwell in them*.—The clause following is left out, and the rest is translated according to the Septuagint, only with change of the person, and the Septuagint is an exact translation of the Hebrew. (Dr. Randolph on the Quotations.)

[2] The general sense of the prophet cited is given in this passage; but it is neither made from the Septuagint, nor is it a translation of the Hebrew. The Septuagint is, *verbally*, much more according to the Hebrew.

[3] We cannot say, certainly, whence this quotation is taken; we have the substance of it in several parts of Scripture, where God promises to be a father to Israel, and calls Israel his son. Dr. Randolph thinks that it is most probably a reference to 2 Sam. vii. 14. where the very words are spoken of Solomon—*I will be his father, and he shall be my son*; and this promise to David is introduced v. 8. *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts* (in the Septuagint, Κυριος παντοκρατωρ, *the Lord Almighty*). The apostle applies this to Christians in general. (Dr. Randolph on the Quotations, p. 41.) But Scott is of opinion, that the apostle seems rather to apply to Christians the general declarations made by Jehovah concerning Israel. (Exod. iv. 22, 23. Jer. xxxi. 1. 9. and Hosea i. 9, 10.) See Christian Observer, vol. i. p. 236.

[4] This is only an allusion: it is taken, with a trifling abridgment, from the Alexandrine copy of the Septuagint, which is an exact translation of the Hebrew.

[5] Both the apostle's quotation and the Septuagint version give the grand meaning of the Hebrew; but neither of them is a literal translation; and it is evident that the apostle did not studiously quote the Septuagint. (Scott.)

[6] Neither the apostle nor the Septuagint gives a literal translation of the Hebrew. The word πας, *every one*, is inserted, which has no corresponding word in the Hebrew; and the words υπο Θεου, *of God*, of the Septuagint, are omitted. (Scott.) Dr. Randolph thinks that they are probably a corruption of the text.

[7] This agrees with the Septuagint, except that the pronouns ταυτης ταυτης (*this*) are omitted in the quotation; and that της ελευθερας (*of the free woman*) is substituted for μου Ισαακ (*my son Isaac*). In both these respects the quotation varies from the Hebrew; though the sense is in no respect affected or altered by it. These alterations or accommodations were necessary to the apostle's argument. (Randolph, Scott.)

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145. Exod. xx. 12. (and see Deut. v. 16.) כבד את־אביך ואת־אמך למען יאריכון ימיך על האדמה Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land.	Exod. xx. 12. (and see Deut. v. 16.) Τιμα τον πατερα σου, και την μητερα σου, ἱνα ευ σοι γενηται, και ἱνα μακροχρονιος γενῃ επι της γης. Honour thy father and thy mother, that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long in the land.	Eph. vi. 2, 3. Τιμα τον πατερα σου και την μητερα—[1]ἱνα ευ σοι γενηται, και ἰσῃ μακροχρονιος επι της γης.[1] Honour thy father and thy mother—that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long upon the earth.
146. 2 Sam. vii. 14. אני אהיה־לו לאב והוא יהיה־לי לבן I will be his father, and he shall be my son.	2 Sam. vii. 14. Εγω ἰσομαι αυτω εις πατερα, και αυτος ἐσται μοι εις υἱον. I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son.	Heb. i. 5. Εγω ἰσομαι αυτω εις πατερα και αυτος ἐσται μοι εις υἱον. I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son.
147. Psal. xcvii. 7. השתחוו־לו כל־אלהים : Worship him, all ye gods.	Deut. xxxii. 43. Και προσκυνησατωσαν αυτω παντες αγγελοι Θεου. And let all the angels of God worship him.	Heb. i. 6. Και προσκυνησατωσαν αυτω παντες αγγελοι Θεου.[2] And let all the angels of God worship him.
148. Psal. civ. 4. עשה מלאכיו רוחות משרתיו אש להט : Who maketh his angels spirits, his ministers a flaming fire.	Psal. civ. 4. Ὁ ποιων τους αγγελους αυτου πνευματα, και τους λειτουργους αυτου πυρ φλεγον. Who maketh winds his messengers, and flaming fire his ministers.	Heb. i. 7. Ὁ ποιων τους αγγελους αυτου πνευματα, και τους λειτουργους αυτου πυρος φλογα. Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.
149. Psal. xlv. 7, 8. (6, 7. of English version.) כסאך אלהים עולם ועד שבט מישר שבט מלכותך : אהבת צדק ותשנא רשע על־כן משחך אלהים אלהיך שמן ששון מחבריך :	Psal. xlv. 6, 7. Ὁ θρονος σου, ὁ Θεος, εις αιωνα αιωνος· ῥαβδος ευθυτητος ἡ ῥαβδος της βασιλειας σου· Ηγαπησας δικαιοσυνην, και ἐμισησας ανομιαν· διο τουτο ἐχρισε σε ὁ Θεος, ὁ Θεος σου, ελαιον αγαλλιασεως παρα τους μετοχους σου.	Heb. i. 8, 9. Ὁ θρονος σου, ὁ Θεος, εις τον αιωνα του αιωνος· ῥαβδος ευθυτητος ἡ ῥαβδος της βασιλειας σου· Ηγαπησας δικαιοσυνην, και ἐμισησας ανομιαν· διο τουτο ἐχρισε σε ὁ Θεος, ὁ Θεος σου, ελαιον αγαλλιασεως παρα τους μετοχους σου. Thy throne, O God, *is* for ever and ever; a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of joy above thy associates.
Thy throne, O God, *is* for ever and ever: the sceptre of thy kingdom *is* a right sceptre. Thou *lovest* righteousness and hatest wickedness; *therefore* God, thy God, hath anointed thee with *the oil of* gladness above thy fellows.	Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; the sceptre of thy kingdom is a sceptre of rectitude. Thou didst love righteousness and hate iniquity; therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of joy above thy associates.	
150. Psal. cii. 25—27. לפנים הארץ יסדת ומעשה ידיך שמים : המה יאבדו ואתה תעמד וכלם כבגד יבלו כלבוש תחליפם ויחלפו : ואתה הוא ושנותיך לא יתמו :	Psal. cii. 25—27. Κατ' αρχας την γην συ, Κυριε, ἐθεμελιωσας, και ἐργα των χειρων σου ἐισιν οἱ ουρανοι. Αυτοι απολουνται, συ δε διαμενεις· και παντες ὡς ἱματιον παλαιωθησονται, και ὡσει περιβολαιον ἑλιξεις αυτους, και αλλαγησονται· Συ δε ὁ αυτος ει, και τα ἐτη σου ουκ εκλειψουσιν.	Heb. i. 10—12. Συ κατ' αρχας, Κυριε, την γην ἐθεμελιωσας, και ἐργα των χειρων σου ἐισιν οἱ ουρανοι. Αυτοι απολουνται, συ δε διαμενεις· και παντες ὡς ἱματιον παλαιωθησονται, και ὡσει περιβολαιον ἑλιξεις αυτους, και αλλαγησονται· Συ δε ὁ αυτος ει, και τα ἐτη σου ουκ εκλειψουσι.[3] Thou, Lord, in the beginning didst lay the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the works of thine hands. They shall perish, but thou wilt endure: they shall all wax old like a garment; and like a mantle thou wilt fold them up, and they shall be changed. But thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end.
Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure; yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment. As a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail.	Thou, Lord, in the beginning, didst lay the foundations of the earth; and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou wilt endure: they shall all wax old like a garment; and like a mantle thou wilt fold them up, and they shall be changed. But thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end.	Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the works of thine hands. They shall perish, but thou remainest: and they shall all wax old as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail.
151. Psal. viii. 4—6. מה־אנוש כי־תזכרנו ובן־אדם כי תפקדנו : ותחסרהו מעט מאלהים וכבוד והדר תעטרהו : תמשילהו במעשי ידיך כל שתה תחת־רגליו :	Psal. viii. 4—6. Τι ἐστιν ανθρωπος, ὁτι μιμνῃσκῃ αυτου; ἡ υιος ανθρωπου ὁτι ἐπισκεπτῃ αυτον; Ηλαττωσας αυτον βραχυ τι παρ' αγγελους, δοξῃ και τιμῃ ἐστεφανωσας αυτον, και κατεστησας αυτον επι τα ἐργα των χειρων σου· παντα ὑποταξας ὑποκατω των ποδων αυτου.	Heb. ii. 6—8. Τι ἐστιν ανθρωπος, ὁτι μιμνῃσκῃ αυτου; ἡ υιος ανθρωπου, ὁτι ἐπισκεπτῃ αυτον; Ηλαττωσας αυτον βραχυ τι παρ' αγγελους· δοξῃ και τιμῃ ἐστεφανωσας αυτον, και κατεστησας αυτον επι τα ἐργα των χειρων σου· παντα ὑποταξας ὑποκατω των ποδων αυτου. What is man, that thou art mindful of him? or the son of man, that thou visitest him? Thou madest him a little lower than the angels; with glory and honour hast thou crowned him, and set him over the works of thy hands. Thou hast put all things under his feet.
What is a man that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that thou visitest him? For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands: thou hast put all *things* under his feet.	What is man that thou shouldest be mindful of him? or the son of man that thou shouldest visit him? Thou madest him a little lower than angels; with glory and honour hast thou crowned him, and set him over the works of thy hands. Thou hast put all things under his feet.	
152. Psal. xxii. 23. (22. of English version.) אספרה שמך לאחי בתוך קהל אהלילך :	Psal. xxii. 22. Διηγησομαι το ονομα σου τοις αδελφοις μου· εν μεσῳ ἐκκλησιας ὑμνησω σε.	Heb. ii. 12. Απαγγελω το ονομα σου τοις αδελφοις μου· εν μεσῳ ἐκκλησιας ὑμνησω σε.
I will declare thy name unto my brethren: in the midst of the congregation will I praise thee.	I will declare thy name to my brethren: in the midst of the congregation I will sing praise to thee.	I will declare thy name unto my brethren: in the midst of the church will I sing praise unto thee.
153. Isa. viii. 17, 18. וקויתי לו : הנה אנכי והילדים אשר נתן־לי יהוה I will look for him.—Behold, I and the children which the LORD hath given me.	Isa. viii. 17, 18. Και πεποιθως ἐσομαι επ' αυτῳ. Ἰδου ἐγω και τα παιδια ἃ μοι ἐδωκεν ὁ Θεος. And I will trust in him. Here am I, and the children whom God hath given me.	Heb. ii. 13. Εγω ἐσομαι πεποιθως επ' αυτῳ.—Ἰδου ἐγω και τα παιδια ἃ μοι ἐδωκεν ὁ Θεος. I will put my trust in him. Behold I and the children which God hath given me.
154. Psal. xcv. 7—11. היום אם־בקלו תשמעו : אל־תקשו לבבכם כמריבה כיום מסה במדבר : אשר נסוני אבותיכם בחנוני גם־ראו פעלי : ארבעים שנה אקוט בדור ואמר עם תעי לבב הם והם לא־ידעו דרכי : אשר־נשבעתי באפי אם־יבאון אל־מנוחתי :	Psal. xcv. 7—11. Σημερον, εαν της φωνης αυτου ακουσητε, μη σκληρυνητε τας καρδιας ὑμων, ὡς εν τῳ παραπικρασμῳ, κατα την ἡμερον του πειρασμου εν τῳ ερημῳ· Ου ἐπειρασαν με οἱ πατερες ὑμων, ἐδοκιμασαν, και ειδον τα ἐργα μου. Τεσσερακοντα ἐτη προσωχθισα τῃ γενεᾳ ἐκεινῃ, και ειπα· Αει πλανωνται τῃ καρδιᾳ, και αυτοι ουκ ἐγνωσαν τας ὁδους μου· Ὡς ωμοσα εν τῃ ὀργῃ μου, ει ἐισελευσονται ἐις την καταπαυσιν μου.	Heb. iii. 7—10. Σημερον, εαν της φωνης αυτου ακουσητε, μη σκληρυνητε τας καρδιας ὑμων, ὡς εν τῳ παραπικρασμῳ, κατα την ἡμερον του πειρασμου εν τῳ ερημῳ· Ου ἐπειρασαν με οἱ πατερες ὑμων, ἐδοκιμασαν με, και ειδον τα ἐργα μου τεσσερακοντα ἐτη· Διο προσωχθισα τῃ γενεᾳ ἐκεινῃ και ειπον· Αει πλανωνται τῃ καρδιᾳ· αυτοι δε ουκ ἐγνωσαν τας ὁδους μου· Ὡς ωμοσα εν τῃ ὀργῃ μου, ει ἐισελευσονται ἐις την καταπαυσιν μου.
To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your heart, as in the provocation, *and* as *in* the day of temptation in the wilderness: when your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my work. Forty years long was I grieved with *this* generation, and said, It *is* a people that do err in their heart, and they have not known my ways: unto whom I sware in my wrath, that they should not enter into my rest.	To-day, since ye have heard his voice, harden not your hearts as at the great provocation,—as in the day of the temptation in the desert, where your fathers tried me; they proved me, though they had seen my works. Forty years I was incensed with that generation, and said, They do always err in their heart, and have not known my ways. So I sware in my wrath, They shall not enter into my rest.	To-day, if ye shall hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation, in the day of temptation in the wilderness; when your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my works forty years. Wherefore I was grieved with that generation, and said, They do always err in *their* hearts; and they have not known my ways. So I sware in my wrath, They shall not enter into my rest.

[1] This quotation may be taken either from Exod. xx. 12. above given, or from Deut. v. 16. which runs thus:—*Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be prolonged, and that it may go well with thee in the land which the* LORD *thy God giveth thee.*

[2] It will be seen that these words are quoted exactly from the Septuagint of Deut. xxxii. 43. But there is something answering to them in the Hebrew. Some other additions are made to the same verse which are not in the Hebrew. (Scott.)

[3] This quotation is taken from the Septuagint, which agrees exactly with the Hebrew, only for חחליפם (*thou shalt change*), is put ἑλιξεις (*thou shalt fold up*). Some manuscripts of this epistle have αλλαξεις (*thou shalt change*), which is also the reading of the Vulgate version. Dr. Randolph, therefore, thinks it probable, that the original reading, both in the psalm and this epistle was αλλαξεις. It is so in the Alexandrine edition of the Septuagint, and in the clause immediately following, all copies read αλλαγησονται. On the Quotations, p. 42.

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155. **Gen. ii. 3.**

ויברך אלהים את־יום השביעי ויקדש אתו כי בו שבת מכל־מלאכתו אשר־ברא אלהים לעשות:

And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it; because that in it he hath rested from all his work which God had created and made.

Gen. ii. 3.

Και ευλογησεν ὁ Θεος την ἡμερον την ἑβδομην, και ἡγιασεν αυτην· ὅτι εν αυτῃ κατεπαυσεν απο παντων των εργων αυτου, ὧν ἠρξατο ὁ Θεος ποιησαι.

And God blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it; because on it he rested from all these works of his, which God had taken occasion to make.

Heb. iv. 4.

Και κατεπαυσεν ὁ Θεος εν τῃ ἡμερᾳ τῃ ἑβδομῃ απο παντων των εργων αυτου.[1]

And God did rest the seventh day from all his works.

156. **Psal. cx. 4.**

אתה־כהן לעולם על־דברתי מלכי־צדק:

Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedec.

Psal. cx. 4.

Συ ἱερευς εις τον αιωνα κατα την ταξιν Μελχισεδεκ.

Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedek.

Heb. v. 6.

Συ ἱερευς εις τον αιωνα κατα την ταξιν Μελχισεδεκ.

Thou *art* a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec.

157. **Gen. xxii. 16, 17.**

ויאמר בי נשבעתי נאם־יהוה ... כי־ברך אברכך והרבה ארבה את־זרעך

By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, ... that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed.

Gen. xxii. 16, 17.

Λεγων, Κατ' εμαυτου ωμοσα, λεγει Κυριος·—Ἢ μην ευλογων ευλογησω σε, και πληθυνων πληθυνω το σπερμα σου.

Saying, By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, —with blessings, I will indeed bless thee; and I will multiply thy seed abundantly.

Heb. vi. 13, 14.

Θεος ..... ωμοσε καθ' ἑαυτου, λεγων· Ἢ μην ευλογων ευλογησω σε, και πληθυνων πληθυνω σε.

God ..... sware by himself, saying, Surely, blessing, I will bless thee; and multiplying, I will multiply thee.

158. **Exod. xxv. 40.**

וראה ועשה בתבניתם אשר־אתה מראה בהר:

And look, that thou make them after their pattern, which was showed thee in the mount.

Exod. xxv. 40.

Ὁρα, ποιησεις κατα τον τυπον τον δεδειγμενον σοι εν τῳ ὀρει.

See that thou make them according to the pattern shown thee on this mount.

Heb. viii. 5.

Ὁρα γαρ, φησι, ποιησης παντα κατα τον τυπον τον δειχθεντα σοι εν τῳ ὀρει.

For, See, saith he, *that* thou make all things according to the pattern showed to thee in the mount.

159. **Jer. xxxi. 31—34.**

הנה ימים באים נאם־יהוה וכרתי את־בית ישראל ואת־בית יהודה ברית חדשה: לא כברית אשר כרתי את־אבותם ביום החזיקי בידם להוציאם מארץ מצרים אשר־המה הפרו את־בריתי ואנכי בעלתי בם נאם־יהוה: כי זאת הברית אשר אכרת את־בית ישראל אחרי הימים ההם נאם־יהוה נתתי את־תורתי בקרבם ועל־לבם אכתבנה והייתי להם לאלהים והמה יהיו־לי לעם: ולא ילמדו עוד איש את־רעהו ואיש את־אחיו לאמר דעו את־יהוה כי כולם ידעו אותי למקטנם ועד־גדולם נאם־יהוה כי אסלח לעונם ולחטאתם לא אזכר־עוד:

Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah; not according to the coven nt that I made with their fathers, in the day *that* I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt (which my covenant they brake, although I was a husband to them, saith the Lord). But this *shall be* the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel; after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and will write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the LORD: for they shall all know me from the least unto the greatest, saith the LORD: for I will forgive their inkquity, and I will remember their sin no more.

Jer. xxxi. 31—34.

Ἰδου, ἡμεραι ερχονται, φησι Κυριος, και διαθησομαι τῳ οικῳ Ισραηλ και τῳ οικῳ Ιουδα διαθηκην καινην· ου κατα την διαθηκην ἣν διεθεμην τοις πατρασιν αυτων, εν ἡμερᾳ επιλαβομενου μου της χειρος αυτων, εξαγαγειν αυτους εκ γης Αιγυπτου· ὅτι αυτοι ουκ ενεμειναν εν τῃ διαθηκῃ μου, και εγω ημελησα αυτων, φησι Κυριος· Ὅτι αὕτη ἡ διαθηκη μου, ἣν διαθησομαι τῳ οικῳ Ισραηλ, μετα τας ἡμερας εκεινας, φησι Κυριος· διδους δωσω νομους μου εις την διανοιαν αυτων, και επι καρδιας αυτων γραψω αυτους· και εσομαι αυτοις εις Θεον, και αυτοι εσονται μοι εις λαον. Και ου μη διδαξωσιν ἑκαστος τον πολιτην αυτου και ἑκαστος τον αδελφον αυτου, λεγων, Γνωθι τον Κυριον· ὅτι παντες ειδησουσι με, απο μικρου αυτων ἑως μεγαλου αυτων· ὅτι ἵλεως εσομαι ταις αδικιαις αυτων, και των ἁμαρτιων αυτων ου μη μνησθω ετι.

Behold, the days are coming, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers, in the day when I took them by the hand to bring them out of Egypt. Because they did not abide by this covenant of mine, therefore I took no care of them, saith the Lord. For, this is my covenant which I will make with the house of Israel: after those days, saith the Lord, I will adapt my laws to their understandings, and write them on their hearts, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people; and they shall no more teach every man his *fellow*-citizen, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for all will know me from the greatest to the least of them; for I will be merciful to their iniquities, and no more remember their sins.

Heb. viii. 8—12.

Ἰδου, ἡμεραι ερχονται, λεγει Κυριος, και συντελεσω επι τον οικον Ισραηλ και επι τον οικον Ιουδα διαθηκην καινην· ου κατα την διαθηκην ἣν εποιησα τοις πατρασιν αυτων, εν ἡμερᾳ επιλαβομενου μου της χειρος αυτων, εξαγαγειν αυτους εκ γης Αιγυπτου· ὅτι αυτοι ουκ ενεμειναν εν τῃ διαθηκῃ μου, καγω ημελησα αυτων, λεγει Κυριος· Ὅτι αὕτη ἡ διαθηκη, ἣν διαθησομαι τῳ οικῳ Ισραηλ μετα τας ἡμερας εκεινας, λεγει Κυριος· διδους νομους μου εις τας διανοιας αυτων, και επι καρδιας αυτων επιγραψω αυτους· και εσομαι αυτοις εις Θεον, και αυτοι εσονται μου εις λαον· Και ου μη διδαξωσιν ἑκαστος τον πλησιον αυτου, και ἑκαστος τον αδελφον αυτου, λεγων, Γνωθι τον Κυριον· ὅτι παντες ειδησουσι με, απο μικρου αυτων ἑως μεγαλου αυτων· ὅτι ἵλεως εσομαι ταις αδικιαις αυτων, και των ἁμαρτιων αυτων [και των ανομιων αυτων][4] ου μη μνησθω ετι.[5]

Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah: not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt; because they continued not in my covenant, and I regarded them not, saith the Lord. For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord. I will put my laws in their mind, and write them in their hearts; and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people: And they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for all shall know me from the least to the greatest. For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins [and their iniquities][4] will I remember no more.

160. **Exod. xxiv. 8.**

הנה דם־הברית אשר כרת יהוה עמכם

Behold the blood of the covenant, which the LORD hath made with you.

Exod. xxiv. 8.

Ἰδου το αἱμα της διαθηκης, ἧς διεθετο Κυριος προς ὑμας.

Behold the blood of the covenant, which the Lord hath made with you.

Heb. ix. 20.

Τουτο το αἱμα της διαθηκης, ἧς ενετειλατο προς ὑμας ὁ Θεος.

This is the blood of the testament, which God hath enjoined unto you.

151. Psal. xl. 7—9 (6—8. of English version.)

זבח ומנחה לא חפצת אזנים כרית לי עולה וחטאה לא שאלת: אז אמרתי הנה־באתי במגלת־ספר כתוב עלי: לעשות־רצונך אלהי חפצתי ותורתך בתוך מעי

Psal. xl. 6—8.

Θυσιαν και προσφορον ουκ ἠθελησας, σωμα δε κατηρτισω μοι· Ὁλοκαυτωματα και περι ἁμαρτιας ουκ ᾐτησας. Τοτε ειπον· Ἰδου, ἡκω (εν κεφαλιδι βιβλιου γεγραπται περι εμου) του ποιησαι το θελημα σου, ὁ Θεος μου, ἠβουληθην, και τον νομον σου εν μεσῳ της καρδιας μου.

Heb. x. 5—7.

Θυσιαν και προσφορον ουκ ἠθελησας, σωμα δε κατηρτισω μοι· Ὁλοκαυτωματα και περι ἁμαρτιας ουκ ευδοκησας. Τοτε ειπον· Ἰδου, ἡκω (εν κεφαλιδι βιβλιου γεγραπται περι εμου) του ποιησαι, ὁ Θεος, το θελημα σου.[7]

[1] This is an abridgment both of the Septuagint and the Hebrew.

[2] For επαυσατο, some MSS. and the quotations of this verse by Chrysostom, Theodoret, Photius, and Theophylact, read διεθεμην with the Septuagint.

[3] For πλησιον, eighteen MSS., four of which are of the greatest antiquity, seven editions, both the Syriac versions, and also the Arabic, Coptic, and Armenian versions, besides two MSS. of the Old Italic (Latin) version, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Johannes Damascenus, and Augustine, all read πολιτην, which agrees with the Septuagint, and is received by Griesbach into the Greek text of the New Testament, as the genuine reading.

[4] The words between brackets are omitted in some MSS.

[5] This long quotation is in general made from the Septuagint, though with several verbal differences, which will be easily observed on collation, but which do not affect the meaning, though they seem to imply that the apostle did not confine himself to the Septuagint. It is, however, manifest that he had that translation in his thoughts, because he exactly quotes it, where it differs most materially from the Hebrew. The Septuagint is, almost throughout this passage, a close version of the Hebrew; but, instead of the clause, which in our authorized English translation is rendered—*although I was a husband to them*, the Septuagint reads, και εγω ημελησα αυτων, *therefore I took no care of them*; which lection is followed by the apostle. Whether the Hebrew was then read differently, as Dr. Randolph and other learned men suppose, or whether the apostle did not think the difference so material as to interrupt his argument on account of it, others must determine. Another variation is, that the Hebrew has the preterite in one place, where the Septuagint has the future, διδους δωσω, *I will put*, &c. But the Hebrew should doubtless be read with what the grammarians term the *conversive vau*, and be understood in a future sense, as the context requires (which both before and after speaks of a new and future covenant); as it is also rendered in all the ancient versions, and in the Chaldee paraphrase; and as twenty of the Hebrew manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott read it. See his Dissertatio Generalis, § 66. (Dr. Randolph, Scott.)

[6] For ενετειλατο the first of the apostolic constitutions (which, although claiming apostolical antiquity, are not earlier than the middle of the fourth century) reads διεθετο with the Septuagint.

[7] This quotation is taken from the Septuagint with a little variation; but although the general meaning is the same, they are widely different in verbal expression in the Hebrew. David's words are, אזנים כרית לי *aznayim carita li*, which we translate, *my ears hast thou opened*; but they might be more properly rendered, *my ears hast thou bored*; *that is*, Thou hast made Me *thy servant for ever*, to dwell in thine own house: for the allusion is evidently to the custom mentioned Exod. xxi. 2, &c. "If thou buy a Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve, and in the seventh he shall go out free: but if the seventh shall positively say, I love my master, &c. I will not go out free, then his master shall bring him to the door-post, and shall bore his ear through with an awl, and he shall serve him for ever." But how is it possible that the Septuagint and the apostle should take a meaning so totally different from the sense of the Hebrew? Dr. Kennicott has a very ingenious conjecture here: he supposes that the Septuagint and apostle express the meaning of the words as they stood in the copy from which the Greek translation was made; and that the present Hebrew text

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Burnt-offering and sin-offering hast thou not required. Then said I, Lo, I come: in the volume of the book *it is* written of me: I delight to do thy will, O my God, yea thy law is within my heart.

Sacrifice and offerings thou didst not desire, but thou preparedst a body for me. Whole burnt-offerings, and offerings for sin thou didst not require. Then I said, Behold I come (in the volume of a book it is written respecting me) to perform, O my God, thy will, I was determined, even that law of thine, within my heart.

Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me. In burnt-offerings and *sacrifices* for sin thou hast had no pleasure Then said I, Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God.

162. Deut. xxxii. 35. (36. of English version.)
כי־ידין יהוה עמו
The LORD shall judge his people.

Deut. xxxii. 36.
Ὅτι κρινεῖ Κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ.
Because the Lord will judge his people.

Heb. x. 30.
Κύριος κρινεῖ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ.
The Lord shall judge his people.

163. Hab. ii. 3, 4.
כי־בא יבא לא יאחר : הנה עפלה לא־ישרה נפשו בו וצדיק באמונתו יחיה :
For the vision *is* yet for an appointed time; but at the end, it shall speak and not lie: though it tarry, wait for it, because it will surely come, it will not tarry. Behold, his soul, which *is* lifted up, is not upright in him: but the just shall live by his faith.

Hab. ii. 3, 4.
Ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἥξει, καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ· Ἐὰν ὑποστειλήται, οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως μου ζήσεται.
For he will assuredly come, and will not fail. If any one draw back, my soul hath no pleasure in him. But the just shall live by faith in me.

Heb. x. 37, 38. (and see Rom. i. 17. Gal. iii. 11.)
Ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἥξει, καὶ οὐ χρονίσει· Ὁ δὲ δίκαιός μου ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται· καὶ ἐὰν ὑποστείληται, οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῷ.[1]
For yet a little while, and he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry. Now the just shall live by faith: but if *any man* draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.

164. Gen. xlvii. 31.
וישתחו ישראל על־ראש המטה :
And Israel bowed himself upon the bed's head.

Gen. xlvii. 31.
Καὶ προσεκύνησεν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ ἁβδοῦ αὐτοῦ.
And Israel bowed down on the head of his staff.[2]

Heb. xi. 21.
Καὶ προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ.
And worshipped, *leaning* upon the top of his staff.[2]

165. Prov. iii. 11.
מוסר יהוה בני אל־תמאס ואל־תקץ בתוכחתו :
My son, despise not the chastening of the LORD; neither be weary of his correction.

Prov. iii. 11.
Υἱέ, μὴ ὀλιγωρεῖ παιδείας Κυρίου, μηδὲ ἐκλύου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος.
My son, slight not the correction of the Lord; nor faint when reproved by him.

Heb. xii. 5.
Υἱέ μου, μὴ ὀλιγωρεῖ παιδείας Κυρίου, μηδὲ ἐκλύου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος.
My son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of him.

166. Josh. i. 5. (and see Deut. xxxi. 8.)
לא ארפך ולא־אעזבך :
I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.

Deut. xxxi. 8.
Οὐκ ἀνήσει σε, οὐδὲ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπῃ.
[The Lord] . . . . will not leave thee, nor forsake thee.

Heb. xiii. 5.
Οὐ μή σε ἀνῶ, οὐδ' οὐ μή σε ἐγκαταλίπω.
I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee

167. Psal. cxviii. 6.
יהוה לי לא אירא מה־יעשה לי אדם :
The LORD is on my side, I will not fear; what can man do unto me?

Psal. cxviii. 6.
Κύριός μοι βοηθός, καὶ οὐ φοβηθήσομαί τι ποιήσει μοι ἄνθρωπος.
The Lord *is* my helper, and I will not fear what man can do unto me.

Heb. xiii. 6.
Κύριός μοι βοηθός, καὶ οὐ φοβηθήσομαί τι ποιήσει μοι ἄνθρωπος.
The Lord *is* my helper, and I will not fear what man can do unto me.

168. Hag. ii. 6.
עוד אחת מעט היא ואני מרעיש את־השמים ואת־הארץ
Yet once, it *is* a little while, and I will shake the heavens and the earth.

Hag. ii. 6.
Ἔτι ἅπαξ ἐγὼ σείσω τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ τὴν γῆν.
Yet once more, I will shake the heaven and the earth.

Heb. xii. 26.
Ἔτι ἅπαξ ἐγὼ σείω οὐ μόνον τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν.[3]
Yet once more I shake, not the earth only, but also heaven.

169. Hos. xiv. 3. (2. of English version.)
ונשלמה פרים שפתינו :
So will we render the calves of our lips.

Hos. xiv. 2.
Καὶ ἀντικαταδώσομεν καρπὸν χειλέων ἡμῶν.
An*d* we will render to thee the fruit of our lips.

Heb. xiii. 15.
Δι' αὐτοῦ οὖν ἀναφερμεν θυσίαν αἰνέσεως διὰ παντὸς τῷ Θεῷ, τουτέστι, καρπὸν χειλέων ὁμολογούντων τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.[4]
By him, therefore, let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of *our* lips, confessing (*marginal rendering*) to his name.

170. (Gen. vi. 3. 5. 7)

(Gen. vi. 3—5. 7)

James iv. 5.
Πρὸς φθόνον ἐπιποθεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα ὃ κατῴκησεν ἐν ἡμῖν.[5]
The spirit, that dwelleth in us, lusteth to envy

171. Prov. iii. 34.
אם־ללצים הוא יליץ ולענוים יתן־חן :

Prov. iii. 34.
Κύριος ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν.

James iv. 6.
Ὁ Θεὸς[6] ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν.[7]

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is corrupted in the word אזנים *aznayim*, ears, which has been written through carelessness for אז גוה *az gevah*, THEN, a BODY. The first syllable אז *az* THEN, is the same in both; and the latter נים *nim*, which, joined to אז *az*, makes אזנים *aznayim*, might have been easily mistaken for גוה *gevah*, BODY: ג *gim*, being very like ג *gimel*; י *yod* like ו *vau*; and ה *he* like final ם *mem*; especially if the line on which the letters were written in the MS. happened to be blacker than ordinary (which has often been a cause of mistake) it might have been easily taken for the under stroke of the *mem*, and thus give rise to a corrupt reading: add to this the root כרה *carah* signifies as well to *prepare*, as to *open*, *bore*, &c. On this supposition the ancient copy translated by the Septuagint, and followed by the apostle, must have read the text thus, אז גוה כריתה לי *az geva carita li*; σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι, *then a body thou hast prepared me*: thus the Hebrew text, the Version of the Septuagint, and the apostle, will agree in what is known to be an indisputable fact in Christianity; namely, that Christ was *incarnated* for the sin of the world. The *Æthiopic* has nearly the same reading: the *Arabic* has both, *A body hast thou prepared for me, and mine ears hast thou opened*. But the *Syriac*, the *Chaldee*, and the *Vulgate*, agree with the present Hebrew text; and none of the MSS. collated by *Kennicott* and *De Rossi* have any various reading on the disputed words. (Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary on the New Testament, note on Heb. x. 5.)

[1] This quotation is nearly from the Septuagint, with which the version of Aquila agrees: and as both the apostle's citation and that version differ considerably from the Hebrew, some corruption of the text may be suspected. The general meaning, however, is the same.

[2] This quotation is taken from the Septuagint version of Gen. xlvii. 31., omitting only the word Israel. The variation from the Hebrew is merely in the vowel points: המטה *a bed*, the Septuagint read המטה *a staff*. And that this is the true reading seems probable, because it does not appear that Jacob was then confined to his bed, and because it is not easy to understand what can be meant by *worshipping* or bowing himself *on the head of his bed*. In the other reading the sense is plain: *Jacob worshipped God*, and, being old and feeble, supported himself by *leaning on the top of his staff*. (Dr. Randolph on the Quotations, p. 45.)

[3] The apostle seems purposely to have varied from the Septuagint, in order to render the quotation more emphatical and suited to his purpose. The Septuagint well translates the Hebrew, omitting the words rendered in our version, *It is a little while*. (Scott.)

[4] This is not properly a citation, but only an allusion to an expression in Hos. xiv. 3. The phrase καρπὸν χειλέων, *fruit of the lips*, is taken from the Septuagint. In the Hebrew, it is פרים שפתינו, which our English translation and the Vulgate version render the calves of our lips. This expression may refer primarily to the sacrifices, heifers, calves, &c. which the Israelites had *vowed* to Jehovah; so that the *calves of their lips* were the sacrifices which they had promised. From the apostle and Septuagint rendering this word *fruit* (in which they are followed by the Syriac and Arabic versions) it is evident that their copies read פרי (PERY) the ם being omitted; and thus the word would be literally *fruit*, and not calves. This reading, however, is not found in any of the MSS. hitherto collated.

[5] This, Dr. Randolph has observed, is a difficult passage. The apostle is generally thought to refer to Gen. vi. 3. 5., where we have the like in sense; but, in expression, the apostle differs widely both from the Hebrew and the Septuagint. Dr. Randolph and Mr. Scott, after some expositors, think it a general reference to the doctrine of Scripture, and not a direct quotation; as much as to say, it is the constant doctrine of Scripture, that *the spirit which dwelleth in us lusteth to envy, and is prone to all evil*. It ought however to be observed, that many eminent critics, as Whitby, Griesbach, Macknight, &c., divide this verse into two members, which they read and point, *interrogatively*, thus, *Do ye think that the Scripture speaketh in vain? Doth the spirit, which dwelleth in us, lust unto envy?* Which mode of pointing removes the difficulty at once.

[6] Several manuscripts, editions, and the Armenian and Sclavonic versions, read Κύριος, with the Septuagint.

[7] This is taken from the Septuagint, only putting Ὁ Θεὸς instead of Κύριος. They differ from the Hebrew, with which the Vulgate agrees—*illudit*

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Surely he scorneth the scorners, but giveth grace unto the lowly

The Lord resisteth the proud, but he giveth grace unto the humble.

God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble.

72 Lev. xi. 44.

והייתם קדשים כי קדוש אני

Ye shall be holy, for I am holy.

Lev. xi. 44.

Και ἅγιοι εσεσθε, ὅτι ἅγιος ειμι εγω Κυριος ὁ Θεος ὑμων.

And be ye holy, because I the Lord your God am holy.

1 Pet. i. 16.

Ἅγιοι γενεσθε,[1] ὅτι εγω ἅγιος ειμι.

Be ye holy, for I am holy.

73. Isa. xl. 6—8.

כל־הבשר חציר וכל־חסדו כציץ השדה: יבש חציר נבל ציץ.....ודבר אלהינו יקום לעולם:

All flesh *is* grass, and all the goodliness thereof *is* as the flower of the field. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: ..... But the word of our God shall stand fast for ever.

Isa. xl. 6—8.

Πασα σαρξ χορτος, και πασα δοξα ανθρωπου ὡς ανθος χορτου· Εξηρανθη ὁ χορτος, και το ανθος εξεπεσε. Το δε ῥημα του Θεου ἡμων μενει εις τον αἰωνα.

All flesh is grass; and all the glory of man as a flower of grass. The grass is withered, and the flower fallen; but the word of our God endureth for ever.

1 Pet. i. 24, 25.

Διοτι πασα σαρξ ὡς χορτος, και πασα δοξα ανθρωπου ὡς ανθος χορτου· Εξηρανθη ὁ χορτος, και το ανθος αυτου εξεπεσε· Το δε ῥημα Κυριου μενει εις τον αἰωνα.

For all flesh *is* as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away: but the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

174. Isa. xxviii. 16.

הנני יסד בציון אבן בחן פנת יקרת מוסד מוסד המאמין לא יחיש:

Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation, a stone, tried stone, a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation; he that believeth shall not make haste.

Isa. xxviii. 16.

Ιδου, εγω εμβαλλω εις τα θεμελια Σιων λιθον πολυτελη, εκλεκτον, ακρογωνιαιον, εντιμον, εις τα θεμελια αυτης· και ὁ πιστευων ου μη καταισχυνθῃ.

Behold I lay for the foundation of Sion, a stone of inestimable worth, a chosen precious corner-stone for the foundations of it: and he who believeth shall not be ashamed.

1 Pet. ii. 6. (and see Rom. ix. 33.)

Ιδου, τιθημι εν Σιων λιθον ακρογωνιαιον, εκλεκτον, εντιμον· και ὁ πιστευων επ' αυτῳ ου μη καταισχυνθῃ.

Behold I lay in Sion a chief corner-stone, elect, precious; and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded.

175. Exod. xix. 6.

ואתם תהיו־לי ממלכת כהנים וגוי קדוש

Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation.

Exod. xix. 6.

Ὑμεις δε εσεσθε μοι βασιλειον ἱερατευμα, και εθνος ἅγιον.

And ye shall be to me a royal priesthood, and an holy nation.

1 Pet. ii. 9.

Ὑμεις δε .... βασιλειον ἱερατευμα, εθνος ἅγιον.

But *ye are* ..... a royal priesthood, a holy nation.

176. Isa. lii. 9.

על־חמס עשה ולא מרמה בפיו:

Because he had done no violence, neither *was any* deceit in his mouth.

Isa. liii. 9.

Ανομιαν ουκ εποιησεν, ουδε δολον εν τῳ στοματι αυτου.

He committed no iniquity, nor practised guile with his mouth.

1 Pet. ii. 22.

Ὃς ἁμαρτιαν ουκ εποιησεν, ουδε ευρεθη δολος εν τῳ στοματι αυτου.

Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth.

177. Isa. liii. 5.

ובחבורתו נרפא־לנו:

With his stripes we are healed.

Isa. liii. 5.

Τῳ μωλωπι αυτου ἡμεις ιαθημεν.

By his bruises we are healed.

1 Pet. ii. 24.

Οὗ τῳ μωλωπι αυτου ιαθητε.

By whose stripes ye were healed.

178. Psal. xxxiv. 13—17. (12—16 of English version.)

מי־האיש החפץ חיים אהב ימים לראות טוב: נצר לשונך מרע ושפתיך מדבר מרמה: סור מרע ועשה־טוב בקש שלום ורדפהו: עיני יהוה אל־צדיקים ואזניו אל־שועתם: פני יהוה בעשי רע

What man desireth life, *and* loveth *many* days, that he may see good? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil and do good; seek peace and pursue it. The eyes of the LORD *are* upon the righteous, and his ears *are open* unto their cry. The face of the LORD *is* against them that do evil.

Psal. xxxiv. 12—16.

Τις εστιν ανθρωπος ὁ θελων ζωην, αγαπων, ἡμερας ιδειν αγαθας; Παυσον την γλωσσαν σου απο κακου, και χειλη σου του μη λαλησαι δολον· εκκλινον απο κακου, και ποιησον αγαθον· ζητησον ειρηνην, και διωξον αυτην· Οφθαλμοι Κυριου επι δικαιους, και ωτα αυτου εις δεησιν αυτων· προσωπον δε Κυριου επι ποιουντας κακα.

What man soever desireth life, and loveth to see good days? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil and do good; seek peace and pursue it. The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous; and his ears are open to their prayer. But the face of the Lord *is* against them that do evil.

1 Pet. iii. 10—12.

Ὁ γαρ θελων ζωην αγαπαν, και ιδειν ημερας αγαθας, παυσατω την γλωσσαν αυτου απο κακου, και χειλη αυτου του μη λαλησαι δολον· εκκλινατω απο κακου, και ποιησατω αγαθον· ζητησατω ειρηνην, και διωξατω αυτην· Οτι οἱ οφθαλμοι Κυριου επι δικαιους, και ωτα αυτου εις δεησιν αυτων· προσωπον δε υριου επι ποιουντας κακα.

For he that will love life and see good days, let him refrain his tongue from evil, and his lips that they speak no guile. Let him eschew evil and do good; let him seek peace and pursue it. For the eyes of the Lord *are* over the righteous, and his ears *are* open unto their prayers: but the face of the Lord *is* against them that do evil.

179. Isa. viii. 12, 13.

ואת־מוראו לא־תיראו ולא תעריצו: את־יהוה צבאות אתו תקדישו:

Neither fear ye their fear; nor be afraid. Sanctify the LORD of Hosts himself.

Isa. viii. 12, 13.

Τον δε φοβον αυτου ου μη φοβηθητε, ουδε μη ταραχθητε. Κυριον αυτον ἁγιασατε.

Be not ye terrified with the fear of him, nor dismayed. Hallow the Lord himself.

1 Pet. iii. 14, 15.

Τον δε φοβον αυτων μη φοβηθητε, μηδε ταραχθητε. Κυριον δε τον Θεον ἁγιασατε.[2]

And be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled, but sanctify the Lord God in your hearts.

180. Prov. x. 12.

ועל כל־פשעים תכסה אהבה:

Love covereth all sins.

Prov. x. 12.

Παντας δε τους μη φιλονεικουντας καλυπτει φιλια.

But friendship covereth all them who are not contentious.

1 Pet. iv. 8.

Οτι ἡ αγαπη καλυψει πληθος ἁμαρτιων.[3]

For charity shall cover the multitude of sins.

181. Psal. ii. 9.

תרעם בשבט ברזל ככלי יוצר תנפצם:

Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.

Psal. ii. 9.

Ποιμανεις αυτους εν ῥαβδῳ σιδηρᾳ· ὡς σκευος κεραμεως συντριψεις αυτους.

Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron: thou shalt break them to pieces like a potter's vessel.

Rev. ii. 27.

Και ποιμανει αυτους εν ῥαβδῳ σιδηρᾳ· ὡς τα σκευη τα κεραμικα συντριβεται.[4]

And he shall rule with a rod of iron: as a potter's vessel, shall they be broken to shivers.

illusores, he will scorn the scorners. The Arabic version agrees with the Septuagint—*resistet superbis*, he will resist the proud. The Syriac version renders it *destruet irrisores*, he will destroy the scorners; and the Chaldee paraphrase—*illusores propellet*, he will drive away the scorners. It is not easy to account for this difference; nor is it worth while to attempt it: the sense is much the same, as the *proud* and the *scorners* are equivalent expressions in Scripture language. (Dr. Randolph, p. 46.)

[1] Several MSS., three of which are of the greatest antiquity, read εσεσθε, with the Septuagint; which reading, though inferior to that in the received text, Griesbach considers as not to be disregarded.

[2] Both this quotation and the Septuagint gives the meaning of the Hebrew; but the word αυτων (*their*), which is used by St. Peter, seems to give the sense better than the singular αυτου (*his*) of the Septuagint. The original Hebrew (which is JEHOVAH *Sabaoth*, Lord of Hosts) will admit of either. (Scott.)

[3] This is a translation from the Hebrew, and widely different from the Septuagint; only for *all sins*, the apostle has *the multitude of sins*. The Septuagint, Syriac, and Arabic versions differ strangely from each other. (Dr. Randolph, Scott.)

[4] This is nearly a quotation of the Septuagint (which exactly translates the Hebrew), the person only being altered from the second to the third (Dr. Randolph, Scott.)

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§ 2. CLASSIFICATION OF THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE Quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures in the New Testament may be arranged under the nine following classes: viz. I. Quotations exactly agreeing with the Hebrew;—II. Those which agree *nearly* with the Hebrew;—III. Quotations, agreeing with the Hebrew in *sense*, but not in words;—IV. Such as give the *general* sense;—V. Quotations, which are taken from *several* passages of Scripture;—VI. Quotations differing from the Hebrew, but agreeing with the Septuagint;—VII. Quotations in which there is reason to suspect a different reading in the Hebrew, or that the apostles understood the words in a sense different from that expressed in our Lexicons;—VIII. Passages, in which the Hebrew seems to be corrupted;—and, IX. Passages which are not properly citations, but mere references or allusions.

I. *Quotations exactly agreeing with the Hebrew.*

No.	Chap. and Verse of O. T.		Chap. and Verse of N. T.
2.	Hos. xi. 1.	agrees with	Matt. ii. 15.
7.	Deut. viii. 3.		Matt. iv. 4. Luke iv. 4.
9.	Deut. vi. 16.		Matt. iv 7.
12.	Isa. liii. 4.		Matt. viii. 17.
13.	Hos. vi. 6.		Matt. ix. 13. xii. 7.
21.	Lev. xix. 18.		Matt. xix. 19. xxii. 39.
24.	Psal. cxviii. 22, 23.		Matt. xxi. 42. Mark xii. 10. Luke xx. 17. Acts iv. 11.
27.	Psal. cx. 1.		Matt. xxii. 44. Mark xii. 36. Luke xx. 42.
30.	Psal. xxii. 19.		Matt. xxvii. 35.
31.	Psal. xxii. 2.		Matt. xxvii. 46.
32.	Isa. liii. 12.		Mark xv. 28. Luke xxii. 37.
34.	Lev. xii. 8.		Luke ii. 24.
36.	Psal. lxix. 10.		John ii. 17.
40.	Psal. lxxxii. 6.		John x. 34.
42.	Psal. liii. 1.		John xii. 38. See Rom. x. 16.
46.	Psal. xxii. 19.		John xix. 24.
50.	Psal. cix. 8.		Acts i. 20.
54.	Gen. xxii. 18.		Acts iii. 25.
55.	Psal. ii. 1, 2.		Acts iv. 25, 26.
64.	Psal. ii. 7.		Acts xiii. 33.
69.	Exod. xxii. 27.		Acts xxiii. 5.
75.	Psal. v. 10.		Rom. iii. 13
76.	Psal. cxl 4.		Rom. iii. 13.
79.	Psal. xxxvi. 2.		Rom. iii. 18.
80.	Psal. xxxii. 1, 2.		Rom. iv. 7, 8.
81.	Gen. xvii. 5.		Rom. iv. 17.
82.	Gen. xv. 5.		Rom. iv. 18.
83.	Psal. xliv. 22.		Rom. viii. 36.
84.	Gen. xxi. 7.		Rom. ix. 7.
86.	Gen. xxv. 23.		Rom. ix. 12.
87.	Mal. i. 2, 3.		Rom. ix. 13.
88.	Exod. xxxiii. 19.		Rom. ix. 15.
89.	Exod. ix. 16.		Rom. ix. 17.
95.	Lev. xviii. 5.		Rom. x. 5.
110.	Psal. lxix. 10.		Rom. xv. 3.
111.	Psal. xviii. 50.		Rom. xv. 9.
113.	Psal. cxvii. 1.		Rom. xv. 11.
115.	Isa. lii. 15.		Rom. xv. 21.
119.	Job v. 13.		1 Cor. iii. 19.
121.	Deut. xxv. 4.		1 Cor. ix. 9.
122.	Exod. xxxii. 6.		1 Cor. x. 7.
124.	Psal. xxiv. 1.		1 Cor. x. 26.
125.	Psal. viii. 6.		1 Cor. xv. 27.
127.	Isa. xxii. 13.		1 Cor. xv. 32.
129.	Isa. xxv. 8.		1 Cor. xv. 54.
131.	Psal. cxvi. 10.		2 Cor. iv. 13.
132.	Isa. xlix. 8.		2 Cor. vi. 2.
136.	Exod. xvi. 18.		2 Cor. viii. 15.
137.	Psal. cxii. 9.		2 Cor. ix. 9.
142.	Isa. liv. 1.		Gal. iv. 27.
145.	2 Sam. vii. 14.		Heb. i. 5.
148.	Psal. civ. 4.		Heb. i. 7.
149.	Psal. xlv. 7, 8.		Heb. i. 8, 9.
151.	Psal. viii. 4—6.		Heb. ii. 6—8.
152.	Psal. xxii. 23.		Heb. ii. 12.
153.	Isa. viii. 17, 18.		Heb. ii. 13.
155.	Gen. ii. 3.		Heb. iv. 4.
157.	Gen. xxii. 16, 17.		Heb. vi. 13, 14.
162.	Deut. xxxii. 35.		Heb. x. 30.
164.	Gen. xlvii. 31.		Heb. xi. 21.
165.	Josh. i. 5.		Heb. xiii. 5.
172.	Lev. xi. 44.		1 Pet. i. 16.

II. *Quotations nearly agreeing with the Hebrew.*

These correspond nearly with the Hebrew, though not so literally as those in the preceding class, to which they are almost equal in number: Thus,

1.	Isa. vii. 14.	nearly agrees with	Matt. i. 23.
4.	Jer. xxxi. 15.		Matt. ii. 18.
8.	Psal. xci. 11, 12.		Matt. iv. 6.
10.	Deut. vi. 13.		Matt. iv 10.
11.	Isa. ix. 1, 2.		Matt. iv. 15, 16.
16.	Isa. vi. 9, 10.		Matt. xiii. 14, 15. Acts xxviii. 26. Mark iv. 12. Luke viii. 10.
19.	Gen. ii. 24.		Matt. xix. 5.
20.	Exod. xx. 12—16.		Matt. xix. 18, 19.
25.	Exod. iii. 6.		Matt. xxii. 32. Mark xii. 26. Luke xx. 37.
26.	Deut. vi. 5.	nearly agrees with	Matt. xxii. 37. Mark xii. 30. Luke x. 27.
28.	Zech. xiii. 7.		Matt. xxvi. 31.
37.	Psal. lxxviii. 24.		John vi. 31.
38.	Isa. liv. 13.		John vi. 45.
44.	Psal. xii. 9.		John xiii. 18.
45.	Psal. cix. 3.		John xv. 25.
47.	Exod. xii. 46.		John xix. 36.
48.	Zech. xii. 10.		John xix. 37.
51.	Joel iii. 1—5.		Acts ii. 17. (See Rom. x. 11
56.	Gen. xii. 1.		Acts vii. 3.
61.	Isa. lxvi. 1, 2.		Acts vii. 49, 50.
67.	Isa. xlix. 6.		Acts xiii. 47.
70.	Hab. ii. 4.		Rom. i. 17.
71.	Isa. lii. 5.		Rom. ii. 24.
72.	Psal. li. 6.		Rom. iii. 4.
73.	Gen. xv. 6.		Rom. iv. 3.
91.	Hos. ii. 1. (i. 10. of English Version)		Rom. ix. 26.
93.	Isa. i. 9.		Rom. ix. 29.
94.	Isa. viii. 14.		Rom. ix. 33.
95.	Isa. xxviii. 16.		
98.	Isa. lii. 7.		Rom. x. 15.
99.	Psal. xix. 5. (4. of English Version)		Rom. x. 18.
100.	Deut. xxxii. 21.		Rom. x. 19.
101.	Isa. lxv. 1, 2.		Rom. x. 20, 21.
102.	1 Kings xix. 14.		Rom. xi. 3.
103.	1 Kings xix. 18.		Rom. xi. 4.
107.	Deut. xxxii. 25.		Rom. xii. 19. Heb. x. 30.
108.	Prov. xxv. 21, 22.		Rom. xii. 20.
112.	Deut. xxxii. 42. (43. of English Version)		Rom. xv. 10.
116.	Isa. xxix. 14.		1 Cor. i. 19.
118.	Isa. xii. 13.		1 Cor. ii. 16.
120.	Psal. xciv. 11.		1 Cor. iii. 20.
126.	Isa. xxviii. 11, 12.		1 Cor. xiv. 21.
128.	Gen. ii. 7.		1 Cor. xv. 45.
133.	Lev. xxvi. 11, 12.		2 Cor. vi. 16.
143.	Gen. xxi. 10.		Gal. iv. 30.
144.	Psal. lxviii. 19.		Eph iv. 8.
145.	Exod. xx. 12.		Eph. vi. 2, 3.
147.	Psal. xcvii. 7.		Heb. i. 6.
150.	Psal. cii. 25—27.		Heb. i. 10—12.
154.	Psal. xcv. 7—11.		Heb. iii. 7—10.
158.	Exod. xxv. 40.		Heb. viii. 5.
159.	Jer. xxxi. 31. 34.		Heb. viii. 8—12.
160.	Exod. xxiv. 8.		Heb. ix. 20.
167.	Psal. cxviii. 6.		Heb. xiii. 6.
173.	Isa. xl. 6—8.		1 Pet. i. 24, 25.
175.	Exod. xix. 6.		1 Pet. ii. 9.
176.	Isa. liii. 9.		1 Pet. ii. 22.
177.	Isa. liii. 5.		1 Pet. ii. 24.
178.	Psal. xxxiv. 13—17.		1 Pet. iii. 10—12.
179.	Isa. viii. 12, 13.		1 Pet. iii. 14, 15.
180.	Prov. x. 12.		1 Pet. iv. 8.
181.	Psal. ii. 9.		Rev. ii. 27.

III. *Quotations agreeing with the Hebrew in* SENSE, *but* NOT *in words.*

6.	Isa. xl. 3—5.	agrees in sense, but not in words, with	Matt. iii. 3. Mark i. 3. and Luke iii. 46.
15.	Isa. xlii. 1—4.		Matt. xii. 18—21.
17.	Psal. lxxviii. 2.		Matt. xiii. 35.
22.	Zech. ix. 9.		Matt. xxi. 5.
23.	Psal. viii. 3.		Matt. xxi. 16.
29.	Zech. xi. 13.		Matt. xxvii. 9, 10.
33.	Exod. xiii. 2.		Luke ii. 23.
41.	Zech. ix. 9.		John xii. 15.
42.	Isa. vi. 9, 10.		John xii. 40.
49.	Psal. lxix. 26.		Acts i. 20.
53.	Deut. xviii. 15. 19.		Acts iii. 22, 23.
59.	(see Josh. xxiv. 32.)		Acts vii. 16.
74.	Psal. xiv. 1—3.		Rom. iii. 10—12.
78.	Isa. lix. 7, 8.		Rom. iii. 15—17.
85.	Gen. xviii. 10.		Rom. ix. 9.
90.	Hos. ii. 23.		Rom. ix. 25.
92.	Isa. x. 22, 23.		Rom. ix. 27, 28.
105.	Psal. lxix. 23, 24.		Rom. xi. 9, 10.
109.	Isa. xlv. 23.		Rom. xiv. 11.
114.	Isa. xi. 10.		Rom. xv. 12.
134.	Isa. lii. 11, 12.		2 Cor. vi. 17.
139.	Gen. xii. 3.		Gal. iii. 8.
140.	Deut. xxvii. 26.		Gal. iii. 10.
168.	Hag. ii. 6.		Heb. xii. 26.

IV. *Quotations that give the general Sense, but which abridge or add to it.*

5.	(Psal. xxii. 6. lxix. 9, 10. Isa. lii. liii. Zech. xi. 12, 13.)	compared with	Matt. ii. 23.
41.	Zech. ix. 9.		John xii. 15.
43.	Isa. vi. 9, 10.		John xii. 40. (and see Matt. xiii. 14, 15. Mark iv. 12. Luke viii. 10. Acts xxviii. 26.)
57.	Gen. xv. 13, 14.		Acts vii. 6, 7.
58.	Gen. xlvi. 27.		Acts vii. 14.
68.	Amos ix. 11, 12.		Acts xv. 16, 17.
104.	Isa. xxix. 10.		Rom. xi. 8.
170.	(Gen. vi. 3. 5.		James iv. 5.

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V. *Quotations that are taken from several Passages of Scripture.*

Sometimes there is such a change made in the quotation, that it is not easy to ascertain from what particular passage of the Old Testament it is taken. The instances of this description, however, in which the citation is made from *several* passages of Scripture, are very few. Dr. Randolph has mentioned only three, to which we have added two others.

No.	Chap. and Verse of O. T.		Chap. and Verse of N. T.
63.	(See Psalms lxxxix. 20. and 1 Sam. xiii 14.)	compared with	Acts xiii. 22.
94.	Isa. xxviii. 16.		Rom. ix. 33.
95.	Isa. viii. 14.		
104.	Isa. xxix. 10. (and see Isa. vi. 9. and Ezek. xii. 2.)		Rom. xi. 8.
22.	Zech. ix. 9. (and see Isa. lxii. 11.)		Matt. xxi. 5.
49.	Psal. lxix. 26.		Acts i. 20.
50.	Psal. cix. 8.		

To this head also we may perhaps refer the quotation, No. 5. p. 294. relative to the Messiah being called a Nazarene.

VI. *Quotations differing from the Hebrew, but agreeing with the Septuagint.*

18.	Isa. xxix. 13.	compared with	Matt. xv. 8, 9.
52.	Psal. xvi. 8—11.		Acts ii. 25—28.
60.	Amos v. 25—27.		Acts vii. 42, 43.
65.	Isa. lv. 3.		Acts xiii. 34.
99.	Psal. xix. 5. (4. of English Version)		Rom. x. 18.
171.	Prov. iii. 34.		James iv.

VII. *Quotations in which there is reason to suspect a different Reading in the Hebrew, or that the Apostles understood the Words in a Sense different from that expressed in our Lexicons.*

2.	Micah v. 2.	compared with	Matt. ii. 6.
14.	Mal. iii. 1.		Matt. xi. 10. Mark i. 2. Luke vii. 27.
35.	Isa. lxi. 1, 2.		Luke iv. 18, 19.
62.	Isa. liii. 7, 8.		Acts viii. 32, 33.
66.	Hab. i. 5.		Acts xiii. 41.
68.	Amos ix. 11, 12.		Acts xv. 16, 17.
77.	Psal. x. 7.		Rom. iii. 14.
99.	Psal. xix. 5.		Rom. x. 18.
106.	Isa. lix. 20, 21.		Rom. xi. 26, 27.
107.	Deut. xxxii. 35.		Rom. xii. 19.
112.	Deut. xxxii. 42.		Rom. xv. 10.
117.	Isa. lxiv. 3.		1 Cor. ii. 9.
163.	Hab. ii. 3, 4.		Heb. x. 37, 38.
174	Isa. xxviii. 16.		1 Pet. ii. 6.

VIII. *Passages in which the Hebrew seems to be corrupted.*

2.	Micah v. 2.	compared with	Matt. ii. 6.
14.	Mal. iii. 1.		Matt. xi. 10. Mark i. 2. Luke vii. 27.
52.	Psal. xvi. 8—11.		Acts ii. 25—28.
68.	Amos ix. 11, 12.		Acts xv. 16, 17.
161.	Psal. xl. 7—9.		Heb. x. 5—7.
163.	Hab. ii. 3, 4.		Heb. x. 37, 38.

IX. *Passages which are not properly Citations, but mere References or Allusions.*

39.	Isa. xii. 3.	alluded to in	John vii. 38.
97.	Deut. xxx. 12—14.		Rom. x. 6—8.
123.	Deut. xxxii. 17.		1 Cor. x. 20.
130.	Hos. xiii. 14.		1 Cor. xv. 55.
138.	Deut. xix. 15.		2 Cor. xiii. 1.
169.	Hos. xiv. 3.		Heb. xiii. 15.

To this class also we may most probably refer the allusions in 2 Cor. vi. 18. See p. 305. and note.

§ 3. CLASSIFICATION OF THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

ALTHOUGH the sacred authors of the New Testament have in many instances quoted from the Hebrew Scriptures, as the preceding tables have shown; yet it is equally certain that they have very frequently made their citations from the Greek version usually denominated the Septuagint, even where this translation from the Hebrew is inaccurate, but where the errors are of such a nature as *not* to weaken the proofs for which they were alleged. In fact, as the apostles wrote for the use of communities who were ignorant of Hebrew, it was necessary that they should refer to the Greek version, which was generally known and read. Had they given a new and more accurate translation according to the Hebrew, citing as they often did from memory, the reader would not have known what passage they intended to quote: and if, on the other hand, while they retained the words of the Septuagint, they had taken notice of each inaccuracy, they would have diverted the reader's attention from the main object to the consideration of trifles. It must, however, be remarked, that the writers of the New Testament appear to have been so careful to give the true sense of the Old Testament, that they forsook the Septuagint version, whenever it did not give that sense, so far as they had occasion to cite it, and these citations often correspond with the present Hebrew text. The quotations from the Septuagint in the New Testament may be classed under the five following heads:—I. Such as agree verbatim with the Septuagint, or only change the person, number, &c.;—II. Quotations taken from the Septuagint, but with some variation;—III. Quotations agreeing with the Septuagint in sense, but not in words;—IV. Quotations differing from the Septuagint, but agreeing exactly, or nearly, with the Hebrew;—and, V. Quotations which differ both from the Septuagint and from the Hebrew, and are probably taken from some other translation or paraphrase.

I. *Quotations agreeing verbatim with the Septuagint, or only changing the Person, Number,*

No.	Chap. and Verse of O. T.		Chap. and Verse of N. T.
7.	Deut. viii. 3.	agrees with	Matt. iv. 4. Luke iv. 4.
9.	Deut. vi. 16.		Matt. iv. 7.
13.	Hos. vi. 6.		Matt. ix. 13. xii. 17.
20.	Exod. xx. 12—16.		Matt. xix. 18, 19.
21.	Lev. xix. 18.		Matt. xix. 19. xxii. 39.
23.	Psal. viii. 2.		Matt. xxi. 16.
24.	Psal. cxviii. 22, 23.		Matt. xxi. 42. Mark xii. 10. Luke xx. 17. Acts iv. 11.
25.	Exod. iii. 6.		Matt. xxii. 32. Mark xii. 26. Luke xx. 37.
27.	Psal. cx. 1.		Matt. xxii. 44. Mark xii. 36. Luke xx. 42.
28.	Zech. xiii. 7.		Matt. xxvi. 31.
30.	Psal. xxi. 18. (xxii. 18. of English Bible)		Matt. xxvii. 35. John xix. 24.
36.	Psal. lxviii. 9. (lxix. 9. of English Bible)		John ii. 17.
40.	Psal. lxxxii. 6.		John x. 34.
42.	Isa. liii. 1.		John xii. 38.
50.	Psal. cix. 8.		Acts i. 20.
52.	Psal. xvi. 8—11.		Acts ii. 25—28.
55.	Psal. ii. 1, 2.		Acts iv. 25, 26.
58.	Gen. xlvi. 27.		Acts vii. 14.
64.	Psal. ii. 7.		Acts xiii. 33.
67.	Isa. xlix. 6.		Acts xiii. 47.
69.	Exod. xxii. 28.		Acts xxiii. 5.
72.	Psal. iii. 4.		Rom. iii. 4.
75.	Psal. v. 9.		Rom. iii. 13.
76.	Psal. cxxxix. 3. (cxl. 3. of English Bible)		Rom. iii. 13.
77.	Psal. x. 7.		Rom. iii. 14.
79.	Psal. xxxv. 1. (xxxvi. 1. of English Bible)		Rom. iii. 18.
80.	Psal. xxxii. 1, 2.		Rom. iv. 7, 8.
81.	Gen. xvii. 5.		Rom. iv. 17.
82.	Gen. xv. 5.		Rom. iv. 18.
83.	Psal. xliv. 22.		Rom. viii. 36.
84.	Gen. xxi. 12.		Rom. ix. 7.
86.	Gen. xxv. 3.		Rom. ix. 12.
87.	Mal. i. 2, 3.		Rom. ix. 13.
88.	Exod. xxxiii. 19.		Rom. ix. 15.
91.	Hos. i. 10.		Rom. ix. 26.
93.	Isa. i. 9.		Rom. ix. 29.
96.	Lev. xviii. 5.		Rom. x. 5.
99.	Psal. xix. 4.		Rom. x. 18.
100.	Deut. xxxii. 21.		Rom. x. 19.
101.	Isa. lxv. 1, 2.		Rom. x. 20, 21.
108.	Prov. xxv. 21, 22.		Rom. xii. 20.
110.	Psal. lxix. 9.		Rom. xv. 3.
111.	Psal. xviii. 49.		Rom. xv. 9.
112.	Deut. xxxii. 43.		Rom. xv. 10.
113.	Psal. cxvii. 1.		Rom. xv. 11.
115.	Isa. lii. 15.		Rom. xv. 21.
121.	Deut. xxv. 4.		1 Cor. ix. 9.
122.	Exod. xxxii. 6.		1 Cor. x. 7.
124.	Psal. xxiv. 1.		1 Cor. x. 26.
126.	Psal. viii. 6.		1 Cor. xv. 27.
127.	Isa. xxii. 13.		1 Cor. xv. 32.
131.	Psal. cxvi. 10.		2 Cor. iv. 13.
132.	Isa. xlix. 8.		2 Cor. vi. 2.
137.	Psal. cxii. 9.		2 Cor. ix. 9.
142.	Isa. liv. 1.		Gal iv. 27.
146.	2 Sam. vii. 14.		Heb. i. 5.
147.	Deut. xxxii. 43.		Heb. i. 6.
148.	Psal. civ. 4.		Heb. i. 7.
149.	Psal. xiv. 6, 7.		Heb. i. 8, 9.
150.	Psal. cii. 25—27.		Heb. i. 10—12.
151.	Psal. viii. 4—6.		Heb. ii. 6—8.
155.	Gen. ii. 3.		Heb. iv. 4.
156.	Psal. cx. 4.		Heb. v. 6
157.	Gen. xxii. 16, 17.		Heb. vi. 13, 14.
162.	Deut. xxxii. 36.		Heb. x. 30.
163.	Hab. ii. 3, 4.		Heb. x. 37, 38.
164.	Gen. xlvii. 31.		Heb. xi. 21.
165.	Prov. iii. 11.		Heb. xii. 5.
166.	Deut. xxxi. 8.		Heb. xiii. 5.
167.	Psal. cxviii. 6.		Heb. xiii. 6.
169.	Hos. xiv. 2.		Heb. xiii. 15.
175.	Exod. xix. 6.		1 Pet. ii. 9.
177.	Isa. liii. 5.		1 Pet. ii. 24.
178.	Psal. xxxiv. 12—16.		1 Pet. iii. 10—12

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II. *Quotations taken from the Septuagint, but with some Variation.*

These variations, however, are immaterial, consisting occasionally,—1. Of additions of words, to render the sense more explicit to the Gentiles;—2. Of omissions of words, where the insertion of them was not necessary to prove the point for which they were adduced;—3. Of synonymous changes, substituting other words of the same import for the exact words of the Septuagint,—which might easily be done, citing, as the apostles sometimes did, from memory;—4. Of transpositions of words;—5. Of changes of proper names into appellatives;—and, 6. Of occasional alterations in the divisions of sentences. But in all these sentences the sense is invariably given.

No.	Chap. and Verse of O. T.		Chap. and Verse of N. T.
1.	Isa. vii. 14.	compared with	Matt. i. 23.
8.	Psal. xci. 11, 12.		Matt. iv. 6.
10.	Deut. vi. 13.		Matt. iv. 10.
16.	Isa. vi. 9—11.		Matt. xiii. 14, 15. Acts xxviii. 26, 27. Mark iv. 12. Luke viii. 10.
18.	Isa. xxix. 13.		Matt. xv. 8, 9.
19.	Gen. ii. 24.		Matt. xix. 5.
23.	Zech. xi. 13.		Matt. xxvii. 9, 10.
35.	Isa. lxi. 1, 2.		Luke iv. 18, 19.
37.	Psal. lxxviii. 24.		John vi. 31.
47.	Exod. xii. 46.		John xix. 36.
51.	Joel ii. 28—32.		Acts ii. 17—21.
54.	Gen. xxii. 18.		Acts iii. 25.
55.	Gen. xii. 1.		Acts vii. 3.
60.	Amos v. 25, 26.		Acts vii. 42, 43.
62.	Isa. liii. 7.		Acts viii. 32, 33.
65.	Isa. lv. 3.		Acts xiii. 34.
70.	Hab. ii. 4.		Rom. i. 17.
71.	Isa. lii. 5.		Rom. ii. 24.
74.	Psal. xiv. 1—3.		Rom. iii. 10—12.
89.	Exod. ix. 16.		Rom. ix. 17.
94.	Isa. viii. 44.		Rom. ix. 33.
95.	Isa. xxviii. 16.		
105.	Psal. lxix. 22, 23.		Rom. xi. 9, 10.
106.	Isa. lix. 20, 21.		Rom. xi. 26, 27.
114.	Isa. xi. 10.		Rom. xv. 12.
116.	Isa. xxix. 14.		1 Cor. i. 19.
118.	Isa. xl. 13.		1 Cor. ii. 16.
120.	Psal. xciv. 11.		1 Cor. iii. 20.
123.	Deut. xxxii. 17.		1 Cor. x. 20.
128.	Gen. ii. 7.		1 Cor. xv. 45
130.	Hos. xiii. 14.		1 Cor. xv. 55.
133.	Lev. xxvi. 11, 12.		2 Cor. vi. 16.
136.	Exod. xvi. 18.		2 Cor. viii. 15.
138.	Deut. xix. 15.		2 Cor. xiii. 1.
139.	Gen. xii. 3. (and see xviii. 18.)		Gal. iii. 8.
142.	Gen. xxi. 10.		Gal. iv. 30.
145.	Exod. xx. 12.		Eph. vi. 2, 3.
152.	Psal. xxii. 22.		Heb. ii. 12.
153.	Isa. viii. 17, 18.		Heb. ii. 13.
154.	Psal. xcv. 7—11.		Heb. iii. 7—10.
158.	Exod. xxv. 40.		Heb. viii. 5.
161.	Psal. xl. 6—9.		Heb. x. 5—7.
171.	Prov. iii. 34.		James iv. 6.
173.	Isa. xl. 6—8.		1 Pet. i. 24, 25.
174.	Isa. xxviii. 16.		1 Pet. ii. 6
176.	Isa. liii. 9.		1 Pet. ii. 22.
179.	Isa. viii. 12, 13.		1 Pet. iii. 14, 15.

III. *Quotations agreeing with the Septuagint in* SENSE, *but* NOT *in Words.*

	Jer. xxxi. 15.	agrees in sense, but not in words, with	Matt. ii. 18.
6.	Isa. xl. 3—5.		Matt. iii. 3. Mark i. 3. Luke iii. 4—6.
17.	Psal. lxxviii. 2.		Matt. xiii. 35.
26.	Deut. vi. 5.		Matt. xxii. 37. Mark xii. 30. Luke x. 27.
32.	Isa. liii. 12.		Mark xv. 28. Luke xxii. 37.
33.	Exod. xiii. 2.		Luke ii. 23.
34.	Lev. xii. 8.		Luke ii. 24.
38.	Isa. liv. 13.		John vi. 45.
41.	Zech. ix. 9.		John xii. 15.
44.	Psal. xii. 9.		John xiii. 18.
45.	Psal. cix. 3.		John xv. 25.
48.	Zech. xii. 10.		John xix. 37.
49.	Psal. lxix. 25.		Acts i. 20.
53.	Deut. xviii. 15. 19		Acts iii. 22, 23.
57.	Gen. xv. 13, 14.		Acts vii. 6, 7.
61.	Isa. lxvi. 1, 2.		Acts vii. 49, 50.
68.	Amos ix. 11, 12.		Acts xv. 16, 17.
73.	Isa. lix. 7, 8.		Rom. iii. 15—17.
85.	Gen. xviii. 10.		Rom. ix. 9.
90.	Hos. ii. 23.		Rom. ix. 25.
92.	Isa. x. 22, 23.		Rom. ix. 27, 28.
102.	1 Kings xix. 18.		Rom. xi. 3.
104.	Isa. xxix. 10		Rom. xi. 8.
109.	Isa. xiv. 23.		Rom. xiv. 11.
112.	Job v. 13.		1 Cor. iii. 19.
134.	Isa. lii. 11, 12.		2 Cor. vi. 17.
140.	Deut. xxvii. 27. (26. of English Version)		Gal. iii. 10.
141.	Deut. xxi. 23.		Gal. iii. 13.
159.	Jer. xxxi. 31—34.		Heb. viii. 8—12.
160.	Exod. xxiv. 8.		Heb. ix. 20.
168.	Hag. ii. 6.		Heb. xii. 26.
181.	Psal. ii. 9.		Rev. ii. 27.

IV. *Quotations differing from the Septuagint, but agreeing exactly, or nearly, with the Hebrew.*

There are several instances of an evidently *intentional* renunciation of the Septuagint version, in order to adhere to the Hebrew original: these instances occur when the Septuagint so materially differs from the Hebrew, as to render the passage unsuitable to the purpose for which the sacred writer produced the quotation, or where it is palpably erroneous. The number of these departures from the Septuagint is *eleven*; viz.

No.	Chap. and Verse of O. T.		Chap. and Verse of N. T.
3.	Hos. xi. 1.	cited in	Matt. ii. 15.
4.	Jer. xxxi. 15.		Matt. ii. 18.
12.	Isa. liii. 4.		Matt. viii. 17.
22.	Zech. ix. 9.		Matt. xxi. 5.
31.	Psal. xxii. 1.		Matt. xxvii. 46.
98.	Isa. lii. 7.		Rom. x. 15.
103.	1 Kings xix. 18.		Rom. xi. 4.
119.	Job v. 13.		1 Cor. iii. 19.
129.	Isa. xxv. 8.		1 Cor. xv. 54.
172.	Lev. xi. 44.		1 Pet. i. 16.
180.	Prov. x. 12.		1 Pet. iv. 18.

V. *Quotations which differ both from the Septuagint and from the Hebrew, and are probably taken from some other Translation, or Paraphrase, or were so rendered by the sacred Writers themselves.*

2.	Micah v. 2.	cited in	Matt. ii. 6.
6.	Isa. xl. 3—5.		Matt. iii. 3. Mark i. 3. Luke iii. 4—6.
11.	Isa. ix. 1, 2.		Matt. iv. 15, 16.
14.	Mal. iii. 1.		Matt. xi. 10. Mark i. 2. Luke vii. 27
15.	Isa. xlii. 1—4.		Matt. xii. 18—21.
41.	Zech. ix. 9.		John xii. 15.
53.	Deut. xviii. 15. 19.		Acts iii. 22, 23.
66.	Hab. i. 5.		Acts xiii. 41.
85.	Gen. xviii. 10.		Rom. ix. 9.
90.	Hos. ii. 23.		Rom. ix. 25.
92.	Isa. x. 22, 23.		Rom. ix. 27, 28
97.	Deut. xxx. 12—14.		Rom. x. 6—8.
102.	1 Kings xix. 14.		Rom. xi. 3.
107.	Deut. xxxii. 35.		Rom. xii. 19. (and see Heb. x. 30
117.	Isa. lxiv. 4.		1 Cor. ii. 9.
125.	Isa. xxviii. 11, 12.		1 Cor. xiv. 21.
140.	Deut. xxvii. 26.		Gal. iii. 10.
144.	Psal. lxviii. 19.		Eph. iv. 8.
160.	Exod. xxiv. 8.		Heb. ix. 20.

§ 4. CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PROBABLE CAUSES OF THE SEEMING DISCREPANCIES IN THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW.

On a comparison of the quotations from the Old Testament in the New, it is obvious that in the *Epistles*, which were addressed generally to churches consisting of converted Hellenists (that is, Greek Jews), or Gentiles, or of both, the quotations are uniformly made from the Septuagint version, or with express reference to it, except where some important reason induced the sacred writer to deviate from it; for the Septuagint was the only version generally known in those churches, whose members were mostly strangers to the Hebrew. There are, however, some apparent contradictions in the quotations from the Old Testament in the New, the reconciliation of which has much engaged the attention of learned men, who have assigned various causes to account for, or explain, such discrepancies. These it may be useful briefly to consider, before we discuss the mode in which the sacred writers of the New Testament apply their quotations from the Old Testament. The causes of the differences in these quotations may be reduced to three, viz. 1. Sophistications or corruptions of the Hebrew text;—2. Various Readings, or differences in copies;—3. Our ignorance of the correct meaning of particular texts;—and, 4. The different designs with which they were quoted.

1. The instances of probable SOPHISTICATION, or CORRUPTION of the Hebrew text, are comparatively few, and are only six in number, as we have already seen:[1] the comparison of manuscripts and versions alone can enable the critic to determine the true reading.

2. VARIOUS READINGS in the manuscript copies of the Greek Bible, used by the sacred writers of the New Testament, and also various readings in different manuscripts of the New Testament (some of which have been specified in the notes in the preceding pages of this section), are another cause of the apparent contradictions in the quotations made in it from the Old Testament. Professor Michaelis likewise thinks it possible that, in those cases where the quotations are made

[1] See § VIII. p. 312. *supra*.

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rally different, another translation might have been added in the Septuagint as a marginal note, in the same manner as we find in the Hexapla of Origen, under the name of ἄλλος. The Proverbs of Solomon, he observes, present instances where the same Hebrew words are twice translated; which can be explained on no other supposition, than that one of them was originally a marginal note, which has insensibly crept into the text itself.[1]

3. Another cause of the apparent discrepancy occurring in the quotations from the Old Testament in the New may arise from our IGNORANCE OF PARTICULAR HEBREW TEXTS OR WORDS: a few such instances have already been noticed.[2] But this is only a temporary cause—the researches of commentators and critics (which the preceding tables have tended to confirm) have shown that the writers of the New Testament express the true sense, though not the sense generally attributed to the Hebrew; and in proportion as such researches are more diligently prosecuted, and our knowledge of the original languages of the Scriptures is increased, these difficulties will gradually and certainly diminish.

4. It is further to be observed that the very same quotations are often *contradicted* by some of the evangelists, and as often enlarged by others. This difference in quoting may be accounted for by the different occasions on which they are introduced, and the DIFFERENT DESIGNS which they were intended to serve. Thus Luke, who wrote his Gospel for the instruction of *Gentile* converts, quotes (iii. 4—6.) not less than *three* verses from the prophet Isaiah;[3] while Matthew (iii. 3.) and Mark (i. 3.) quote only the *first* of them. But it was necessary to Luke's purpose that he should proceed so far, in order to assure the Gentiles, that they were destined to be partakers of the privileges of the Gospel, and to *see the salvation of God*. On the other hand, Matthew (xiii. 14, 15.) and Paul (Acts xxviii. 26, 27.), when reproving the Jews for their incredulity, which Isaiah had long before predicted, introduced the prophecy at full length, whereas Mark (iv. 11, 12.) and Luke (viii. 10.) only refer to it briefly. Mark, whose Gospel was written for a mixed society of Jewish and Gentile converts, has many peculiarities belonging to him, which are not specified by the other evangelists. Of these peculiarities, we have an instance in his manner of citing the passage of Isaiah just noticed. The verse in his Gospel runs thus:—

Τοις ἔξω ἐν παραβολαις τα παντα γινεται· Ἱνα βλεποντες βλεπωσι, και μη ἴδωσι, και ἀκουοντες ἀκουσωσι, και μη συνιωσι, μηποτε ἐπιστρεψωσι, και ἀφεθη αυτοις τα ἁμαρτηματα. *Unto them that are without all* these *things are done in parables: That seeing, they may see and not perceive; and hearing, they may hear and not understand; lest at any time they should be converted, and their sins should be forgiven them.*

In order to engage the Jews the more effectually to adopt and obey his Gospel, Mark has not only inserted in it more Hebrew or rather Syro-Chaldaic phrases than all the other evangelists together; but in the verse here given, he has forsaken both the Hebrew and Greek of Isa. vi. 11. (in our translation truly rendered *and I will heal them*),[4] and has quoted the Chaldee Paraphrase, which he translated for himself, και αφεθη αυτοις τα ἁμαρτηματα, *and their sins should be forgiven them;* and which thus probably became more intelligible to the Gentiles also. Now these particular variations are so far from being disparagements to the Gospels, that they are in reality the excellencies and ornaments of them. They are such variations only, as these different converts, of different conceptions, required to have made, for their obtaining a true and right knowledge of the Old Testament prophecies.[5] A similar mode of citation is pursued by the illustrious apostle Paul, who does not mention or allege the law and the prophets in one and the same manner to Jews and Gentiles. Thus, to Felix the Roman governor, he says of himself (Acts xxiv. 14.), *Believing all things which are* written *in the law and the prophets.* But to king Agrippa (xxvi. 22.), *Saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses* did say *should come.* And thus he distinguishes in his Epistles. In that to the Hebrews are many passages from the Old Testament, but not a single instance in which it is quoted as *written.* But in his other Epistles he rarely uses any other form than, *It is written*, or *The Scripture saith.* Thus he cites it to the Romans; the chief variations from which mode to that of *He saith* are in the three chapters, ix. x. xi. which principally relate to the Jews; and even there he seldom fails to name the prophet whose words are adduced. To the Galatians, and in both Epistles to the Corinthians, with one or two exceptions, he urges the words of the Old Testament as *written.* To the Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians, if we mistake not, he makes no direct quotation from it. In the Epistle to the Ephesians he refers to it twice, and there indeed in both places under the form of *He saith.* But he himself had spent above two years in teaching them with the utmost diligence and attention (Acts xix. 8, 10.), and wrote his Epistle to them some years after; when he might have full assurance that he spoke to those *who knew the law.* A passage in this epistle, compared with a similar one in that to the Colossians, seems to prove that he made a difference between them, and judged the Ephesians to be better versed in the sacred books. To these he proposes the precept of obedience to parents with a view to the Mosaic promise (Eph. vi. 1—3.): *Children, obey your parents in the Lord; for this is right.* HONOUR THY FATHER AND MOTHER; WHICH IS THE FIRST COMMANDMENT WITH PROMISE. But he omits this reference to the words of the Decalogue, in giving the same precept to the Colossians; with whose proficiency in the Scriptures he was less acquainted, as having never been among them. He says only (Col. iii. 20.), *Children, obey your parents in all things; for this is well pleasing unto the Lord.*

Thus we see that Saint Paul has one mode of citing the Old Testament to the Hebrews, and another to the churches of which the Gentiles were members; that in the former case he agrees with Matthew, in the latter with Mark and Luke. And in this respect there is so much uniformity in the apostle and two evangelists, that we may justly conclude it was not accidental, but designed by him and them, for the same purpose of suiting their style to the small measure of scriptural knowledge which they might well suppose many of their readers to possess. By which means the unlearned or newly-converted Gentiles were instructed, that what was offered to them as the word of God *which came in old time*, was to be found in the books of Scripture; and, if Judaizers crept in and perplexed them with doctrines of an oral or traditionary law, they were furnished with this reply to such teachers:—"When the apostles and evangelists, who have been our more immediate guides, propose to us any part of the Mosaic economy, they allege only what is *written*, and what they carefully inform us to be so."[6]

We have dwelt the longer on this subject, not only on account of its importance in illustrating the external form of the quotations of the Old Testament by the evangelists and apostles, but also because it furnishes us with an additional instance of those simple notes of authenticity with which the New Testament abounds, and which the genius of forgery could never have devised.

Upon the whole, then, as it respects the external form of quotations from the Old Testament, it may be observed that the writers of the New Testament did not make it a *constant* rule to cite from the Greek version, because there are many places in which their quotations differ from that version, and agree with the Hebrew.[7] And as their quotations now correspond with the Hebrew, very frequently in express words,[8] and generally in the sense,[9] so it is highly probable that they uniformly agreed at first, and that, where the Hebrew was properly expressed in the Greek version, they used the words of that version. But where it materially varied from the meaning of the Hebrew Scriptures, they either gave the sense of the passage cited in their own words, or took as much of the Septuagint as suited their purpose, introducing the requisite alterations. Hence several passages are neither direct quotations from the Hebrew text, nor quotations from the Septuagint;[10] and some, as we have already seen, agree with the latter even where it varies from the former, but only where the deviation does not so affect the meaning of the passage as to interfere with the pertinency of the quotation for the purpose intended. "All this accords to what ordinary writers, in similar circumstances, would have done, and, in

[1] Marsh's Michaelis, vol. i. p. 235.
[2] See § 2. VII. p. 312. *supra.*
[3] See the passages of Isaiah and Luke at length, in p. 294. No. 6.
[4] See the passages of Isaiah and of the Evangelists, cited in p. 295. No. 16.
[5] Dr. Owen, on the Modes of Quotation used by the Evangelical Writers, p. 85—87.
[6] Dr. Townson's Discourses on the Four Gospels, disc. 4 sect. ii. (Works, vol. i. pp. 101, 102.)
[7] See § 3. IV. p. 313. *supra.*
[8] See § 2. I. and II. p. 311. *supra.*
[9] See § 3. III. IV. p. 311. *supra.*
[10] See § 3. V. p. 313. *supra.*

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fact, have been authorized to do: but the sacred penmen, being themselves divinely inspired, might take liberties which we must not; because their comments were equally the *Word of God* with the texts commented on."[1]

SECTION II.

ON THE INTERNAL FORM OF QUOTATIONS, OR THE MODE IN WHICH CITATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT ARE APPLIED IN THE NEW.

General observations on the rabbinical and other modes of quoting the Old Testament—Classification of the quotations in the New Testament:—I. Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, in which the predictions are literally accomplished;—II. Quotations in which that is said to have been done, of which the Scriptures have not spoken in a literal but in a spiritual sense;—III. Quotations made by the sacred writers in the way of illustration;—IV. Quotations and other passages from the Old Testament which are alluded to in the New.

In considering the passages of the Old Testament, which have been introduced by the apostles and evangelists into the writings of the New, "there is often a difficulty with respect to the *application* of such quotations; when they are applied to a purpose to which they *seem* to have no relation, according to their original design. This difficulty arises from the writers of the New Testament making quotations from the Old with very different views; and it can be removed only by attending to their real view in a particular quotation." An accurate distinction, therefore, must be made between such quotations as, being merely borrowed, are used as the words of the writer himself, and such as are quoted in proof of a doctrine, or the completion of a prophecy.

Michaelis[2] has remarked, that whenever a book is the subject of our daily reading, it is natural that its phrases should occur to us in writing—sometimes with a perfect recollection of the places whence they are taken, and at other times when the places themselves have totally escaped our memory. Thus, the lawyer quotes the maxims of the law; the scholar, his favourite classics; and the divine, the precepts of the Gospel. It is no wonder, therefore, if the same has happened to the writers of the New Testament; who being daily occupied in the study of the Old Testament, unavoidably adopted its modes of expression, and especially of the Greek Septuagint, which they have borrowed, and applied to their own use in various ways and for various purposes.

The quotations from the Old Testament in the New are generally introduced by certain formulæ, such as, *That it might be fulfilled—As it is written—Isaiah prophesied*, &c.; and various rules have been framed in order to account for their application. It has been observed by the same great philologist, that the writers of the New Testament quote in general like the Rabbins, without mentioning the place whence the quotation is taken; as they presuppose the reader to be so well acquainted with the Old Testament, as to be able to find it without particular direction. The Rabbins select some principal word out of each section, and apply that name to the section itself, in the same manner as the Mohammedans distinguish the *suras* or chapters of their Koran saying, in Eli, in Solomon, when they intend to signify the sections where those names are mentioned. For instance, Rashi, in his remarks on Hosea ix. 9. (*They have deeply corrupted* themselves, *as in the days of Gibeah*), says—"Some are of opinion that this is Gibeah of Benjamin *in the concubine*," that is, is mentioned in the chapter of the concubine, or Judges xix. And in this manner quotations are sometimes made in the New Testament. Thus, in Mark xii. 26. and Luke xx. 37. επι της βατου (*in* or *at* the bush) signifies, "in the section relating to the burning bush," which, according to the modern division, is the third chapter of Exodus. Again, in Rom. xi. 2. ἐν Ηλιᾳ (in Elias) signifies, "in the section in which the actions of Elias are recorded;" which at present forms the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth chapters of the first book of Kings.[3]

Another very frequent practice of the Rabbins was, to produce only the initial words of a quoted passage, while those are omitted in which the force of the argument consists, or the absence of which destroys the connection. Of this description are the quotations in Rom. vii. 7. and xiii. 9. (Thou shalt not covet), in which the apostle leaves us to supply the following words contained in Exod. xx. 17. *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife*, &c. Similar instances are to be found in Rom. xi. 27. and Heb. ii. 13.[4]

The formulæ (*as it is written, that it might be fulfilled, it hath been said*, &c. &c.) with which the quotations in the New Testament are generally introduced, have been supposed by Surenhusius[5] (to whose learned researches biblical students are most deeply indebted) to be the indications of the *modes* in which they are expressed: so that by attending to these formulæ, we may easily know why the evangelists allege the subsequent words in one certain manner rather than in another; and why they depart more or less from the Hebrew text. Agreeably to this hypothesis, Surenhusius has, with infinite labour and industry, collected a great variety of rules[6] out of the Talmud and the Rabbinical writings, and has illustrated them with numerous extracts, in order to explain and justify all the quotations made from the Old Testament in the New. But what militates against this hypothesis is, that we find, that the very *same quotations*, expressed in the same words, and brought to prove the very same points, are introduced by *different* formulæ in different gospels. A further objection to the rules adduced by Surenhusius is their number and their complexity, which render it difficult to refer all the quotations accurately to them. It is therefore not only more convenient, but more intrinsically useful, to refer the citations from the Old Testament in the New to the four following classes, which have been adopted, with some alteration, from Rosenmüller,[7] after Gusset and Wolfius. According to these critics, the phrases, *that it might*

[1] The Rev. T. Scott, on the authority of the Septuagint, in the Christian Observer for 1810, vol. ix. p. 102.

[2] Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. pp. 200—203.

[3] Michaelis, vol. i. pp. 243, 244. 133, 134. 492. Upon the same rule, Michaelis thinks the supposed contradiction between Mark ii. 26. and 1 Sam. xxi. i. may be explained "in the chapter of Abiathar," or, in that part of the books of Samuel in which the history of Abiathar is related. This explanation, Rosenmüller very justly remarks, would be preferable to any other, if Mark had added the expression *it is written*, or *the Scripture saith*. Scholia in N. T. tom. i. p. 673. edit. 1801. See also Kuinöel on Mark ii. 26. Comm. in Libros N. T. Historicos, tom. ii. p. 32.

[4] Michaelis, vol. i. pp. 244—246.

[5] In the preface to his "Βιβλος Καταλλαγης: in quo, secundum veterum Theologorum Hebræorum Formulas allegandi et modos interpretandi, conciliantur loca ex Veteri in Novo Testamento allegata." 4to. Amst. 1713. The words of Professor Surenhusius are as follow:—"*Etenim omni in loco ex V. T. in N. allegato recte conciliando, videndum est prius, quâ allegandi formulâ utantur Apostoli; ex quâ statim dignoscere licet, quare sequentia verba hoc, et non alio modo, allegaverint, atque ad veterem Scripturam Hebræam plusve minusve attenderint. Sic alium casum involvit illa allegandi formula* Ερρηθη; *alium* Γεγραπται; *alium* Ινα πληρωθη το ρηθεν; *alium* Επληρωθη η γραφη, &c.

[6] The following are the principal *theses* or rules laid down by Surenhusius, whose work, it may be proper to remark, deserves a place in the library of every biblical student, on account of its learned illustration of many passages of Scripture not immediately connected with the quotations from the Old Testament:—

1. Sometimes the words are read, not according to the regular vowel-points, but agreeably to others substituted for them. Instances of this sort, Surenhusius is of opinion, are to be found in Acts iii. 22, 23. and vii. 42, &c. 1 Cor. xv. 54. and 2 Cor. viii. 15.

2. Sometimes letters are changed, as in Rom. ix. 33. 1 Cor. ix. 9, &c. Heb. viii. 9. and x. 5.

3. Sometimes both letters and vowel-points are changed, as in Acts xiii. 40, 41. and 2 Cor. viii. 15.

4. Sometimes words are added from a parallel passage, or are changed in the quotation, which words appear as if the whole occurred in the cited text, as in Rom. xi. 3. xv. 10. 1 Cor. xv. 45. 2 Cor. vi. 16. Eph. v. 14. and Heb. xii. 12, 13.

5. Sometimes additional words are inserted to complete the sense, as in Matt. iv. 10. xxi. 5. John vi. 49. xii. 38. and Rom. x. 6.

6. Sometimes several passages are abridged together, in order to make the subject more clear, as in Matt. xxi. 5. Luke iv. 18, 19. John viii. 5, &c.

7. Sometimes the beginnings of verses are only added, for the sake of brevity, although the sacred writer refers to the whole passage which he paraphrases. Instances of this sort occur in Acts i. 20. Rom. xi. 27. Heb. iii. and iv. and x.

8. Some passages are cited, either allegorically, or by way of simple proof, in which case the subject cannot be proved unless the passage cited be compared with others, and illustrated, as in Rom. ix. 12, 13. x. 8. and Heb. iv. 5, 6.

9. Sometimes one and the same passage is cited to prove many things, and is applied to many persons, as in Matt. xiii. 14. compared with John xii. 40. Rom. ix. 33. and x. 11. compared with 1 Pet. ii. 6.

10. Sometimes a subject is intended to be proved by several passages, though one only is adduced, the reader being left to find them out, as in Acts xv. 15, 16.

11. The first and last clauses of a verse only are sometimes cited, the intermediate clauses being omitted. See Eph. v. 14. and 1 Pet. i. 24, 25.

12. Sometimes a passage is simply adduced without any formulæ of quotation, and then another intervenes parenthetically; which being cited, the sacred writer returns to the first quoted passage, which is illustrated in a variety of particulars. Thus Saint Paul, in Heb. iii. 7. first cites Psal. xcv. 7.; then he interposes references to Exod. xvii. 2. Num. xx. 13. xiv. 23. and Deut. i. 34.; and at length, in the fifteenth verse, he returns to Psalm xcv. 7.; which he explains, as if all the intermediately quoted passages were contained in one and the same text. Similar instances occur in Heb iv. 15. and 1 Cor. iii. 7. Surenhusii Βιβλος Καταλλαγης, pp. 1—56.

[7] Scholia in Nov Test. tom. i. p. 25.

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be fulfilled, as it is written, &c. &c. may be properly applied in the New Testament,—

I. *When the thing predicted is* literally *accomplished.*

II. *When that is done, of which the Scripture has spoken, not in a literal, but in a* spiritual *sense.*

III. *When a thing is done, neither in a literal nor in a spiritual sense according to the fact referred to in the Scriptures; but is similar to that fact. The passages thus cited may, briefly, be termed* quotations in the way of illustration.

IV. *When the sacred writers have made simple* allusions *to passages in the Old Testament.*[1]

In the following tables, the quotations are arranged under each class, to which they appear respectively to belong. Some of the references, perhaps, may be disputable; and in some, it is possible that the author may be mistaken: but as they are the result of a laborious and patient comparison of every prophecy or citation, in classifying which he could have but little assistance, he trusts he may be allowed to say, that he has exerted the best of his judgment, and to indulge the hope that he has not misapplied the quotations in any essential point.

I. *Of Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, in which the things predicted are* literally *accomplished.*

Direct prophecies are those which relate to Christ and the Gospel, and to them alone, and which cannot be taken in any other sense; and the Scripture is said to be *fulfilled* in the *literal sense*, when that event which it foretells is accomplished. The quotations from the Old Testament in the New, which belong to this class, are both numerous and highly important. Such are those which mention the calling of the Gentiles and the everlasting kingdom of Messiah: such also is the 110th Psalm, which, it has been well remarked, is as plain as a prophetic description ought to be. It is applicable to Christ alone, and it sets forth his exaltation, his royal dignity, his priestly office, the propagation of his Gospel, the obedience of his subjects; the destruction of his enemies, and of the Roman emperors who persecuted his church.[2]

Other examples of this description will be found in the following quotations, the references in which are made to the authorized English version of the Bible.[3]

Gen. xii. 3. xviii. 18. xxii. 18. quoted in	Acts iii. 25. Gal. iii. 8.
Gen. xvii. 7. 19. xxii. 16, 17.	Luke i. 55. 72, 73, 74.
Deut. xviii. 15. 19.	Acts iii. 22, 23.
Psal. ii. 1, 2.	Acts iv. 25, 26.
Psal. ii. 7.	Acts xiii. 33. Heb. i. 5. v. 5.
Psal. viii. 2.	Matt. xxi. 16.
Psal. viii. 4—6.	Heb. ii. 6—8.
Psal. xvi. 8—11.	Acts ii. 25—28. 31.
Psal. xvi. 10.	Acts xiii. 35.
Psal. xxii. 1.	Matt. xxvii. 46. Mark xv. 34.
Psal. xxii. 18.	Matt. xxvii. 35. Mark xv. 24. Luke xxiii. 34. John xix. 24.
Psal. xxii. 22.	Heb. ii. 12.
Psal. xxxi. 5.	Luke xxiii. 46.
Psal. xli. 9.	John xiii. 18. Acts i. 16.
Psal. xiv. 6, 7.	Heb. i. 8, 9.
Psal. lxviii. 18.	Eph. iv. 7, 8.
Psal. lxix. 21.	John xix. 28, 29. Matt. xxvii. 48. Mark xv. 36. and Luke xxiii. 36.
Psal. lxix. 25. cix. 8.	Acts i. 20.
Psal. xcv. 7—11.	Heb. iii. 7—11.; iv. 3. 5—7.
Psal. cii. 25—27.	Heb. i. 10—12.
Psal. cx. 1.	Matt. xxii. 44. Mark xii. 36. Luke xx. 42. Acts ii. 34, 35. Heb. i. 13.
Psal. cx. 4.	Heb. v. 6.
Psal. cxviii. 22, 23.	Matt. xxi. 42. Mark xii. 10, 11. Luke xx. 17. Acts iv. 11.
Psal. cxviii. 25, 26.	Matt. xxi. 9. Mark xi. 9. John xii. 13.
Psal. cxxxii. 11. 17.	Luke i. 69. Acts ii. 30.
Isa. vii. 14.	Matt. i. 23.
Isa. ix. 1, 2.	Matt. iv. 15, 16.
Isa. ix. 7. (with Dan. vii. 14. 27.)	Luke i. 32, 33.
Isa. xi. 10.	Rom. xv. 12.
Isa. xxv. 8.	1 Cor. xv. 54.
Isa. xxvii. 9. and lix. 20, 21.	Rom. xi. 26, 27.
Isa. xxviii. 16. (with Joel ii. 32.)	Rom. ix. 33. and 1 Pet. ii. 6.
Isa. xl. 3—5.	Matt. iii. 3. Mark i. 3. Luke iii. 4—6.
Isa. xlii. 1—4.	Matt. xii. 17—21.
Isa. xlix. 6.	Acts xiii. 47, 48. and xxvi. 23. Luke ii. 32.
Isa. liii. 1. quoted in	John xii. 38. Rom. x. 16.
Isa. liii. 3—6.	Acts xxvi. 22, 23.
Isa. liii. 4—6. 11.	1 Pet. ii. 24, 25.
Isa. liii. 4.	Matt. viii. 17.
Isa. liii. 9.	1 Pet. ii. 22.
Isa. liii. 12.	Mark xv. 28. Luke xxii. 37.
Isa. liv. 13.	John vi. 45.
Isa. lv. 3.	Acts xiii. 34.
Jer. xxxi. 31—34.	Heb. viii. 8—12. x. 16, 17.
Hosea i. 10.	Rom. ix. 26.
Hosea ii. 23.	Rom. ix. 25. 1 Pet. ii. 10.
Joel ii. 28—32.	Acts ii. 16—21.
Amos ix. 11, 12.	Acts xv. 16, 17.
Micah v. 2.	Matt. ii. 5, 6. John vii. 42.
Habak. i. 5.	Acts xiii. 40.
Haggai ii. 6.	Heb. xii. 26.
Zech. ix. 9.	Matt. xxi. 4, 5. John xii. 14. 15.
Zech. xi. 13.	Matt. xxvii. 9, 10.
Zech. xii. 10.	John xix. 37.
Zech. xiii. 7.	Matt. xxvi. 31. 56. Mark xiv. 27. 50.
Mal. iii. 1.	Matt. xi. 10. Mark i. 2. Luke vii. 27
Mal. iv. 5, 6.	Matt. xi. 13, 14. xvii. 10—13. Mark ix. 11—13. Luke i. 16, 17.

II. *Of Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, in which that is said to have been done, of which the Scripture have not spoken in a literal but in a* spiritual *sense.*

There are citations out of the Old Testament in the New in a mediate and typical or spiritual sense, respecting Christ and his mystical body the church. The Scripture is therefore said to be fulfilled, when that is accomplished in the antitype which is written concerning the type. Thus, in John xix. 36. we read, these things were done that the *Scriptures should be fulfilled*—"a bone of him shall not be broken." These words, which were originally written of the paschal lamb (Exod. xii. 46. Num. ix. 12.), are said to be fulfilled in Christ, who is the antitype of that lamb. Additional examples of the same kind will be found in the annexed passages.

Gen. xiv. 18. 20. cited and applied in	Heb. vii. 1—10.
Gen. xv. 5.	Rom. iv. 18.
Gen. xvi. 15.	Gal. iv. 22.
Gen. xvii. 4.	Rom. iv. 17.
Gen. xviii. 10.	Rom. ix. 9.
Gen. xxi. 1—3.	Gal. iv. 22, &c.
Gen. xxi. 12.	Rom. ix. 7.
Gen. xxv. 23.	Rom. ix. 10.
Exod. xvi. 13—15.	John vi. 31. 49 1 Cor. x. 3.
Exod. xvii. 6. Num. xx. 11.	1 Cor. x. 4.
Exod. xix. 6.	1 Pet. ii. 9.
Exod. xxiv. 8.	Heb. ix. 20.
Levit. xxvi. 11, 12.	2 Cor. vi. 16.
Num. xxi. 8, 9.	John iii. 14.
Deut. xxi. 23.	Gal. iii. 13.
Deut. xxxii. 21.	Rom. x. 19.
2 Sam. vii. 14.	Heb. i. 5.
Psal. ii. 9.	Rev. ii. 27.
Psal. viii. 4—6.	Heb. ii. 6—8.
Psal. viii. 6.	1 Cor. xv. 27
Psal. xviii. 49.	Rom. xv. 9.
Psal. xxxv. 19. lxix. 4. and cix. 3.	John xv. 25.
Psal. xl. 6—8.	Heb. x. 5—
Psal. lxix. 9.	John ii. 17.
Psal. civ. 4.	Heb. i. 7.
Isa. xl. 6, 7.	1 Pet. i. 24, 25.
Isa. lii. 7. and Nahum i. 15.	Rom. x. 15.
Isa. liv. 1.	Gal. iv. 27.
Isa. lxiv. 4.	1 Cor. ii. 9.
Jonah i. 17. ii. 1. and iii. 5.	Matt. xii. 40, 41. Luke xi. 30. 32.
Habak. ii. 3.	Heb. x. 37.
Habak. ii. 4.	Rom. i. 17. Gal. iii. 11. Heb. x. 38.

III. *Of Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, in which a thing is done neither in a literal nor in a spiritual sense, according to the fact referred to in the Scriptures, but is similar to that fact,—in other words, where the passages referred to are cited* in the way of illustration.

The attentive reader of the New Testament cannot fail to observe, that many passages of the Old Testament are cited and adapted by the writers of the New Testament to an occurrence which happened in their time, on account of their correspondence and similitude. These citations are not prophecies, though they are said sometimes to be fulfilled; for any thing may be said to be fulfilled when it can be pertinently applied. This method of explaining Scripture by the way of illustration will enable us to solve some of the greatest difficulties relating to the prophecies.

For the better understanding of this important subject, it should be recollected, that the writings of the Jewish Prophets, which abound in fine descriptions, poetical images, and sublime diction, were the classics of the later Jews; and, in subsequent ages, all their writers affected allusions to them, borrowed their images and descriptions, and very often cited their identical words when recording any event or circumstance that happened in the history of the persons whose lives they were relating; provided it was *similar* and parallel to one that occurred in the times, and was described in the books of the ancient prophets. It was a familiar idiom of the Jews,[4] when quoting the writings of the Old Testament, to say,—*that it*

[1] The fourth class mentioned by Rosenmüller, Gusset, and Wolfius, is as follows:—When that which has, in the Old Testament, been mentioned as formerly done, is accomplished, in a larger and more extensive sense, in the New Testament. But as the citations which appear to belong to this class may be referred to the first and third, we have substituted the preceding in lieu of it.

[2] Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. vol. i. p. 121. 2d edit. The best critical illustration of the prophetical sense of Psalm cx. is, perhaps, that given by Dr. Gregory Sharpe, in his "Second Argument in Defence of Christianity, taken from the ancient Prophecies," pp. 275—311.

[3] As the passages from the prophetic writings have already been given at full length, they are here designedly omitted.

[4] The Talmud and Rabbinical writers abound with instances, great numbers of which are quoted by Surenhusius. in the work already cited, in p. 315. note 5.

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might be fulfilled, which was spoken by such and such a prophet; not intending to be understood that such a particular passage in one of the sacred books was ever designed to be a *real prediction* of what they were then relating, but signifying only, that the words of the Old Testament might be properly adapted to express their meaning and illustrate their ideas. And thus the apostles, who were Jews by birth, and wrote and spoke in the Jewish idiom, have very frequently alluded to the sacred books, after the customary style of their nation; intending no more by this mode of speaking, than that the words of such an ancient writer are happily descriptive of what was transacted in their time, and might, with equal propriety, be adapted to characterize such a particular circumstance as happened in their days: that there was a *con-similarity* of case and incidents; and that the expressive style and diction of the old inspired prophets were as justly applicable to the occurrences recorded by the apostles, as they were suitable to denote those events and facts in their times which they had commemorated.

Thus, our Lord speaking of the insurmountable prepossessions and perverseness of the Jews to whom he preached, says,—*Seeing they see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand,*—that is, their stupidity is so gross, and their prejudices are so numerous, that though they have capacities proper for understanding and receiving my doctrine, they will neither understand nor receive it; so that in them is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah,—his words are perfectly applicable to the present age, and descriptive of their moral character and condition:—*Hearing ye will hear, and will not understand; and seeing ye will see, and will not perceive. For this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed, lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them.* (Isa. vi. 9, 10. cited in Matt. xiii. 14, 15.) The same passage of the evangelical prophet is cited by St. Paul (Rom. xi. 8.), and applied to the invincible obstinacy of his countrymen,—not, indeed, as though they had then, and then only, received their precise accomplishment, but as beautifully expressive of the obduracy, determined infidelity, and impenitence of the Jews.

Again, the prophet Jeremiah, describing the miseries of captivity by a beautiful figure, represents Rachel as deploring the loss of her children, bathed in tears, piercing the air with loud lamentations, and indulging in inconsolable grief. When Herod imbrued his hands in the blood of the innocents in Bethlehem and its vicinity, how applicable were the prophet's words to such a cruel scene, and how happily are they cited by the evangelist, to exhibit to his reader the mourning and lamentation caused by that sanguinary tyrant! They are a beautiful quotation, and not a prediction of what then happened, and yet, upon the murder of these babes, the sacred historian says, according to the Jewish phraseology, when they cited Scripture,—*Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet Jeremiah; In Ramah there was a voice heard, lamentation and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted because they are not.* (Jer. xxxi. 15. cited in Matt. ii. 17, 18.)

Once more,—our Lord having delivered several parables, the sacred historian, after remarking that Jesus Christ chose to convey his religious and moral instruction to the Jews by means of parables, with which all his public discourses abounded, says,—*That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, "I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world.* (Psal. lxxviii. 2. quoted in Matt. xiii. 35.)[1]

A similar instance occurs in St. Paul's second Epistle to the Corinthians (vi. 2); where he cites the saying of the prophet (Isa. xlix. 8.)—*I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation I have succoured thee.* In this passage the apostle does not mean to declare that the prophet had the Corinthians in view, but he cites it as a parallel case: intimating that they might collect from that saying that there was a certain *accepted time*, in which God would hear them, and which, therefore, it concerned them not to let pass without carefully improving it.

The following table presents a list of the passages thus quoted from the Old Testament by the writers of the New, in the way of illustration:—

Gen. xv. 5.	cited in	Rom. iv. 18.
Gen. xv. 6.		Rom. iv. 3. Gal. iii. 6. and James ii. 23.
Gen. xviii. 10.		Rom. ix. 9.
Gen. xix. 15. 26.		Luke xvii. 28, 29. 32.
Gen. xxi. 12.		Rom. ix. 7.
Gen. xxv. 33.		Heb. xii. 16.
Gen. xxvii. 28, &c.		Heb. xi. 20. xii. 17.
Exod. ix. 16.		Rom. ix. 17.
Exod. xxxii. 6.		1 Cor. x. 7.
Exod. xxxiii. 19.		Rom. ix. 15.
Lev. xi. 45.		1 Pet. i. 16.
Lev. xviii. 5.		Rom. x. 5. Gal. iii. 12.
Deut. vi. 13.		Matt. iv. 10. Luke iv. 8.
Deut. vi. 16.		Matt. iv. 7. Luke iv. 12.
Deut. viii. 3.		Matt. iv. 4. Luke iv. 4.
Deut. xxv. 4.		1 Cor. ix. 9. 1 Tim. v. 18.
Deut. xxvii. 26.		Gal. iii. 10.
Deut. xxxii. 35.		Rom. xii. 19. Heb. x. 30.
Deut. xxxii. 36.		Heb. x. 30.
Deut. xxxii. 43.		Rom. xv. 10.
Josh. i. 5.		Heb. xiii. 5.
1 Sam. xxi. 6.		Matt. xii. 3, 4. Mark ii. 25, 26. Luke vi. 3, 4.
1 Kings xix. 14. 18.		Rom. xi. 3, 4.
Psal. v. 9. and cxl. 3.	cited in	Rom. iii. 13.
Psal. x. 7.		Rom. iii. 14.
Psal. xiv. 1—3. and liii. 1—3.		Rom. iii. 10—12.
Psal. xix. 4.		Rom. x. 18.
Psal. xxiv. 1.		1 Cor. x. 26.
Psal. xxxii. 1, 2.		Rom. iv. 7, 8.
Psal. xxxiv. 12—16.		1 Pet. iii. 10—12.
Psal. xxxvi. 1.		Rom. iii. 18.
Psal. xliv. 22.		Rom. viii. 36.
Psal. li. 4.		Rom. iii. 4.
Psal. lxix. 9.		Rom. xv. 3.
Psal. lxix. 22, 23.		Rom. xi. 9, 10.
Psal. lxxviii. 2.		Matt. xiii. 35.
Psal. lxxxii. 6.		John x. 34.
Psal. cxii. 9.		2 Cor. ix. 9.
Psal. cxvi. 10.		2 Cor. iv. 13.
Psal. cxvii. 1.		Rom. xv. 11.
Psal. cxviii. 6.		Heb. xiii. 6.
Prov. i. 16. Isa. lix. 7, 8.		Rom. iii. 15—17.
Prov. iii. 11, 12.		Heb. xii. 5, 6.
Prov. iii. 34.		James iv. 6.
Prov. x. 12.		1 Pet. iv. 8.
Prov. xxv. 21, 22.		Rom. xii. 20.
Prov. xxvi. 11.		2 Pet. ii. 22.
Isa. i. 9.		Rom. ix. 29.
Isa. vi. 9, 10.		John xii. 40. Matt. xiii. 14, 15. Luke viii. 10. Rom. xi. 8.
Isa. viii. 12, 13.		1 Pet. iii. 14, 15.
Isa. viii. 17, 18.		Heb. ii. 13.
Isa. x. 22, 23.		Rom. ix. 27, 28.
Isa. xxviii. 16.		Rom. x. 11.
Isa. xxix. 10.		Rom. xi. 8.
Isa. xxix. 13.		Matt. xv. 8, 9. Mark vii. 6.
Isa. xxix. 14.		1 Cor. i. 19.
Isa. xxix. 16. and xiv. 9.		Rom. ix. 20, 21.
Isa. xiv. 23.		Rom. xiv. 11. Phil. ii. 10.
Isa. xlix. 8.		2 Cor. vi. 2.
Isa. lii. 5. with Ezek. xxxvi. 20.		Rom. ii. 24.
Isa. lii. 7. and Nahum i. 15.		Rom. x 15.
Isa. lii. 11, 12.		2 Cor. vi. 17.
Isa. liii. 15.		Rom. xv. 21.
Isa. lvi. 7. (and Jer. vii. 11.)		Matt. xxi. 13. Mark xi. 17. Luke xix. 46.
Isa. lxi. 1, 2.		Luke iv. 18, 19.
Isa. lxv. 1, 2.		Rom. x. 20, 21.
Isa. lxvi. 1, 2.		Acts vii. 49, 50.
Jer. xxxi. 15.		Matt. ii. 17, 18.
Jer. xxxi. 33. and xxxii. 38. (with 2 Sam. vii. 14.)		2 Cor. vi. 18.
Hosea xi. 1.		Matt. ii. 15.
Hab. ii. 4.		Rom. i. 17.
Joel ii. 32.		Rom. x. 13.
Mal. i. 2, 3.		Rom. ix. 13.

It cannot escape observation, that by far the larger portion of the preceding passages is cited and adapted to the purpose of illustration by the apostle Paul. Dr. John Taylor[2] has some useful remarks (of which the following are an abstract) on the various designs with which St. Paul cited them:

1. Sometimes his intention goes no further than using the *same strong expressions*, as being equally applicable to the point in hand. Thus, in Rom. x. 6—8. he uses the words of Moses (Deut. xxx. 12—14.) not to prove any thing, nor as if he thought Moses spoke of the same subject; but merely as intimating that the strong and lively expressions, used by Moses concerning the doctrine he taught, were equally applicable to the faith of the Gospel. So, in Rom. x. 18. he quotes Psal. xix. 4. though it is not unlikely that those expressions were used by the ancient Jews in application to the Messiah, as the apostle applies them.

2. Sometimes the design of the quotation is only to show that the *cases are parallel*; or that what happened in his times corresponded with what happened in former days. See Rom. ii. 24. viii. 36. ix. 27—29. xi. 2—5. 8—10. and xv. 21.

3. Sometimes the quotation is only intended to *explain a doctrinal point*. See Rom. i. 17. iv. 7, 8. 18—21. ix. 20, 21. x. 15. and xv. 3.

4. Sometimes the quotation is designed to *prove a doctrinal point*. See Rom. iii. 4. 19—18. iv. 3—17. v. 12—14. ix. 7. 9. 12, 13. 15. 17. x. 5. 11. 13. xii. 20. xiv. 11.

Lastly, when a passage of the Old Testament is quoted in the New, in order to prove a point of doctrine, the person or writer applies it, though not always in the precise words of the original, yet constantly according to its genuine sense as it stands there. Examples of such application will be found in Deut. viii. 3. compared with Matt. iv. 4.; Deut. vi. 16. compared with Matt. iv. 7.; Deut. xxxiii. 35. and Prov. xxv. 21, 22. compared with Rom. xii. 19, 20.—The expression in Hos. vi. 6., *mercy and not sacrifice*, is applied to different purposes in Matt. ix. 13., but to both properly.

In applying passages cited from the Old Testament by way of illustration, Turretin has suggested the three following rules, which claim the attention of the biblical student:—

[1] This mode of quoting passages by way of illustration was not confined to the inspired penman. Pagan writers often cite passages from their old poets, to describe things of which these poets never thought; and this, Dr. Jortin remarks, is no fault, but rather a beauty in writing; and a passage, applied justly in a new sense, is ever pleasing to an ingenious reader, who loves to see a likeness and pertinency where he expected none. (Rem. on Eccl. Hist. vol. i. p. 120.) In Ælian, Diogenes the Cynic philosopher is reported to have said, that "he *fulfilled* in himself all the curses of tragedy;" and Olympiodorus, in his life of Plato, has this expression, "*that it might be true concerning him,*" and then cites the following verse from Homer:

Του και απο γλωσσης μελιτος γλυκιων ρεεν αυδη.

Words sweet as honey from his lips distill'd. POPE.

Which verse, however applicable to that great philosopher, is not to be considered as an oracle delivered by the poet, with a view to the particular use or accommodation of it by this biographer. (Sharpe's Second Argument in Defence of Christianity, p. 349.)

[2] In his Paraphrase and Notes on Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans, p 339 4th edit. 1769.

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1. In applications of this kind, we must not neglect the literal sense, which is the first and only genuine sense of Scripture.

2. Such applications ought not to be forced, or far-fetched; for those which were made by the apostles were simple and easy to be apprehended.

3. Too much stress ought not to be laid on these applications; which, it should be considered, are merely illustrations adduced by the sacred writers further to explain the subjects under their discussion.

Such being the nature of these illustrative quotations, it follows that no doctrines—at least such as are necessary to salvation—either can or ought to be deduced from them.[1]

IV. *Of Quotations, and other Passages from the Old Testament, which are* alluded *to in the New.*

Besides the passages mentioned in the preceding class as citations by the writers of the New Testament in the way of illustration, there is a fourth class, nearly allied to them, and comprising a few quotations, together with a larger number of other passages not distinctly cited from the Old Testament; but which, on comparing them with the New Testament, appear most evidently to have been present to the minds of the sacred writers, who have *alluded* to them without expressly quoting them. A careful inspection of such passages, with reference to their scope and context, together with an application of the rules above suggested by Turretin, will readily enable the student to judge of the allusions which he may meet with in the New Testament; and in addition to those rules, Dr. Gerard has remarked, that when the inspired writers quote a passage from the Old Testament, *merely in the way of allusion*, it is enough that the words which they borrow emphatically express their own meaning. It is not necessary that they be precisely the same with those of the passage alluded to, nor that they be there used, either of the same subject or of a similar subject.[2] The following table presents a list of the *principal* passages thus alluded to in the New Testament:—

Gen. i. 6. 9. - alluded to in	2 Pet. iii. 5.
Gen. i. 27. - - -	Matt. xix. 4. Mark x. 6. 1 Cor xi. 7. James iii. 9.
Gen. ii. 2, 3. - - -	Heb. iv. 4.
Gen. ii. 7. - - -	1 Cor. xv. 45.
Gen. ii. 21, 22. - - -	1 Cor. xi. 8. 1 Tim. ii. 13.
Gen. ii. 24. - - -	Matt. xix. 5. Mark x. 7. 1 Cor. vi. 16. Eph. v. 31.
Gen. iii. 6. - - -	1 Tim. ii. 14.
Gen. iii. 4. 13. - - -	2 Cor. xi. 3.
Gen. iii. 16. - - -	1 Cor. xiv. 34.
Gen. iv. 4. - - - -	Heb. xi. 4.
Gen. iv. 8. - - - -	Matt. xxiii. 35. Luke xi. 51. 1 John iii. 12. Jude, verse 11.
Gen. v. 24. - - - -	Heb. xi. 5.
Gen. vi. vii. - - -	Matt. xxiv. 37, 38. Luke xvii. 26, 27. Heb. xi. 7. 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20. 2 Pet. ii. 5. iii. 6.
Gen. xii. 1—4. - - -	Acts vii. 3. Heb. xi. 8.
Gen. xiii. 15. - - -	Rom. iv. 13.
Gen. xv. 13, 14. - - -	Acts vii. 6, 7.
Gen. xvii. 10. - - -	Acts vii. 8.
Gen. xviii. 3. xix. 2. - - -	Heb. xiii. 2.
Gen. xviii. 10. - - -	Heb. xi. 11.
Gen. xviii. 12. - - -	1 Pet. iii. 6.
Gen. xix. 24. - - -	2 Pet. ii. 6. Jude, verse 7.
Gen. xxi. 12. - - -	Heb. xi. 18.
Gen. xlvi. 27. - - -	Acts vii. 14.
Gen. xlvii. 31. - - -	Heb. xi. 21.
Gen. l. 24. - - - -	Heb. xi. 22.
Exod. ii. 2. 11. - - -	Heb. xi. 23—27. Acts vii. 20—29.
Exod. iii. 6. - - -	Mark xii. 26. Acts vii. 31, 32.
Exod. xii. 12. 18. - - -	Heb. xi. 28.
Exod. xiv. 22. - - -	1 Cor. x. 2. Heb. xi. 29.
Exod. xix. 12. 16. 18, 19. - -	Heb. xii. 18—20.
Exod. xx. 12—16. Deut. v. 16—20.	Matt. xix. 18, 19. Mark x. 19. Luke xviii. 20. Rom. xiii. 9. James ii. 11.
Exod. xiii. 2. Num. viii. 16, 17. xviii. 15. 17.	Luke ii. 23.
Lev. xiv. 3, 4. 10. - - -	Matt. viii. 4. Mark i. 44. Luke v. 14.
Lev. xix. 12. - - -	Matt. v. 33.
Lev. xix. 18. - - -	Matt. v. 43. Gal. v. 14.
Num. xi. 4. - - -	1 Cor. x. 6.
Num. xiv. 23. 29. 37. and xxvi. 64, 65.	Heb. iii. 16, 17. Jude, verse 5.
Num. xxi. 4—6. - - -	1 Cor. x. 9.
Num. xxii. 23. 39. - -	2 Pet. ii. 15, 16. Jude, 5. 11.
Deut. xviii. 1. - - -	1 Cor. ix. 13.
Deut. xxiv. 1. - alluded to in	Matt. v. 31. Mark x. 4. Luke xvi. 18
Josh. ii. 1. vi. 22, 23. - -	Heb. xi. 31. James ii. 25.
Josh. vi. 20. - - -	Heb. xi. 30.
Judges, the whole book, generally	Acts xiii. 20. Heb. xi. 32.
1 Sam. viii. 5. and x. 1. - -	Acts xiii. 21.
1 Sam. xiii. 14. xv. 23. xvi. 12, 13.	Acts xiii. 22.
1 Kings xvii. 1. and xviii. 42—45.	James v. 17, 18.
1 Chron. xxiii. 13. - - -	Heb. v. 4.
Psal. xc. 4. - - -	2 Pet. iii. 8.
Prov. xxvii. 1. - - -	James iv. 13, 14.
Isa. xii. 3. - - - -	John vii. 38.
Isa. lxvi. 24. - - -	Mark ix. 44.
Jer. vi. 16. - - - -	Matt. xi. 29.
Lam. iii. 45. - - -	1 Cor. iv. 13.
Dan. iii. 23—25. - - -	Heb. xi. 34.
Dan. ix. 27. xii. 11. - -	Matt. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14.
Hos. xiii. 14. - - -	1 Cor. xv. 55.
Hos. xiv. 2. - - -	Heb. xiii. 15.
Amos v. 25, 26, 27. - -	Acts vii. 42, 43.

[1] Turretin, De Sacr. Script. Interpretatione, pp. 118, 119. see also pp. 107—117. The subject of Scripture quotations, which are made by way of illustration, is more fully discussed by Dr. Sharpe (Second Argument from Prophecy, pp. 347—365.); Dr. Hey (Norrisian Lectures, vol. i. pp. 260. 262.); Dr. Harwood (Introduction to the New Test. vol. i. pp. 279—290.); Rumpæus (Comment. Crit. ad Libros Nov. Test. pp. 443. 449, 450.); Bishop Kidder (in his Demonstration of the Messias, chap. iii. Boyle's Lectures, vol. i. pp. 150—152.); Dr. Nicholls (Conference with a Theist, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 10—13. ed. 1698.); and especially by Dr. Sykes (On the Truth of the Christian Religion, chapters xiii. xiv. xv. pp. 206—296. edit. 1725). The reader will also find some excellent remarks on the different modes of quotation in Dr. Cook's Inquiry into the Books of the New Testament, pp. 284—304.

[2] Institutes of Biblical Criticism, p. 422. § 135.

SECTION III.

OF APOCRYPHAL PASSAGES, SUPPOSED TO BE QUOTED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.—QUOTATIONS FROM PROFANE AUTHORS.

It was a practice of the ancient Hebrew divines to cite, not only the Scriptures, as we have seen in the preceding sections, but also to quote histories, facts, and apophthegms or sayings of their early sages, which they had received by *oral tradition* from the time of Moses, in order to supply those passages which are wanting in the Pentateuch. Of this method of quotation we have three supposed instances in the New Testament. The first is 2 Tim. iii. 8. where we meet with the name of Jannes and Jambres as the two Egyptian magicians who opposed Moses. Schickard and some other learned men are of opinion that Saint Paul, being deeply conversant in Jewish literature, derived his knowledge of these names from the Targum or Chaldee Paraphrase of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, on Exod. vii. 11. But as there is reason to believe that this Targum is of too late a date to have been consulted by the apostle, it is most probable that he alluded to an ancient and generally received tradition relative to those men. What corroborates the latter conjecture is, that their names are mentioned by some ancient profane writers, as Numenius the Pythagorean,[3] by Artapanus,[4] and by Pliny.[5] The Jews affirm that they were princes of Pharaoh's magicians, and that they greatly resisted Moses. Origen, who flourished in the second century, informs us, that there was extant, in his time, an apocryphal book concerning these magicians, inscribed *Jannes et Mambres Liber.*[6] The other two instances alluded to are the 9th verse of the Epistle of Jude, which cites the story of Michael the archangel, contending with Satan about the body of Moses, and the 14th verse of the same epistle, in which it has been supposed that he quoted an apocryphal prophecy of Enoch:[7] but both these instances are borrowed from traditional accounts then received by the Jews, with whom the apostle argues from their own authors and concessions.[9] If, however, it could be proved that the apostle had quoted a single passage from the apocryphal book of Enoch, such a quotation will no more prove *his* approbation of the whole book, than Paul's quotations from certain heathen poets prove that apostle's approbation of every part of the compositions to which he referred. On the subject of the supposed apocryphal quotations by Jude, see further, Vol. II. pp. 377, 378.

On a reference to the passages of the Old Testament, which are cited in the way of illustration by the evangelical writers,[10] it will be observed that by far the greater number of such quotations has been made by Saint Paul. But the same great apostle of the Gentiles, becoming all things to all men, and being deeply versed in the works of heathen authors, as well as in the sacred writings, did not confine himself *exclusively* to the inspired books; and, accordingly, we have three instances in the New Testament of the line

[3] Apud Origen. contra Celsum, pp. 198, 199. edit. Spencer. and in Eusebius de Præp. Evang. l. 8. c. 8.

[4] In Eusebius, l. 9. c. 27.

[5] Pliny, Hist. Nat. l. 30. c. 1.

[6] Surenhusius, Βιβλος Καταλλαγης, pp. 689, 690.

[7] Tract 35. in Matt. cited by Dr. Whitby on 2 Tim. iii. 8.

[8] See an account of the Apocryphal Book of Enoch the Prophet, in the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to the second Volume, PART I. CHAP. III. SECT. I. art. 11.

[9] Surenhusius (pp. 699—702.) has given a long extract from the Jalkut Rubeni, fol. 76. col. 2. which details the history of Michael's conflict with the devil. The same author (pp. 709—712.) has also referred to many Rabbinical writers, who take notice of Enoch's prophecy

[10] See pp. 316—318. *supra.*

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taste and ability with which he cited and applied passages from Pagan authors when contending with the Gentiles, or writing to Gentile converts. The first is in Acts xvii. 28., where he cites part of a verse from the *Phænomena* of Aratus.

.....τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.

.....for we his offspring are.

The passage was originally spoken of the heathen deity Jupiter, and is dexterously applied to the true God by Paul, who draws a very strong and conclusive inference from it.

The second instance alluded to is in 1 Cor. xv. 33. in which passage the apostle quotes a senary iambic, which is supposed to have been taken from Menander's *lost* comedy of Thais,

Φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίαι κακαί:

rendered, in our translation, *Evil communications corrupt good manners.*

The last instance to be noticed under this head is Titus i. 12., where St. Paul quotes from Epimenides, a Cretan poet, the verse which has already been cited and illustrated in Vol. I. p. 81.; to which the reader is referred.

CHAPTER V.

ON HARMONIES OF SCRIPTURE.

I. *Occasion and Design of Harmonies of the Scriptures.*—II. *Harmonies of the four Gospels.*—III. *Observations on the different Schemes of Harmonizers, and on the Duration of the public Ministry of Jesus Christ.*

I. THE several books of the Holy Scriptures, having been written at different times and on different occasions, necessarily treat on a great variety of subjects, historical, doctrinal, moral, and prophetic. The sacred authors also, writing with different designs, have not always related the same events in the same order: some are introduced by anticipation; and others again are related first which should have been placed last. Hence seeming contradictions have arisen, which have been eagerly seized by the adversaries of Christianity, in order to perplex the minds and shake the faith of those who are not able to cope with their sophistries. These contradictions, however, are not real, for they disappear as soon as they are brought to the test of candid examination.

The manifest importance and advantage of comparing the sacred writers with each other, and of reconciling apparent contradictions, have induced many learned men to undertake the compilation of works, which, being designed to show the perfect agreement of all parts of the sacred writings, are commonly termed HARMONIES. A multitude of works of this description has, at different times, been issued from the press; the execution of which has varied according to the different designs of their respective authors. They may, however, be referred to three classes; viz.

1. Works which have for their object the RECONCILING OF APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS in the sacred writings.—These, in fact, are a sort of commentaries; and a notice of the principal publications of this kind will be found in the BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to the second Volume, PART II. CHAP. V. SECT. III. § 8. among the commentators and expositors of Holy Writ.

2. HARMONIES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—The design of these is, to dispose the historical, poetical, and prophetical books in chronological order, so that they may mutually explain and authenticate one another. Our learned countryman, Dr. Lightfoot, in the year 1647, published a "Chronicle" or Harmony of the Old Testament; on the basis of which the Rev. George Townsend constructed "The Old Testament arranged in Historical and Chronological Order;" but he has deviated from, and improved upon, the plan of Lightfoot very materially. His work is noticed in the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to the second Volume, PART I. CHAP. II. SECT. I.

3. HARMONIES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT are of two sorts; viz.

(1.) Harmonies of the ENTIRE New Testament, in which not only are the four Gospels chronologically disposed, but the Epistles are also placed in order of time, and interspersed in the Acts of the Apostles. Mr. Townsend's "New Testament arranged in Chronological and Historical Order" is the most complete work of this kind in the English language.

(2.) Harmonies of the four GOSPELS, in which the narratives or memoirs of the four evangelists are digested in their proper chronological order.

II. The Memoirs or Narratives of the life of Jesus Christ having been written with different designs, and for the use of particular classes of Christians, the importance and advantage of collating these relations with each other, and obtaining the clear amount of their various narratives, at a very early period suggested the plan of forming the Gospels into harmonies, exhibiting completely their parallelisms and differences, or into a connected history, termed respectively *Monotessaron* and *Diatessaron*; in which the *four* accounts are blended into one, containing the substance of them all. Works of this description are extremely numerous. Mr. Pilkington has enumerated one hundred and four, which had come to his knowledge in 1747;[1] and Walchius has given a *select* list of one hundred and thirty, which had been published prior to the year 1765.[2] The indefatigable bibliographer Fabricius, and his editor, Professor Harles, have given a list of those which were known to be extant, to the year 1795, which amounts to one hundred and seventy-two, but it is by no means complete.[3] Our notice must necessarily be confined to a few of the principal composers of harmonies.[4]

1. TATIAN, who wrote about the middle of the second century, composed a digest of the evangelical history, which was called τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων, that is, *the* Gospel *of the four*, or Μονοτεσσαρὼν, *Monotessaron*, that is, *one* narrative composed out *of the four*. Tatian is the most ancient harmonist on record; for, if Theophilus bishop of Antioch had before written on that subject (as Jerome insinuates), his work is long since lost.

2. In the beginning of the third century, AMMONIUS, an Alexandrian, composed a harmony which was also called τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων or the Gospel of the four, of the execution of which Eusebius speaks with approbation. The works of Tatian and Ammonius have long ago perished; but attempts have been made to obtrude spurious compilations upon the world for them in both instances. Victor, who was bishop of Capua, in the sixth century, gave a Latin version of a harmony, which was published by Michael Memler at Mayence, in 1524, as a translation of *Ammonius's Harmony*, in consequence of Victor being undetermined to which of those writers it was to be ascribed, though he was disposed to refer it to Tatian. And Ottomar Luscinius published one at Augsburgh in 1524, which he called that of Ammonius, though others have ascribed it to Tatian. It is not a harmony in the strict sense of the term, but a mere summary of the life of Christ delivered in the author's own words.

3. The diligent ecclesiastical historian EUSEBIUS, who wrote in the former part of the fourth century, composed a very celebrated harmony of the Gospels; in which he divided the evangelical history into *ten* canons or tables, which are prefixed to many editions and versions of the New Testament, particularly to Dr. Mill's critical edition of it. In the *first* canon he has arranged, according to the ancient chapters (which are commonly called the Ammonian Sections, from Ammonius, who made these divisions), those parts of the history of Christ which are related by all four evangelists. In the rest he has disposed the portions of history related by,

[1] Pilkington's Evangelical History and Harmony, Preface, pp. xviii.—xx.
[2] Walchii Bibliotheca Selecta, vol. iv. pp. 862—900.
[3] Bibliotheca Græca, vol. iv. pp. 862—869.
[4] Our notices of Harmonies are chiefly derived from the three works just cited, and from Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. iii. part i. pp. 31—36. and part ii. pp. 29—49.

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2. Matthew, Mark, and Luke.
3. Matthew, Luke, and John.
4. Matthew, Mark, and John.
5. Matthew and Luke.
6. Matthew and Mark.
7. Matthew and John.
8. Luke and Mark.
9. Luke and John.
10. Only one of the four evangelists.

Though these Eusebian canons are usually considered as harmony, yet it is evident, from a bare inspection of them, that they are simply Indexes to the four Gospels, and by no means form a harmony of the same nature as those which have been written in modern times, and which are designed to bring the several facts recorded by the evangelists into chronological order, and to reconcile contradictions. On this account Walchius does not allow them a place in his bibliographical catalogue of harmonies.

4. About the year 330, JUVENCUS, a Spaniard, wrote the evangelical history in heroic verse. His method is said to be confused, and his verse is not of a description to ensure him that immortality which he promised himself. His work has fallen into oblivion.

5. The four books of AUGUSTINE, bishop of Hippo, in Africa, *De Consensu Quatuor Evangeliorum*, are too valuable to be omitted. They were written about the year 400, and are honourable to his industry and learning. Augustine wrote this work with the express design of vindicating the truth and authority of the Gospels from the cavils of objectors.

From the middle ages until the close of the fifteenth century various harmonies were compiled by Peter Comestor, Guido de Perpiniano, Simon de Cassia, Ludolphus the Saxon (a German Carthusian monk, whose work was held in such high estimation that it passed through not fewer than thirty editions, besides being translated into French and Italian), Jean Charlier de Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, and many others, which are now of little value, and which have long since fallen into disuse. Of the various harmonies published since the Reformation, by foreign authors, the Latin Harmony of Chemnitz (or Chemnitius) is the most esteemed; and among our British divines those of Drs. Doddridge and Macknight are most generally read on account of their valuable expositions and commentaries. But, for exhibiting the parallel passages of each evangelist, perhaps the columnar form of Archbishop Newcome, or of the Rev. Edward Greswell, is preferable; while he, who is desirous of perusing one connected and continuous narrative, in which all the shades of circumstances are judiciously interwoven, will find Mr. Townsend's "New Testament arranged in Historical and Chronological Order," &c. the most useful.[1]

III. In the construction of an Evangelical Harmony, two questions have presented themselves to the consideration of harmonizers; viz. first, what evangelist has preserved the true order of circumstances, to which all the others are to be reduced? And, secondly, what was the duration of the public ministry of Jesus Christ?

1. On the first of these topics, we may remark that all the modern harmonies of the Gospels may be divided into two classes; viz. 1. Harmonies, of which the authors have taken for granted, that all the facts recorded in all the four Gospels are arranged in chronological order; and, 2. Harmonies, of which the authors have admitted, that in one or more of the four Gospels the chronological order has been more or less neglected. At the head of the first class is Andrew Osiander, one of Luther's fellow-labourers, in promoting the reformation in Germany: his method is followed by Calovius, Sandhagen, and others, on the Continent, and in this country by Dr. Macknight. Chemnitz stands at the head of the other class, and also has many followers of his method of arrangement. "The harmonies of the former kind are very similar to each other, because, though the authors of them had to interweave the facts recorded in one Gospel with the facts recorded in another, yet, as they invariably retained the order which was observed in each Gospel, and consequently repeated whatever facts occurred in different places in different Gospels, as often as those facts presented themselves to the harmonists in their progress through the Gospels, there was less room for material deviations in their plan and method. But in the harmonies of the latter kind we meet with considerable variations, because, though the authors of them are unanimous in their principle, they are at variance in the application of it; and, though they agree in making transpositions, by which they distinguish themselves from the harmonists of the first class, yet they do not always make the same transpositions. Some, for instance, have supposed, as Chemnitz, Archbishop Newcome, and other harmonists of this class have done, that St. Matthew has mostly neglected chronological order, while others, as Bengel and Bertling, have supposed, that he has in general retained it. Hence, though they have all the same object in view, namely, to make a chronological harmony, or to arrange the events, which are recorded in the Gospels, as nearly as possible according to the order of the time in which the events happened, they have adopted different modes of producing this effect. For in some harmonies the order of St. Matthew is inverted, and made subservient to that of St. Mark, while in other harmonies St. Mark's order is inverted, and made subservient to that of St. Matthew. Some harmonists again suppose, that all the evangelists have neglected chronological order, while others make an exception in favour of one or more of them, though the question, which of the evangelists should be excepted, likewise affords matter of debate. And even those harmonists, who agree as to the Gospel or Gospels, in which transpositions should be made, differ in respect to the particular parts where these transpositions ought to take place."[2]

A late excellent writer on the evidences and criticism of the New Testament,[3] however, is of opinion that the evangelists did not design to adhere to the order of time in writing their respective memoirs of the life of Jesus Christ. The purpose with which the four Gospels were written, he remarks, appears to have been, not a regular chronologically disposed history of the life, ministry, and sufferings of Jesus Christ, but the collection of such a body of well-authenticated facts, as might disclose the nature, and form sufficient proof of the truth of Christianity. This, he thinks, is obvious from the manner in which the evangelists generally place together the facts narrated. "That manner is such as completely to effect the latter, but not the former, purpose. There are no marks of an intention, on the part of any of the evangelists, to give to their narratives a regular chronological order. While, in general, there are no indications of the succession and proximity of the events narrated, but from their being prior, or posterior, and contiguous in the narrative, or from such indefinite expressions as τοτε, παλιν, εν τας ημερας εκειναις, εν εκεινῳ τῳ καιρῳ, εν τῳ καθεξης, μετα ταυτα; on the other hand, it sometimes occurs, that the events which one evangelist relates as in immediate succession, are noticed by himself to be not contiguous in time, and are put down by another, with some of the intervening transactions interposed. Than evidence of this kind, as to the purpose of a history, no declaration by the writer can be more satisfactory. Such declaration, unless perfectly explicit, may require to be modified by what his work bears within itself of its purpose. But there can be no ambiguity in the evidence, deduced from such facts as we have noticed, in the Gospel narratives.

"Against this evidence, too, there is no contrary declaration to be weighed. The evangelist, John (xx. 30, 31.), expressly asserts that the purpose of his writing was to make such a selection of facts as might be good ground of faith in the divine mission of Jesus Christ; but he nowhere affirms the chronological order of the selection. Luke, also, thus declares the purpose of his writing to Theophilus:—Ἵνα επιγνῳς περι ων κατηχηθης λογων την ασφαλειαν (Luke i. 4.), and the expression in the preceding verse, Εδοξε καμοι, παρηκολουθηκοτι ανωθεν πασιν ακριβως, καθεξης σοι γραψαι, is to be interpreted according to that purpose. For this purpose, thus distinctly expressed by two of the evangelists, and evident from the manner of writing common to them all, it was assuredly necessary that, either directly or indirectly, they should furnish us with such information, as might enable us to refer the facts in the Gospel history to a certain country, and a certain period in the history of the world. Without this, the Gospels would not have afforded the proper means for distinguishing them from fictitious histories; and hence, could not have answered the purpose of furnishing evidence to the truth of Christianity. This it was possible to do, either formally by dates, such as

[1] See the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to the second Volume, PART I. CHAP. II. SECT. II.—IV. for an account of these and of the Harmonies of the Gospel, or of particular books of the New Testament.

[2] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. iii. part ii. p. 46.

[3] The Rev. Dr. Cook, in his Inquiry into the Books of the New Testament.

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are found in the beginning of the second and third chapters of Luke's Gospel; or by allusions to known places, persons, and circumstances, to be learnt from other histories. Of these two modes, the evangelists, with a few exceptions, follow the latter; natural to men writing immediately for contemporaries, upon or near the scene of the events; and conformable to the usual simplicity by which their whole style is pervaded. But for this purpose, it was not in the least necessary to frame regular chronological narratives; and accordingly what was not necessary, has not been effected; the connections carrying forward the arrangement of events in the Gospels, being not merely those of time, but of the various associations, such as similarity in the facts themselves, vicinity of place, &c. by which it is possible that the human mind may be guided, in recollecting and classifying things that are past. And such, perhaps, upon the whole, is the impression made on most readers by the narratives of the evangelists. As we read them, we have a general feeling that they are carrying us ultimately forward, from preceding to subsequent events, yet, occasionally, over intervals of time concerning which nothing has been recorded, or with deviations from the chronological order; thus rendering it difficult, or impossible, to make one harmonious arrangement of the whole Gospel history, in which each event shall obtain, in perfect consistency with the account of each evangelist, its proper chronological place."[1]

Amid this diversity of opinions, supported as each is by the most ingenious arguments which its author could produce, it is extremely difficult to decide. By the adoption of the very probable hypothesis last stated, concerning the purpose for which the evangelists wrote, we certainly get rid, and in the fairest way, of all the difficulties with which the two classes of authors of Harmonies of the Gospels above noticed have to combat. As the evidence laid before the reader will enable him to determine for himself which of these hypotheses to adopt, we shall only remark, that Bishop Marsh recommends Griesbach's Synopsis of the first three Gospels as preferable to every other harmony extant.[2]

2. Very different opinions have been entertained by the compilers of harmonies, with regard to the duration of Christ's public ministry; whence a corresponding diversity has necessarily arisen in the disposition of their respective harmonies. During the first three centuries, the common opinion was, that Christ's ministry lasted only one year, or at furthest one year and four months. Early in the fourth century, Eusebius, the ecclesiastical historian, maintained that it continued between three and four years: this opinion was generally received, though the ancient opinion was retained by Augustine. During the middle ages, no further inquiries appear to have been made on this subject; and, after the Reformation, all the harmonizers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries assumed it for certain that Christ's ministry lasted between three and four years. Bengel, however, in his German Harmony of the Gospels, published at Tubingen in 1736, reduced it to two years; and, three years before, Mr. Mann, in his essay "Of the true Years of the Birth and Death of Christ" (London, 1733, 8vo.), revived the ancient opinion that it lasted only one year. This was also followed by Dr. Priestley in his Greek and English Harmonies. The hypothesis of Eusebius was adopted by Archbishop Newcome, who maintained that one year was by far too short a period for the several progresses of Jesus Christ in Galilee, and the transactions connected with them; and Bishop Marsh observes, that the Gospel of John presents almost insuperable obstacles to the opinion of those who confine Christ's ministry to one year. For, in order to effect this purpose, it is necessary to make omissions and transpositions in St. John's Gospel, which are not warranted by the laws of criticism but are attempted merely to support a previously assumed hypothesis. On the other hand, he thinks that the opinion, which makes Christ's ministry to have continued three years (and which receives no support whatever from the first three Gospels), cannot be satisfactorily proved even from the Gospel of Saint John, who at the utmost has noticed, or at least named, only three distinct passovers.[3]

Another opinion was announced, with equal modesty and learning, in a dissertation on "The Chronology of our Saviour's Life," by the Rev. C. BENSON, M. A. (Cambridge, 1819, 8vo.) The results of his investigation (which depends on minute chronological and critical discussions that do not admit of abridgment) are, that Herod died in the year of the Julian period 4711; and, consequently, that the birth of Christ took place A. J. P. 4709, in the spring (probably in the month of April or May); that his baptism was performed in or about the month of November, A. J. P. 4739, during the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate; that, agreeably to the indications of time contained in Saint John's Gospel, the ministry of Jesus Christ lasted through three passovers, or *two years and a half*; and that he was crucified on the fifteenth day of the month Nisan (April 15th), A. J. P. 4742.

From the difficulty of producing a harmony, complete in all its parts, some eminent critics (and among them the elegant and accomplished expositor Gilpin) have maintained that we ought to peruse the four several memoirs of Jesus Christ, written by the evangelists, separately and distinctly; and that, by explaining them separately, the *whole* becomes more uniform. Archbishop Newcome, however, has ably vindicated, and proved, the utility and advantage of harmonies; and with his observations the present chapter shall conclude. A harmony, he remarks, has the following uses:—

By the juxta-position of parallel passages, it is often the best comment; and it cannot but greatly alleviate the reader's trouble, in his attempts to illustrate the phraseology and manner of the evangelists. It also shows that Mark, who inserts much new matter, did not epitomize the Gospel of Matthew; and it affords plain indications, from the additions and omissions in John's Gospel, that his was designed to be a supplemental history. Further, a harmony in many instances illustrates the propriety of our Lord's conduct and works. Thus, previously to the call of the four apostles (Mark i. 16—20.) Andrew had been the Baptist's disciple, and had received his testimony to Jesus (John i. 35. 40.); Peter had been brought to Jesus by Andrew his brother (John i. 42.); and Jesus had shown more than human knowledge and more than human power (John i. 48. ii. 11. 23. iii. 2. iv. 29. 49, 50.) than what had probably fallen within the experience of these disciples, or at least must have gained their belief on the firmest grounds. So, the words of Christ (John v. 21. 25.) are prophetically spoken *before* he had raised any from the dead; and his reproofs (Matt. xii. 34. Mark vii. 6.) are uttered *after* he had wrought miracles, during two feasts at Jerusalem. Nor was the jealousy of the Jewish rulers early awakened by the call of the twelve apostles to a stated attendance. This event took place after our Lord had celebrated his second passover at Jerusalem, and when he was about to absent himself from that city for so long a period as eighteen months. In like manner, the seventy were not sent forth to show, throughout a wide tract of country, with what wisdom and power their Master endued them, till within about six months of our Lord's crucifixion; and the scene of raising the dead, a kind of miracle which would have exasperated his enemies in proportion as it tended to exalt his prophetic character, was remote from Jerusalem, till the last passover approached. Lastly, strong presumptions of the inspiration of the evangelists arise from an accurate comparison of the Gospels, from their being so wonderfully supplemental to each other, in passages reconcilable only by the suggestion of a seemingly indifferent circumstance, and from their *real agreement* in the midst of a *seeming disagreement*. "Truth, like honesty, often neglects appearances: hypocrisy and imposture are always guarded."[4]

[1] Dr. Cook's Inquiry, pp. 211—214.

[2] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. iii. part ii. p. 47. Michaelis has given a harmonized table of the four Gospels (Introd. vol. iii. part i. pp. 37—83); which Bishop Marsh (part ii. p. 67.) pronounces to be a very useful one, considered as a general index to the four Gospels. Dr. A. Clarke has reprinted Michaelis's harmonized table at the end of his Commentary on the Gospels; observing that it is useful to the reader of them, in pointing out *where* the same transaction is mentioned by the evangelists, what they have *in common*, and what is *peculiar to each*. Michaelis has generally followed Matthew's account, with which the narratives of the other evangelists are collated. In 1821, an English Harmony was compiled by, and printed at the expense of, Thomas BOWLES, Esq. (for private distribution only), entitled "Diatessaron, or the History of our Lord Jesus Christ, compiled from the four Gospels, according to the Translation of Dr. Campbell, and in the Order adopted by John David Michaelis, London," 8vo. In this beautifully executed volume the compiler has made some slight variations from the order of time followed by Michaelis in the harmonized table just mentioned.

[3] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. ii. part ii. p. 66.

[4] West on the Resurrection, p. 278. (London edit. 1807. 8vo.)

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PART II.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

BOOK I.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETATION

CHAPTER I.

ON THE SENSE OF SCRIPTURE.

SECTION I.

ON THE MEANING OF WORDS.

I. *Nature of Words.*—II. *The Sense of Scripture defined:* 1. *The literal Sense;*—2. *The allegorical, typical, and parabolical Sense;*—3. *The moral Sense of Professor Kant shown to be destitute of Foundation;*—4. *The Declarations of Jesus Christ and his Apostles are* NOT *an Accommodation to popular Opinion and Prejudice.*

MAN, being formed for society, has received from his Creator the faculty of communicating to his fellow-men, by means of certain signs, the ideas conceived in his mind. Hence, his organs of speech are so constructed, that he is capable of forming certain articulate sounds, expressive of his conceptions; and these, being fitly disposed together, constitute discourse: which, whether it be pronounced or written, must necessarily possess the power of declaring to others what he wishes they should understand.

I. The vehicles, or signs, by which men communicate their thoughts to each other, are termed WORDS; whether these are orally uttered, or described by written characters, the idea, or notion, attached to any word, is its SIGNIFICATION; and the ideas which are expressed by several words connected together,—that is, in entire sentences and propositions, and which ideas are produced in the minds of others,—are called the SENSE or proper meaning of words. Thus, if a person utter certain words, to which another individual attaches the same idea as the speaker, he is said to *understand* the latter, or to comprehend the *sense* of his words. If we transfer this to sacred subjects, we may define the *sense of Scripture* to be that conception of its meaning, which the Holy Spirit presents to the understanding of man, by means of the words of Scripture, and by means of the ideas comprised in those words.[1]

EVERY WORD MUST HAVE SOME MEANING.

Although in every language there are very many words which admit of several meanings, yet in common parlance there is only *one true sense* attached to any word; which sense is indicated by the connection and series of the discourse, by its subject-matter, by the design of the speaker or writer, or by some other adjuncts, unless any ambiguity be purposely intended. That the same usage obtains in the Sacred Writings there is no doubt whatever. In fact, the perspicuity of the Scriptures requires this unity and simplicity of sense in order to render intelligible to man the design of their Great Author, which could never be comprehended if a multiplicity of senses were admitted. In all other writings, indeed, besides the Scriptures, before we sit down to study them, we expect to find one single determinate sense and meaning attached to the words; from which we may be satisfied that we have attained their true meaning, and understand what the authors intended to say. Further, in common life, no prudent and *conscientious* person, who either commits his sentiments to writing or utters any thing, intends that a diversity of meanings should be attached to what he writes or says; and, consequently, neither his readers, nor those who hear him, affix to it any other than the true and obvious sense. Now, if such be the practice in all fair and upright intercourse between man and man, is it for a moment to be supposed that God, who has graciously vouchsafed to employ the ministry of men in order to make known his will to mankind, should have departed from this way of simplicity and truth? Few persons, we apprehend, will be found, in this enlightened age, sufficiently hardy to maintain the affirmative.[2]

II. THE SENSE OF SCRIPTURE DEFINED.

1. The LITERAL SENSE of any place of Scripture is that which the words signify, or require, in their natural and proper acceptation, without any trope, metaphor, or figure, and abstracted from any mystic meaning: thus, in

Gen. i. 1. We read that *God created the heaven and the earth.* These words mean what they literally import, and are to be interpreted according to the letter. So, in John x. 30. we read, *I and the Father are one;* in which passage the deity of Christ, and his equality with God the Father, are so distinctly and unequivocally asserted, that it is difficult to conceive how any other than its proper and literal meaning could ever be given to it.

The literal sense has also been termed the *grammatical* sense; the term *grammatical* having the same reference to the Greek language as the term *literal* to the Latin, both referring to the elements of a word. Words may also be taken properly and physically, as in John i. 6. *There was a man whose name was John:* this is called the proper literal sense. When, however, words are taken metaphorically and figuratively, that is, are diverted to a meaning which they do not *naturally* denote, but which they nevertheless intend under some figure or form of speech,—as when the properties of one person or thing are attributed to another,—this is termed the *tropical* or *figurative* sense.[3]

"Thus, when hardness is applied to *stone*, the expression is used literally, in its proper and natural signification:—when it is applied to the *heart*, it is used *figuratively*, or in an improper acceptation. Yet, the sense, allowing for the change of subject, is virtually the same, its application being only transferred from a physical to a moral quality."[4] An example of this kind occurs in Ezek. xxxvi. 26. and xi. 19., where the *heart of stone* denotes a hard obdurate heart, regardless of divine admonitions, and the *heart of flesh* signifies a tender heart, susceptible of the best and holiest impressions. In like manner, in Zech. vii. 12. the obdurate Jews are said to have made their hearts as *an adamant stone.* Numerous similar expressions occur in the New as well as in the Old Testament, as in Luke xiii. 32. John i.

[1] Stuart's Elements of Interpretation, p. 7. (Andover, 1822.)

[2] Keilii Elementa Hermeneut. Nov. Test. p. 12. On this subject the reader may consult M. Winterberg's "Prolusio de interpretatione unicâ, unicâ, et certæ persuasionis de doctrâ religionis veritate et amicâ consensionis causâ," in Velthusen's and Kuinœl's Commentationes Theologicæ, vol. iv. pp. 420—438.

[3] "The *tropical* sense is no other than the *figurative* sense. As we say, in language derived from the Greek, that a trope is used when a word is turned from its literal or grammatical sense; so we say, in language derived from the Latin, that a *figure* is then used, because in such cases the meaning of the word assumes a new *form.* The same opposition, therefore, which is expressed by the terms *literal* sense and *figurative* sense, is expressed also by the terms *grammatical* sense and *tropical* sense." Bishop Marsh's Lect part iii. p. 67.

[4] Bishop Vanmildert's Bamp. Lect. p. 222

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29. and xv. 5.; where Herod, for his craftiness and cruelty is termed a *fox*; the Saviour of the world is called the *Lamb of God*, because to his great atoning sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, the lamb, which was offered every morning and evening, had a typical reference; he is also called a *vine*, as all true Christians are designated the *branches*, to intimate that Christ is the support of the whole church, and of every particular believer,—that, in the language of the New Testament, they are all implanted and grafted into him, that is, united to him by true faith and sincere love, and that they all derive spiritual life and vigour from him. It were unnecessary to multiply examples of this kind, as every diligent reader of the Word of God will doubtless be able to recollect them.

Further, the literal sense has been called the HISTORICAL SENSE, as conveying the meaning of the words and phrases used by a writer at a certain time.

Thus, in the more ancient books of the Old Testament, the word *isles* or *islands* signifies every inhabited region, particularly all the western coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, and the seats of Japhet's posterity, viz. the northern part of Asia, Asia Minor, and Europe, together with some other regions. Of this sense of the word we have examples in Gen. x. 5. Isa. xi. 11. xx. 6. xxiii. 6. xxiv. 15. xlii. 15. lxvi. 19. Ezek. xxvi. 15. 18. xxvii. 3—7. 15. 35. But, in a later age, it denotes islands properly so called, as in Esther x. 1., and, perhaps, Jer. xlvii. 4. (marginal rendering.)[1] Again, the phrase, to *possess* or *inherit the land*, which is of very frequent occurrence in the Old Testament, if we consider it *historically*, that is, with reference to the history of the Jewish nation, means simply, to hold the secure and undisturbed possession of the promised land; and in the New Testament, the phrase to "*follow Christ*" must in like manner be understood *historically* in some passages of the Gospels; implying no more than that the persons there mentioned followed the Lord Jesus Christ in his progresses, and were auditors of his public instructions, precisely as the apostles followed him from place to place, and heard his doctrine.[2]

Interpreters now speak of the true sense of a passage, by calling it the GRAMMATICO-HISTORICAL SENSE; and exegesis, founded on the nature of language, is called grammatico-historical. The object in using this compound name is, to show that both grammatical and historical considerations are employed in making out the sense of a word or passage.

2. Where, besides the direct or immediate signification of a passage, whether literally or figuratively expressed, there is attached to it a more remote or recondite meaning, this is termed the MEDIATE, SPIRITUAL, or MYSTICAL SENSE;[3] and this sense is founded, not on a transfer of words from one signification to another, but on the entire application of the matter itself to a different subject.

Thus, what is said *literally* in Exod. xxx. 10. and Levit. xvi. concerning the high-priest's entrance into the most holy place on the day of expiation, with the blood of the victim, we are taught by St. Paul to understand *spiritually* of the entrance of Jesus Christ into the presence of God with his own blood. (Heb. ix. 7—20.)

The spiritual sense of Scripture has frequently been divided into *allegorical*, *typical*, and *parabolical*. The reason of this mode of classifications, as well as of some other minor distinctions, does not sufficiently appear. Since, however, it has obtained a place in almost every treatise on the interpretation of the Scriptures, it may not be irrelevant to define and illustrate these senses by a few examples.

(1.) The ALLEGORICAL SENSE is, when the Holy Scriptures, besides the literal sense, signify any thing belonging to faith or *spiritual doctrine*.

Such is the sense which is required rightly to understand Gal. iv. 24. ἁ τανα εστιν αλληγορουμενα, *which things are allegorically spoken*, or *which things are thus allegorized by me*; that is, under the veil of the literal sense they further contain a spiritual or mystical sense.

(2.) The TYPICAL SENSE is, when, under external objects or prophetic visions, secret things, whether present or future, are represented; especially when certain transactions, recorded in the Old Testament, presignify or adumbrate those related in the New Testament.

Thus, in Psal. xcv. 11., the words "*they should not enter into my rest*," literally understood, signify the entrance of the Israelites into the promised land; but, spiritually and typically, the entering into the rest and enjoyment of heaven, through the merits and mediation of Christ, as is largely shown in the epistle to the Hebrews, chapters iii. and iv.

(3.) The PARABOLICAL SENSE is, when, besides the plain and obvious meaning of the thing related, an occult or spiritual sense is intended. As this chiefly occurs in passages of a moral tendency, the parabolic has by some writers been termed the *moral* or tropological sense.

Of this description is the parable of the talents: the design of which is to show that the duties which men are called to perform are suited to their situations and the talents which they severally receive; that whatever a good man possesses he has received from God, as well as the ability to improve that good; and that the grace and temporal mercies of God are suited to the power which a man has of improving them. Thus, also, the injunction in Deut. xxv. 4., relative to muzzling the ox while treading out the corn, is explained by Saint Paul with reference to the right of maintenance of ministers of the Gospel. (1 Cor. ix. 9—11.)

It were easy to multiply examples of each of the different senses here mentioned; but as they have all one common foundation, and as we shall have occasion to adduce others in the course of the following pages, when stating the rules for interpreting the sense of Scripture after it has been ascertained, the instances above quoted may suffice to illustrate the distinctions subsisting between them.[4]

3. The MORAL SENSE or interpretation, advocated by the late Professor Kant of Berlin (whose philosophical system has obtained many followers on the Continent), consists in setting aside the laws of grammatical and historical interpretation, and attributing a moral meaning to those passages of Scripture, which, agreeably to grammatical interpretation, contain nothing coincident with the moral dictates of unassisted reason. According to this hypothesis, nothing more is necessary, than that it be *possible* to attach a moral meaning to the passage;—it is of little moment how forced or unnatural it may be. Against this mode of interpretation (which is here noticed in order to put the student on his guard) the following weighty objections have been urged:—

(1.) Such a mode of explaining Scripture does not deserve the name of an interpretation; for this moral interpreter does not inquire, what the Scriptures actually *do* teach by their own declarations, but what they *ought* to teach, agreeably to his opinions.

(2.) The principle is incorrect, which is assumed as the basis of this mode of interpretation; viz. that the grammatical sense of a passage of Scripture cannot be admitted, or at least is of no use in ethics, whenever it contains a sentiment which reason alone could not discover and substantiate.

(3.) Such a mode of interpretation is altogether unnecessary; for the Bible is abundantly sufficient for our instruction in religion and morality, if its precepts are construed as applying directly or by consequence to the moral necessities of every man. And although there are passages of difficult explanation in the Bible, as might naturally be expected from the antiquity and peculiar languages of the Scriptures, yet in most instances these passages do not relate to doctrines; and when they do, the doctrines in question are generally taught in other and plainer passages.

(4.) As, on this plan, the mere possibility of attaching a

[1] Jahn, Enchiridion Hermeneuticæ Generalis, p. 24., who cites Michaelis's Spicilegium Geographiæ Hebreæ Exteræ, part i. pp. 131—143., and also his Supplementum ad Lexica Hebraica, pp. 68, 69.

[2] Many additional instances might be offered, if the limits of this work would permit. The reader, who is desirous of fully investigating the *historic sense* of Scripture, will derive much solid benefit from Dr. Storr's Disquisition de Sensu Historico, in vol. i. (pp. 1—88.) of his "Opuscula Academica ad Interpretationem Librorum Sacrorum pertinentia," 8vo. Tubingen, 1796.

[3] "Dicitur mysticus," says a learned and sensible writer of the Romish communion, "a μυω, *claudo;* quia licet non semper fidei mysteria comprehendat, magis tamen occultus, et clausus est, quam literalis, qui *per verba rite intellecta* facilius innotescit." Adami Viser, Hermeneutica Sacra Novi Testamenti, pars ii. pp. 51, 52. See also Jahn's Enchiridion Hermeneuticæ Generalis, pp. 41, 42.; and Bishop Vanmildert's Bampton Lectures, p. 222.

[4] Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 13—44. Viser, Hermeneutica Sacra, Nov. Test. pars ii. pp. 1—150. J. E. Pfeiffer, Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, pp. 122—132. Aug. Pfeiffer, Herm. Sacr. cap. iii. (Op. tom. ii. pp. 633—638.) Ernesti Institutio Interpretis Novi Test. pp. 14—30. (4th edit.) Mori Acroases Academicæ super Hermeneutica Nov. Test. tom. i. pp. 27—73. J. B. Carpzovii, Primæ Lineæ Herm. Sac. p. 24. Alber, Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Nov. Test. tom. i. pp. 44—46. Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article, pp. 580—590. Bishop Marsh's Lect. part iii. lect. xv. and xvi. pp. 42—78.; and Bishop Vanmildert's Bampton Lectures, Serm. vii. pp. 217—232. and notes, pp. 386—396. The two writers last cited have illustrated the sense of Scripture, by applying it to the discussion of some important controversial points between Protestants and Romanists, which the limits of a practical work will not admit of being noticed.

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moral import to a text is regarded as sufficient for considering it as a true signification; almost every passage must be susceptible of a multitude of interpretations, as was the case during the reign of the mystical and allegorical mode of interpretation, which has long since been exploded. This must produce confusion in religious instruction, want of confidence in the Bible, and, indeed, a suspicion as to its divine authority; for this must be the natural effect of the moral of interpretation on the majority of minds.

(5.) Lastly, if such a mode of interpreting the doctrines of Christianity should prevail, it is not seen how insincerity and deceit, on the part of interpreters, are to be detected and exposed.[1]

4. Equally untenable is the hypothesis of some modern critics, that the interpretation of certain passages of the Old Testament relative to the Messiah, given by Jesus Christ and his apostles, are a doctrinal ACCOMMODATION TO THE OPINIONS AND PREJUDICES OF THE JEWS.[2]

Since the time of Semler, about the middle of the eighteenth century, an opinion has prevailed widely in the Protestant churches of Germany, that the Old Testament contains very few passages, or none at all, which treat literally and properly of Jesus Christ; and that all or most of the passages cited in the New Testament are used in the way of accommodation. In support of this theory, its advocates have offered the following reasons:—The Jews, at the time of Christ, were very much given to the allegorical interpretation of Scripture. Even after the time of the Babylonish captivity, when the expectation of a Messiah had become universal among them, they had eagerly searched the Old Testament for every thing, which in the least favoured this expectation; and, by the help of their allegorical interpretation, they had succeeded in making their Scriptures seem to contain predictions respecting a Messiah. Jesus and the apostles (these theorists affirm) were, therefore, compelled to pursue the same method, and to use it as a means of gradually bringing the Jews to a better knowledge of religion.

But in this statement we must carefully distinguish between what is true, and what is erroneous and exaggerated; for,

1. The allegorical interpretation of the sacred Scriptures cannot be historically proved to have prevailed among the Jews from the time of the captivity, or to have been common with the Jews of Palestine at the time of Christ and his apostles.

Although the Sanhedrin and the hearers of Jesus often appealed to the Old Testament, yet they give no indication of the allegorical interpretation; even Josephus has nothing of it. The Platonic Jews of Egypt began in the first century, in imitation of the heathen Greeks, to interpret the Old Testament allegorically. Philo of Alexandria was distinguished among those Jews who practised this method; and he defends it as something new and before unheard of, and for that reason opposed by the other Jews.[3] Jesus was not, therefore, in a situation in which he was compelled to comply with a prevailing custom of allegorical interpretation; for this method did not prevail at that time among the Jews, certainly not in Palestine, where Jesus taught. Moreover, the representations contained in the works of Philo and Josephus differ, in a variety of respects, from the doctrines of the New Testament. If, however, some of the instructions of Jesus Christ and his apostles did coincide with the popular opinion of the Jews, it will by no means follow that they must therefore have been erroneous. So far as these Jewish opinions were correct, they were worthy of the approbation of Jesus; and the providence of God may, by previous intimations of them, have paved the way for the reception of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity.

(2.) The writers of the New Testament themselves make a clear distinction between the allegorical and literal interpretation of the Old Testament.

When they do use the allegorical method, they either say expressly, "These things may be allegorized" (Gal. iv. 24.); or they show it by the context, or by prefixing some particle of comparison; for instance, ὥσπερ or καθὼς (as) in John iii. 14. and Matt. xii. 40. But they express themselves very differently in texts, which they quote as literal prophecy for the purpose of proof.

(3.) If the apostles did not allude to the Old Testament in the instructions which they gave to the Gentiles, it does not follow either that they believed the Old Testament to be of no use to them, or that they did not seriously consider the passages which they cited as predictions, in their instruction to the Jews, to be really such. The reason why the apostles omitted these allusions at the commencement of the instructions which they gave to the heathen, is the same as leads the wise missionary at the present day to omit them in the same circumstances. Their Gentile hearers and readers knew nothing of the Bible, and could not, of course, be convinced from an unknown book. The apostles, however, gradually instructed their Gentile converts in the contents of this book, and then appealed to it as frequently before them as before Jews or converts from Judaism. This is proved by the Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles. Thus Peter says to the *heathen* centurion, Cornelius, after the latter had become acquainted with the prophets,—*To him* [Jesus] *give all* the prophets witness, &c. (Acts x. 43. compared with Acts viii 26—35. and the Epistles of Saint Paul.)

(4.) It cannot be shown in general that Jesus Christ and his apostles, in compliance with the current prejudices of their contemporaries, ever taught any thing, or seemingly affirmed any thing to be true, which they themselves consider as false. (Their moral character renders such a supposition inadmissible.) Neither can it be shown, in particular, that they adopted and authorized any explanations of the Old Testament, which they themselves considered as invalid, merely because they were common among their contemporaries.

Such compliance is entirely contrary to their usual course of action (see Matt. v. 19. 23.); nor can it be at all justified on pure moral principles. When therefore Christ says distinctly in Matt. xxii. 43. that David by divine revelation called the Messiah Lord (Psal. cx. 1.), he must have believed exactly as he said; and consequently must have admitted a divine prediction respecting the Messiah in this Psalm.

Hence it follows that whenever Jesus and his apostles expressly assent to the Jewish explanations of the Old Testament, or build proofs upon them, they themselves must have considered these explanations as just.

(5.) The hypothesis of the theory of accommodation, that Jesus and his apostles propagated falsehoods under the garb of truth, is overturned by the fact, that miracles attested their high authority as teachers.

(6.) No such criteria can be given, which shall enable us to distinguish between such of their declarations as they believed themselves, and those in which they accommodated themselves to the erroneous notions of the Jews. The Scriptures nowhere make a distinction between what is universally true, and what is only local or temporary. The theory of accommodation involves the whole of revelation in uncertainty.

SECTION II.

GENERAL RULES FOR INVESTIGATING THE MEANING OF WORDS.

SINCE words compose sentences, and from these, rightly understood, the meaning of an author is to be collected, it is necessary that we ascertain the individual meaning of words before we proceed further to investigate the sense of Scripture. In the prosecution of this important work, we may observe, generally, that as the same method and the same principles of interpretation are common both to the sacred volume and to the productions of uninspired man, consequently the signification of words in the Holy Scriptures must be sought precisely in the same way, in which the meaning of words in other works usually is or ought to be sought. Hence also it follows, that the method of investigating the signification of words in the Bible is no more arbitrary than it is in other books, but is in like manner regulated by certain laws, drawn from the nature of languages. And since no text of Scripture has more than one meaning, we must endeavour to find out that *one true sense* precisely in the same manner as we would investigate the sense of Homer or any other ancient writer; and in that sense, when so ascertained, we ought to acquiesce, unless by applying the just rules of interpretation, it can be shown that the meaning of the passage had been mistaken, and that another is the only just, true, and critical sense of the place. This principle, duly considered, would alone be sufficient for investigating the sense of Scripture; but as there are not wanting persons who reject it altogether, and as it may, perhaps, appear too generally expressed, we shall proceed to consider it more minutely in the following observations.[4]

[1] Schmucker's Elementary Course of Biblical Theology, vol. i. pp. 272, 273. (Andover, North America, 1827.) Alber, Institutiones Hermeneut. Nov. Test. vol. i. pp. 90—93.

[2] Knapp's Lectures on Christian Theology, vol. ii. pp. 157—159. (New York, 1833.) Schmucker's Biblical Theology, vol. i. pp. 229, 230. Dr. Tittman has examined and refuted at considerable length the theory of accommodation; and has most convincingly shown, that it is a mode of interpretation altogether unexampled, deceptive, and fallacious, manifestly uncertain, and leading to consequences the most pernicious. See the Preface to his Meletemata Sacra, sive Commentarius in Evangelium Johannis, pp. xiv.—xxi.

[3] Philo de Confusione Linguarum, p. 317. *et seq.*

[4] The following rules are chiefly drawn from Chladenius's Institutiones Exegeticæ, pp. 238—242.; Jahn's Enchiridion Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, pp. 34—38.; Langii Hermeneutica Sacra, p. 16. *et seq.*; Rambachii Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, p. 53. *et seq.*; and Semler's Apparatus ad Liberalem Novi Testamenti Interpretationem, p. 179. *et seq.* See also J. E. Pfeiffer's Inst. Herm. Sacr. p. 349. *et seq.*

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1. *Ascertain the* usus loquendi, *or notion affixed to a word by the persons in general, by whom the language either is now or formerly was spoken, and especially in the particular connection in which such notion is affixed.*

The meaning of a word used by any writer is the meaning affixed to it by those for whom he *immediately* wrote. For there is a kind of natural compact between those who write and those who speak a language; by which they are mutually bound to use words in a certain sense: he, therefore, who uses such words in a different signification, in a manner violates that compact, and is in danger of leading men into error, contrary to the design of God, "who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth." (1 Tim. ii. 4.) The aids for investigating the usus loquendi being considered in the ensuing chapter, it will be sufficient to observe in illustration of the present canon, that

(1.) *The books of the Old and New Testament are, each, to be frequently and carefully read, and the subjects therein treated are to be compared together, in order that we may ascertain the meaning of what the authors thought and wrote.*

They, who wish to attain an accurate knowledge of the philosophical notions of Plato, Aristotle, or any other of the ancient Grecian sages, will not consult the later Platonic writers, or the scholastic authors who depended wholly on the *authority* of Aristotle, and whose knowledge of his works was frequently very imperfect, but will rather peruse the writings of the philosophers themselves:—in like manner, the books of the Old and New Testament are to be constantly and carefully perused and weighed by him, who is sincerely desirous to obtain a correct knowledge of their important contents. For, while we collate the expressions of each writer, we shall be enabled to harmonize those passages which treat on the same topics; and may reasonably hope to discover their true sense. Some foreign biblical critics, however (who, in their zeal to accommodate the immutable truths of Scripture to the standard of the present age, would divest the Christian dispensation of its most important doctrines), have asserted that, in the interpretation of the Old Testament, all reference to the New Testament is to be excluded. But, unless we consult the latter, there are passages in the Old Testament whose meaning *cannot* be fully apprehended. To mention only one instance, out of many that might be adduced:—in Gen. i. 26, 27. God is said to have created man after his own image: this passage (which, it should be recollected, describes man in his primeval state of spotless innocence, before he became corrupted by the fall), the divines in question affirm, must be interpreted according to the crude and imperfect notions entertained by the ancient heathen nations concerning the Deity.[1] But, if we avail ourselves of the information communicated in the New Testament (as we are fully warranted to do by the example of Christ and his inspired apostles), we shall be enabled to form a correct notion of the divine image intended by the sacred historian; viz. that it consisted in righteousness, true holiness, and knowledge. See Eph. iv. 24. and Col. iii. 10.

(2.) *It is also indispensable that we lay aside, in many instances, that more accurate knowledge which we possess of natural things, in order that we may fully enter into the meaning of different parts of the sacred writings.*

The ancient Hebrews being altogether ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, many things, the nature of which is now fully explored and well known, it were absurd to apply our more perfect knowledge to the explanation of things which are related according to the limited degrees of knowledge they possessed. Hence it is not necessary that we should attempt to illustrate the Mosaic account of the creation according to the Copernican system of the universe, which the experiments of philosophers have shown to be the true one. As the Scriptures were composed with the express design of making the divine will known to man, the sacred authors might, and did, make use of popular expressions and forms of speech, then in use among the persons or people whom they addressed; the philosophical truth of which they neither affirmed nor denied.

2. *The received signification of a word is to be retained, unless weighty and necessary reasons require that it should be abandoned or neglected.*

We shall be justified in rejecting the received meaning of a word in the following cases; viz.

(1.) If such meaning clash with any doctrine revealed in the Scriptures. Thus, according to our authorized English version, Eli's feeble reproaches of his profligate sons served only to lull them into security, *because the* LORD *would slay them* (1 Sam. ii. 25.), the meaning of which rendering is, to make their continuance in sin the *effect* of Jehovah's determination to destroy them; and thus apparently support the horrid tenet, that God wills his creatures to commit crimes because he is determined to display his justice in their destruction. It is true that the ordinarily received meaning of the Hebrew particle כי (KI) is, *because;* but in this instance it ought to be rendered *therefore* or *though*,[2] which makes their wilful and impenitent disobedience the cause of their destruction, and is in unison with the whole tenor of the sacred writings. The proper rendering, therefore, of this passage is, *Notwithstanding, they hearkened not unto the voice of their father.* THEREFORE *the* LORD *would slay them.*

(2.) If a certain passage *require* a different explanation from that which it appears to present: as Mal. iv. 5, 6. compared with Luke i. 17. and Matt. xi. 14.

(3.) If the thing itself will not admit of a tropical or figurative meaning being affixed to the word.

3. *Where a word has several significations in common use, that must be selected which best suits the passage in question, and which is consistent with an author's known character sentiments, and situation, and the known circumstances under which he wrote.*

For instance, the word BLOOD, which in various accounts is very significant in the sacred writings, denotes—our *natural descent* from one common family, in Acts xvii. 26.;—*death* in Heb. xii. 4.; *the Suffering and Death of Christ*, considered as an atonement for the souls of sinners, in Rom. v. 9. and Eph. i. 7.: and also as the procuring cause of our justification in Rom. v. 9., and of our sanctification in Heb. ix. 14.[3]

4. *Although the force of particular words can only be derived from etymology, yet too much confidence must not be placed in that frequently uncertain science; because the primary signification of a word is frequently very different from its common meaning.*

5. *The distinctions between words, which are apparently synonymous, should be carefully examined and considered.*

In the Latin language many words are accounted perfectly synonymous which, however, only partially accord together. Thus, a person whose discourse is cut short, is said to be *silent* (*silere*); and one, who has not begun to speak, is said to *hold his tongue* (*tacere*). Cicero, in speaking of beauty, observes, that there are two kinds of it; the one *dignified and majestic* (*dignitas*); *the other soft and graceful* (*venustas*); the *latter* to be considered proper to *women*, the *former* to men.[4] The same remark will apply to the language of Scripture. For instance, in the 119th Psalm there are not fewer than ten different words, pointing out the word of God; viz. Law, Way, Word, Statutes, Judgments, Commandments, Precepts, Testimonies, Righteousness, and Truth or Faithfulness. Now all these words, though usually considered as synonymous, are not *literally* synonymous, but refer to some latent and distinguishing properties of the Divine Word, whose manifold excellences and perfections are thus illustrated with much elegant variety of diction. In the New Testament we meet with similar instances, as in Col. ii. 22. ενταλματα και διδασκαλιας ανθρωπων, *the commandments and doctrines of men. Doctrines* in this passage include *truths* propounded to be believed or known; *Commands* imply *laws*, which direct what is to be done or avoided: the latter depend upon and are derived from the former. The apostle is speaking of the *traditions taught* by the elders, and the *load of cumbrous ceremonies commanded* by them, in addition to the significant rites prescribed in the law of Moses. In Rom. xiv. 13. προσκομμα, a *stumbling-block*, means a slighter cause of offence, viz. that which wounds and disturbs the conscience of another; σκανδαλον, *an occasion to fall*, means a more weighty cause of offence, that is, such as may cause any one to apostatize from the Christian faith. Similar examples occur in 1 Tim. ii. 1. and 1 Pet. iv. 3.[5]

6. *The epithets introduced by the sacred writers are also to be carefully weighed and considered, as all of them have either a declarative or explanatory force, or serve to distinguish one thing from another, or unite these two characters together.*

The epithets of Scripture then are,—

(1.) *Exegetical* or *Explanatory*, that is, such as declare the nature and properties of a thing.

Thus, in Tit. ii. 11. the *grace of God* is termed *saving*, not indeed as if there were any other divine grace bestowed on man, that was not saving, but because the grace of God revealed in the Gospel is the primary and true source of eternal life. Similar epithets occur in 2 Tim. i. 9. in which our *calling* is styled *holy;* in 1 Pet. iv. 3. where *idolatry* is termed abominable, and in 1 Pet. ii. 9. where the Gospel is called the marvellous light of God, because it displays so many amazing scenes of divine wonders.

(2.) *Diacritical* or *Distinctive*, that is, such as distinguish one thing from another.

For instance, in 1 Pet. v. 4. the *crown* of future glory is termed a *never-fading crown*, αμαραντινος, to distinguish it from that *corruptible* crown which, in the Grecian games, was awarded to the successful candidate. In like manner, genuine faith, in 1 Tim. i. 5. is called *undissembled*, ανυποκριτος; God, in the same chapter (v. 17.), is designated the *King incorruptible*, βασιλευς αφθαρτος; and in Rom. xii. 1. Christians dedicating themselves to God, is termed a *reasonable service*, λατρεια λογικη, in contradistinction to the Jewish worship, which chiefly consisted in the sacrifice of *irrational creatures*.

(3.) *Both Explanatory and Distinctive*, as in Rom. ix. 5.

Where Christ is called *God blessed for ever*. By which epithet both his divine nature is *declared*, and he is eminently *distinguished* from the Gentile deities. Similar examples occur in John xvii. 11. (compared with Luke xi. 11—13.), where God is termed *Holy Father;* in 1 John v. 20. where Christ is styled the *true God*, as also the *Great God* in Tit. ii. 13. and Heb. ix. 14. where the Holy Spirit is denominated the *Eternal Spirit*.

7. *General terms are used sometimes in their whole extent, and sometimes in a restricted sense, and whether they are to be understood in the one way or in the other must depend upon the scope, subject-matter, context, and parallel passages.*

Thus, in 1 Thess. iii. 8. St. Paul, speaking to the Thessalonians, says, *Now we live, if* (more correctly, *when*) *ye stand fast in the Lord.* The word *live*, in this passage, is not to be understood in its whole extent, as implying that the apostle's physical life or existence depended on their

[1] How crude, imperfect, and erroneous these views of the heathens were respecting the Almighty has been shown at great length by various eminent advocates for the truth of the divine origin of Revelation; but no one has discussed it more elaborately than Dr. Leland, in his "Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation, as shown from the State of Religion in the Heathen World." 1768, 8vo. Reprinted at Glasgow in 1819, in 2 vols. A compendious notice of the heathen notions respecting the Deity is given in Vol. I. pp. 16, 17.

[2] Noldius, in his work on Hebrew particles, has shown that כי (KI) has the meaning of *therefore* in a great number of instances, among which he quotes this very passage. He has also adduced others, where it evidently means *though*. Purver adopts the latter, and thus translates the clause in question:—*Notwithstanding they would not hearken to the voice of their father* THEREFORE *the Lord should slay* them.

[3] For the various meanings of the word *blood*, see the Index of the Symbolical Language of Scripture, voce BLOOD, in the second volume of this work.

[4] Cum autem pulchritudinis duo genera sint, quorum in altero *venustas* sit, in altero *dignitas;* venustatem muliebrem ducere debemus; dignitatem virilem. Cicero de Officiis, lib. i. c. xxxvi. (op. tom. xii. p. 57. ed. Bipont.)

[5] On the subject of words commonly thought synonymous, see Dr. Campbell's Dissertation prefixed to his translation of the Gospels, vol. i. pp. 164—240. (edit. 1807.), and especially Dr. Tittmann's Treatise de Synonymis in Novi Testamenti, or Mr. Crair's translation of it (Edinburgh, 1833-4. 2 vols. 12mo.)

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standing fast in the Lord, but must be understood in a limited sense. It is as if he had said, "Your steadfastness in the faith gives me new life and comfort. I now feel that I live to some purpose—I relish and enjoy life—since my labour in the Gospel is not in vain." That this is the true meaning of the apostle, is evident both from the subject-matter and from the context; for Saint Paul, filled with deep anxiety lest the Thessalonians should have been induced to depart from the faith by the afflictions which they had to endure, had sent Timothy to raise and comfort them. Having heard of their constancy in the faith, he exclaims, Now *we live, if ye stand fast in the Lord.*

8. *Of any particular passage the most simple sense—or that which most readily suggests itself to an attentive and intelligent reader, possessing competent knowledge,—is in all probability the genuine sense or meaning.*

This remark is so obvious as to require no illustrative example. Where indeed two meanings or senses present themselves, without doing any violence to the words or to their scope and connection, and to the subject-matter, &c. in such case the different arguments for and against each meaning must be carefully discussed, and that meaning which is supported by the most numerous and weighty arguments, and is found to be the most probable, must be preferred, as being the genuine sense. Yet, simple and obvious as this canon confessedly is, it is perpetually violated by the modern school of interpreters in Germany, at the head of which stand the names of Professors Semler, Bauer, Paulus, Wegscheider, Eichhorn, and others; against whose tenets the unwary student cannot be sufficiently put upon his guard, on account of the great celebrity which some of these writers have justly acquired for their profound philological attainments. The teachers of this school assert that there is no such thing as a divine revelation in the sense attached to this word by Christians; and that the miracles recorded in the Scriptures are merely natural occurrences, exaggerated and embellished by those who have related them. According to these anti-supernaturalists, the whole of the doctrines of Scripture consist either of the precepts of nature clothed in obscure expressions, or of absolutely false doctrines invented by the sacred writers, who were men subject to error like ourselves, and (what they say is still worse) who were deprived of that mass of knowledge which constitutes the glory of our age. To confirm the preceding observations by a few examples:—

(1.) According to Eichhorn, the account of the creation and fall of man is merely a poetical, philosophical speculation of some ingenious person, on the origin of the world and of evil.[1] So, in regard to the offering up of Isaac by Abraham, he says, "The Godhead could not have required of Abraham so horrible a crime; and there can be no justification, palliation, or excuse for this pretended command of the Divinity." He then explains it. "Abraham *dreamed* that he must offer up Isaac, and, according to the superstition of the times, regarded it as a divine admonition. He prepared to execute the mandate which his dream had conveyed to him. A lucky accident (probably the rustling of a ram who was entangled in the bushes) hindered it; and this, according to ancient idiom, was also the voice of the divinity."[2] But "what is there in the character of Abraham which will justify taking such a liberty with it, as to maintain that he was not raised above the superstitions of the merest savages; or, who can show that he understood nothing of the nature of dreams? And then, whence the approbation of God, of Christ, and of the holy apostles, bestowed on a horrible act of mere superstition? For horrible it was, if superstition only dictated it. This is a *nodus*, to solve which something more than witty conjectures and brilliant declamation is needed."[3]

(2.) The same writer represents the history of the Mosaic legislation, at Mount Sinai, in a curious manner. Moses ascended to the top of Sinai, and kindled a fire there (how he found wood on this barren rock, or raised it to the top, Eichhorn does not tell us), a fire consecrated to the worship of God, before which he prayed. Here an unexpected and tremendous thunder-storm occurred. He seized the occasion to proclaim the laws which he had composed in his retirement, as the statutes of Jehovah; leading the people to believe that Jehovah had conversed with him. Not that he was a deceiver; but he really believed, that the occurrence of such a thunder-storm was a sufficient proof of the fact, that Jehovah had spoken to him, or sanctioned the work in which he had been engaged.[4] The prophecies of the Old Testament are, according to him, patriotic wishes, expressed with all the fire and elegance of poetry, for the future prosperity, and a future deliverer, of the Jewish nation.[5]

(3.) In like manner, C. F. Ammon, who was formerly professor of theology at Erlangen, tells us, in respect to the miracle of Christ's walking on the water, that "to walk on the sea, is not to stand on the waves, as on the solid ground, as Jerome *dreams*, but to walk through the waves so far as the shoals reached, and then to swim."[6] So, in regard to the miracle of the loaves and fishes,[7] he says, that Jesus probably distributed some loaves and fishes which he had, to those who were around him; and thus excited, by his example, others among the multitude, who had provisions, to distribute them in like manner.[8]

(4.) Thiess, in his commentary on the Acts, explains the miraculous effusion of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost,[9] in the following manner:—"It is not uncommon, says he, "in those countries, for a violent gust of wind to strike on a particular spot or house. Such a gust is commonly accompanied by the electric fluid; and the sparks of this are scattered all around. These float about the chamber, become apparent, and light upon the disciples. They kindle into enthusiasm at this; and believe the promise of their Master is now to be performed. This enthusiasm spectators assemble to witness; and instead of preaching as before in Hebrew, each one uses his own native tongue to proclaim his feelings."

(5.) The same Thiess[10] represents the miraculous cure by Peter, of the man who was lame from his birth, in a very singular way. "This man," says he, "was lame only according to report. He never walked at all; so the people believed that he could not walk.—Peter and John, being more sagacious, however, *threatened* him. 'In the name of the Messiah,' said they, 'Stand up.' The word *Messiah* had a magical power. He stood up. Now they saw that he could walk. To prevent the compassion of men from being turned into rage (at his deceit), he chose the most sagacious party, and connected himself with the apostles."

(6.) The case of Ananias falling down dead is thus represented by the same writer:—"Ananias fell down terrified; but probably he was carried out and buried while still alive." Heinrichs, however, who produces this comment of Thiess, relates another mode of explaining the occurrence in question; viz. that *Peter stabbed Ananias;* "which does not at all disagree with the vehement and easily-exasperated temper of Peter." It is, however, but just to Heinrichs to state that he has expressed his decided disapprobation of this pretended interpretation.[11]

(7.) Professor de Wette, in his treatise *De Morte Christi Expiatoria* (on the atonement of Christ), represents Christ as disappointed, that the Jews would not hearken to him as a moral teacher simply; which was the first character he assumed. Christ then assumed the character of a prophet, and asserted his divine mission, in order that the Jews might be induced to listen to him. Finding that they would not do this, and that they were determined to destroy him, in order not to lose the whole object of his mission, and to convert necessity into an occasion of giving himself credit, he gave out, that his death itself would be *expiatory*![12]

9. *Since it is the design of interpretation to render in our own language the same discourse which the sacred authors originally wrote in Hebrew or Greek, it is evident that our interpretation or version, to be correct, ought not to affirm or deny more than the inspired penmen affirmed or denied at the time they wrote; consequently we should be more willing to take a sense from Scripture than to bring one to it.*

This is one of the most ancient laws of interpretation extant, and cannot be sufficiently kept in mind, lest we should *teach for doctrines the commandments of men*, and impose our *narrow* and *limited* conceptions instead of the *broad* and *general* declarations of Scripture. For want of attending to this simple rule, how many forced and unnatural interpretations have been put upon the sacred writings!—interpretations alike contradictory to the *express* meaning of other passages of Scripture, as well as derogatory from every idea we are taught to conceive of the justice and mercy of the Most High. It will suffice to illustrate this remark by one single instance:—In John iii. 16, 17. we read that "*God so loved the* WORLD *that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life: for God sent not his Son to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved.*" The plain, obvious, and literal sense of this passage, as well as of its whole context, is that the whole of mankind, including both Jews and Gentiles, without any exception in favour of individuals, were in a ruined state, about to perish everlastingly and utterly without the power of rescuing themselves from destruction; that God provided for their rescue and salvation by giving his Son to die for them; and that all who *believe* in him, that is, who believe what God has spoken concerning Christ, his sacrifice, the end for which it was offered, and the way in which it is to be applied in order to become effectual; that *all who thus believe* shall not only be exempted from eternal perdition, but shall also ultimately *have everlasting life*, in other words, be brought to eternal glory. Yet how are these "good tidings of great joy to all people" narrowed and restricted by certain expositors, who adopt the hypothesis that Jesus Christ was given for the *elect alone!* How, indeed, could God be said to love those, to whom he denies the means of salvation, and whom he destines by an irrevocable decree to eternal misery? And what violence are such expositors compelled to do to the passage in question in order to reconcile it to their preconceived notions! They are obliged to interpret that comprehensive word, the *world*, by a synecdoche of a part for the whole; and thus say, that it means the nobler portion of the world, namely, the *elect*, without calling to their aid those other parallel passages of Scripture, in which the above consolatory truth is explicitly affirmed in other words. A similar instance occurs in Matt. xviii. 11., where Jesus Christ is said to have "come to save that which was lost," τὸ ἀπολωλός; which word, as its meaning is not restricted by the Holy Spirit, is not to be interpreted in a restricted sense, and consequently must be taken in its most obvious and universal sense. In this way we are to understand Deut. xxvii. 26. and Isa. lxiv. 6.

10. *Before we conclude upon the sense of a text, so as to prove any thing by it, we must be sure that such sense is not repugnant to natural reason.*

If such sense be repugnant to natural reason, it cannot be the true meaning of the Scriptures; for God is the original of natural truth, as well as of that which comes by particular revelation. No proposition, therefore, which is repugnant to the fundamental principles of reason, can be the sense of any part of the word of God; and that which is false and contrary to reason, can no more be true and agreeable to the revelations contained in the sacred writings, than God (who is the author of one as well as the other) can contradict himself. Whence it is evident that the words of Jesus Christ, —*This is my body*, and *This is my blood*,—(Matt. xxvi. 26. 28.) are not to be understood in that sense, which makes for the doctrine of transubstantiation: because it is impossible that contradictions should be true; and we cannot be more certain that any thing is true, than we are that *that* doctrine is false.

SECTION III.

OF EMPHASES.

I. *Nature of emphasis.—Its different kinds.*—II. VERBAL EMPHASES. 1. *Emphases of the Greek article.*—2. *Emphases of other words.*—3. *Emphatic adverbs.*—III. REAL EMPHASES.—IV. *General rules for the investigation of emphases.*

I. NATURE OF EMPHASIS:—its different kinds.

In the use of language, cases arise where the ordinary signification of a word receives a certain augment (*auctarium*)

[1] Urgeschichte passim.
[2] Bibliothek. Band. i. s. 45, &c.
[3] Stuart's Hebrew Chrestomathy, p. 164.
[4] Bibliothek. Band. i. Theil. 1. s. 76, &c.
[5] Propheten, Bibliothek. Einleit. passim.
[6] Pref. to edit. of Ernesti Inst. Interpret. p. 12.
[7] Matt. xiv. 15.
[8] P. 16.
[9] Acts ii.
[10] Comm. on chap. iii.
[11] Nov. Test. Koppianum, vol. iii. Partic. ii. pp. 255—3[illegible] &c.
[12] For the preceding examples, the absurdity and extravagance of which are too obvious to require any comment, the author is indebted to the researches of Professor Stuart in his letters to the Rev. W. E. Channing, (pp. 144, 145. 147.) Andover (North America), 1819. 12mo. On the topic above discussed, the reader will find some painfully-interesting details in Mr. Jacob's Agricultural and Political Tour in Germany (London, 1820, 4to.), pp. 208—212.; in the Magasin Evangélique (Génève, 1820, 8vo.), tome ii. pp. 26—32.; in Dr. J. P. Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 634, 635.; and Mr. Rose's State of Protestantism in Germany. It is proper to add, that the system of obscurity and impiety above noticed

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or idea, which such word has not of itself. This augment is of two kinds: "the one affects the dignity of the word itself; the other, the extent and weight of its signification. In the former case the word receives a sort of honour or dishonour from popular usage." Of this kind of augment it would be irrelevant to treat in this place. The second class of words comprises those which receive an accession or augmentation in the *extent* or *force of meaning*. These constitute what may with propriety be called EMPHATIC WORDS. Emphasis, therefore, may be thus defined:—*An accession or augment to the ordinary signification of a word, either as to the extent or force of its meaning.*

Thus, when the Jews speak of Moses, they simply term him *the Prophet*. In like manner, the ancient Greeks called Demosthenes *the Orator;* Plato, *the Philosopher;* Homer, *the Poet*, by way of eminence. These respective appellations are emphatic. The title of *the Prophet*, given by the Jews to Moses, signifies that he was the first of the Jewish prophets, and of such distinguished dignity, that there *arose* no subsequent *prophet in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face*, and conversed *mouth to mouth.* (Deut. xxxiv. 10. Num. xii. 8.)[1]

Emphases are either *verbal*, that is, such as occur in *words* both separately and together, or *real*, that is, such as appear in the magnitude and sublimity of the *thing* described by words. The propriety of this division has been contested by Huet, Ernesti,[2] and some others, who affirm that emphases subsist in words only, and not in things, and that in things grandeur and sublimity alone are to be found. On this classification, however, there is a difference of opinion; and Longinus himself, who has placed emphases among the sources of the sublime, seems to have admitted that they exist also in things. In the first instance, unquestionably, they are to be sought in words, sometimes in particles, and also in the Greek article; and when their force is fully apprehended, they enable us to enter into the peculiar elegances and beauties of the sacred style. A few examples illustrative of this remark must suffice.

II. Verbal Emphases.

1. *Emphases of the Greek article.*

In Matt. xxvi. 28. our Saviour having instituted the sacrament of the Lord's supper, after giving the cup to his disciples, adds,—"For this is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins." Almost every syllable of the original Greek, especially the articles, is singularly emphatic. It runs thus:—Τουτο γαρ εϛι ΤΟ αἱμα μου, ΤΟ της καινης διαθηκης, ΤΟ περι πολλων εκχυνομενον εις αφεσιν ἁμαρτιων. The following literal translation and paraphrase do not exceed its meaning:—"*For this is* [represents] THAT *blood of mine*, which was pointed out by all the sacrifices under the Jewish law, and particularly by the shedding and sprinkling of the blood of the paschal lamb; THAT BLOOD of the sacrifice slain for the ratification *of the new covenant;* THE *blood* ready to be *poured out for the multitudes*, the whole Gentile world as well as the Jews, *for the taking away of sins;* sin, whether original or actual, in all its power and guilt, in all its energy and pollution.[3] In Matt. xvi. 16. the following sentence occurs:—Συ εις 'Ο Χριϛος 'Ο υἱος ΤΟΥ Θεου ΤΟΥ ζωντος, "*Thou art* THE *Christ*, THE SON OF THE *living God.*" In this passage, also, every word is highly emphatic, agreeably to a rule of the Greek language, which is observed both by the sacred writers, as well as by the most elegant profane authors, viz. that when the article is placed before a noun, it denotes a certain and definite object; but when it is omitted, it in general indicates any person or thing indefinitely. The apostle did not say, "Thou art Christ, Son of God," without the article: but, "*Thou art* THE *Christ*, the Messiah, THE SON," that very Son, thus positively asserting his belief of that fundamental article of the Christian religion, the divinity and office of the Redeemer of the world—"Of the *living God*, or *of God* THE *living one.*" Similar instances occur in John i. 21. 'Ο προφητης ει συ; "*art thou* THAT *Prophet*" whom the Jewish nation have so long and so anxiously expected, and who had been promised by Moses (Deut. xviii. 15. 18.)? and also in John x. 11. Εγω ειμι 'Ο ποιμην 'Ο καλος, *I am* THAT *good Shepherd*, or *the shepherd*, THAT *good one*, of whom Isaiah (xl. 11.) and Ezekiel (xxxiv. 23.) respectively prophesied.

Another very important rule in the construction of the Greek article is the following, which was first completely illustrated by the late eminently learned Granville Sharp; though it appears not to have been unknown to former critics and commentators.[4]

"*When two or more personal nouns of the same gender, number, and case, are connected by the copulative* και (and), *if the first has the definitive article, and the second, third, &c have not, they both relate to the same person.*"

This rule Mr. S. has illustrated by the eight following examples:—

1. 'Ο Θεος και πατηρ Κυριου ἡμων. 2 Cor. i. 3.
2. Τῳ Θεῳ και πατρι. 1 Cor. xv. 24.

These examples are properly rendered, in the authorized translation, and according to the preceding rule:

1. The God and Father of our Lord.
2. To God *even* the Father.

3. Εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ του Χριϛου και Θεου. Eph. v. 5.

Common Version.	*Corrected Version.*
In the Kingdom of Christ and of God.	In the Kingdom of Christ, *even* of God.

4. Κατα χαριν του Θεου ἡμων και Κυριου Ιησου Χριϛου. 2 Thess. i. 12.

Common Version.	*Corrected Version.*
According to the grace of our God and the Lord Jesus Christ.	According to the grace of Jesus Christ, *our God and Lord.*

5. Ενωπιον του Θεου και Κυριου Ιησου Χριϛου. 1 Tim. v. 21.

Common Version.	*Corrected Version.*
Before God and the Lord Jesus Christ.	Before Jesus Christ, *the God and Lord;* or, *our* God and Lord. (*For the definitive Article has sometimes the power of a possessive Pronoun.*)

6. Επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριϛου. Titus ii. 13.

Common Version.	*Corrected Version.*
The glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.	The glorious appearing *of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ.*

7. Εν δικαιοσυνῃ του Θεου ἡμων και σωτηρος Ιησου Χριϛου. 2 Pet. i. 1

Common Version.	*Corrected Version.*
Through the righteousness of God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ.	Through the righteousness of Jesus Christ, *our God and Saviour*

8. Και τον μονον δεσποτην Θεον και Κυριον ἡμων Ιησουν Χριϛον αρνουμενοι. Jude 4.

Common Version.	*Corrected Version.*
And denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.	And denying our only *Master, God and Lord Jesus Christ.*[5]

The above rule and examples are further confirmed by the researches of Bishop Middleton; and altogether furnish a most striking body of evidence in behalf of the divinity of our Saviour. The fundamental and most important doctrine of the Christian faith does not indeed depend upon the niceties of grammatical construction; but when these are eagerly seized by those who deny the divinity of the Son of God, in order to support their interpretation, we are amply justified in combating them with the same weapons. On this account the reader will be gratified by the addition of a few examples, both from classic authors, as well as from two or three of the fathers of the Christian church, in which Mr. Sharp's rule is completely exemplified. They are selected from Mr. Boyd's supplementary researches on the Greek article, annexed to Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary on Eph. vi. and on the Epistle to Titus.

Οπα τας Τηρειας
Μητιδος οικτρας αλοχου
Κιρκηλατου τ' αηδονος. Æschyli Supplices, v. 62—64.

The voice of the wretched wife of Tereus, the nightingale pursued by the falcon.

'Ο δυϛυχης δαιμων, ὁ σος κάμος. Sophoclis Electra.
Mine and thine evil genius.

'Ο εμος γενετας και σος.
My son and thine.

Οια τε πασχομεν εκ της μυσαρας,
Και παιδοφονου της δε λεαινης. Euripidis Ion, v. 1389. 1403.

What things we suffer from this execrable lioness, and slayer of children'

Του μακαριου και ενδοξου Παυλου.—Of the blessed and illustrious Paul. (Polycarp, Epist. ad Philipp.)

Αγαπην του Χριϛου, του Θεου ἡμων.—The love of Christ our God. (Ignatius, Epist. ad Romanos.)

Τον Κτιϛην, και Δημιουργον.—The Creator and Maker. (Irenæus adv. Hæres. lib. iv. p. 48. edit. Oxon. 1702.)

Του κορυφαιοτατου παρ' ὑμων και πρωτου των ποιητων, 'Ομηρου.—Homer the most distinguished among you, and first of the poets. (Justin Martyr, Cohortatio ad Græcos.)

'Ο Αρχιϛρατηγος και Ποιμην των κατ' ουρανον, ὡ παντα πειθονται.—The great Ruler and Shepherd of them in heaven, whom all things obey (Methodius.)

Αμφι τον αναρχον και ανωλεθρον Βασιλεα.—Around the King, without beginning and immortal. (*Ibid.*)

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has met with able refutations; and Kuinöel, whose commentary on the historical books of the New Testament (noticed in another part of this work) was composed principally for Germans, has given abstracts of these refutations. For a refutation of the neologian hypothesis that the first three chapters of the book of Genesis are a philosophical mythos or fable, see Vol. II. p. 205.

[1] Ernesti, Inst. Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 40, 41. Mr. Terrot's translation of Ernesti, vol. i. p. 52. Mori Hermeneut. Nov. Test. Acroases, tom. i. pp. 323, 324. Stuart's Elements of Interpretation, p. 27.

[2] Ernesti (Inst. Interp. Nov. Test. p. 41.) and after him Bauer (Herm. Sacra, p. 232.) and Morus (Hermeneut. Nov. Test. Acroases, tom. i. pp. 323—326.) have distinguished emphases into *temporary* and *permanent*. The *former* is that which is given to a word at a certain time and place, and arises from the feelings of the party speaking, or from the importance of the subject requiring that the word used should be understood with some addition to its usual force. The *latter* or permanent emphases are those, in which a word receives from custom a greater signification than it has of itself, and which it retains in particular modes of speaking. The knowledge of both these is to be derived from a consideration of the context and subject-matter. But the examples adduced in defence of this definition concur to make it a distinction without a difference, when compared with the ordinary classification of emphases into verbal and real, which we have accordingly retained.

[3] Dr. A. Clarke's Discourse on the Eucharist, pp. 61, 62.

[4] Venema, in an admirable dissertation on the true reading of Acts xx. 28. has adverted to it (see the passage in the British Critic (N. S.), vol. xi. p 612.); and also Mr. De Gols, in his valuable, though now neglected, Vindication of the Worship of Jesus Christ. (London, 1726. 8vo.) p. 37.

[5] Sharp on the Greek Article, pp. xxxix. xl. 1—56.

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Ινα τον Βασιλεα γεραιρη παντων και Ποιητην.—That he may venerate the King and Maker of all. Methodius.

Ο ηγητης ημων και ποιμην Ιησους, και αρχων, και νυμφιος.—Jesus, our leader, and shepherd, and governor, and bridegroom. (*Ibid.*)

Τον Θεον μονον αρνεισθε, τον δεσποτην και δημιουργον του παντος.—Ye deny the only God, the Lord and Creator of all. (Chrysostom. Orat. de non anathem. vivis aut defunctis.)

Εν ημερα επιφανειας και αποκαλυψεως του μεγαλου Θεου και Αρχιποιμενος ημων, Ιησου Χριστου.—In the day of the appearing and revelation of Jesus Christ, the Great God and Chief Shepherd of us. (Gregor. Nazianzen. Orat. 4. adv. Julian. in fine.)

2. *Emphasis of other Words.*

John i. 14. *The word was made flesh and dwelt among us,* εσκηνωσεν εν ημιν, literally *tabernacled among us.* The verb σκηνοω (from σκηνη) signifies to erect a booth, tabernacle, or temporary residence, and not a permanent habitation or dwelling place: it was therefore fitly applied to the human nature of Christ; which, like the ancient Jewish tabernacle, was to be only for a temporary residence of the Eternal Divinity.

Matt. ix. 36. *When Jesus saw the multitudes, he had compassion on them,*—Εσπλαγχνισθη (from Σπλαγχνον, a bowel); the ancients generally, and the Jews in particular, accounting the bowels to be the seat of sympathy and the tender passions, applied the organ to the sense.[1] The proper meaning, therefore, of this phrase is, that our Lord was moved with the deepest sympathy and commiseration for the neglected Jews.

Heb. iv. 13. *All things are naked and opened,* τετραχηλισμενα, *to the eyes of him with whom we have to account.* The emphasis is here derived from the manner in which sacrifices were anciently performed.

3. *Emphatic Adverbs.*

[i.] *Sometimes* ADVERBS OF TIME *are emphatic; and a careful notation of the time indicated by them will materially illustrate the force and meaning of the sacred writings.*

Thus, in Mal. iii. 16. we read, THEN *they that feared the Lord, spake often one to another, &c.* The word THEN is here peculiarly emphatic, and refers to the time when the last of the prophets wrote, and when many bold infidels and impious persons were found among the Jews, who spake "stout words" against God, and vindicated them. They considered all the time spent by them in his service as lost; they attended his "ordinances" with many expressions of self-denial and humiliation, but they derived no benefit from them; and they concluded that those haughty rebels who cast off all religion, and tempted God by their presumptuous wickedness, were the most prosperous and happy persons. (v. 13—15.) THEN, viz. *at this season of open wickedness,* there was a remnant of pious Jews, who "spake often one to another," met together from time to time that they might confer on religious subjects, animate each other to their duty, and consult how to check the progress of impiety. Of these persons, and their pious designs and discourses, we are told that Jehovah took especial notice; and that "a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name."

[ii.] *A knowledge of historical circumstances, however, is requisite, lest we ascribe the emphasis to a* wrong source; as in Acts ix. 31.

THEN *had the churches rest* (ειρηνην, literally, peace or prosperity). The cause of this peace has by some commentators been ascribed to the conversion of Saul, who had previously "made havoc of the church:" but this is not likely, as *he* could not be a cause of *universal* persecution and distress, whatever activity and virulence he might have shown during the time of his enmity to the Christian church. Besides, his own persecution (as the context shows) proves that the opposition to the Gospel continued with considerable virulence three years after *his* conversion. If we advert to the political circumstances of the Jewish nation at that time, we shall find the true cause of this rest. The emperor Caligula had ordered his statue to be erected in the temple at Jerusalem; and, in pursuance of his mandate, Petronius, the president of Syria, was on his march with an army for that purpose. Filled with consternation, the Jews met him in vast multitudes in the vicinity of Ptolemais or Acre, and ultimately prevailed on him to abandon his design. It was this persecution of the Jews by the Romans that the sacred writer had in view, which diverted the Jews from persecuting the Christians; and "THEN *had the churches rest throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria;*" the terror occasioned by the imperial decree having spread itself throughout those regions.[2]

III. REAL EMPHASES.

The knowledge of these can only be derived from an acquaintance with the manners, customs, &c. of ancient nations, which are noticed by writers on biblical antiquities and by commentators, so far as they are necessary to illustrate the sacred writings. Two or three instances of these also will suffice to explain their nature.

1. Rom. xi. 17. In this verse we have a very beautiful illustration taken from the ingrafting of trees; an art with which we find St. Paul was well acquainted. The point to be explained was, the union of the Gentiles with the Jews under the Gospel dispensation. The Jews were the olive tree; the grafts were both Gentiles and Jews; and the act of ingrafting was, the initiation of both into the Christian religion. The Jews are informed that olive branches may with greater ease be ingrafted into their own original stock, which is more natural and congenial to them. The Gentiles are again reminded, that, if the natural branches were not spared because of their unfruitfulness, much less would they be spared who were aliens to the Jewish stock, if they should prove unfruitful.

2. The *prize,* βραβειον, mentioned in 1 Cor. ix. 24., is the crown awarded to the victor in the olympic games; whence καταβραβευειν, rendered *beguile you of your reward* (Col. ii. 18.), means to deprive any one of a reward or prize, either by partial judgment or in any way impeding him in his Christian course. In 1 Cor. ix. 24. the apostle illustrates the necessity of being in earnest in the Christian race, by a beautiful allusion to the games of the heathen. As the racers and wrestlers in those games fitted themselves for their different exercises, and each strove zealously for the victory, so should the Christian prepare himself for his religious course, and strive for the victory in his great contest with the world.

3. 1 Cor. iv. 13. *We are made the filth of the earth,* περικαθαρματα, literally, a *purgation* or *lustrative sacrifice:* the allusion is to a custom common among heathen nations in times of public calamity, when selected some unhappy men of the most abject and despicable character. These, after being maintained a whole year at the public expense, were then led out crowned with flowers, as was usual in sacrifices, and were devoted to appease or avert the anger of their deities, being either precipitated into the sea, or burnt alive, after which their ashes were thrown into the sea.

4. Eph. v. 27. *That it* (the church of Christ) *should be holy and* WITHOUT BLEMISH, αμωμος, *i. e.* so pure and spotless, so free from all censure, that even Momus himself (the fictitious deity of mirth and ridicule) could find nothing to carp at or ridicule.

IV. GENERAL RULES FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF EMPHASES.

A consideration of the affections by which the sacred authors were animated, when they committed their inspired communications to writing, as well as the scope and context of the passage under consideration, together with the nature of its subject, will always enable us to ascertain the *true* emphasis of words: but, as ingenious and fanciful minds are apt to discover them where they do not actually exist, it may not be irrelevant to offer a few leading hints respecting the particular investigation of emphases, selected from the great mass of observations, which have been collected by eminent biblical critics.

1. *No emphases are to be sought in refined explanations of passages, or from etymology, both of them uncertain guides at the best; and which are too often carried to extremes by men of lively imaginations. Neither will prepositions always enlarge or give additional force to the meaning of a word, particularly in the Greek language.*

We may instance in 1 Cor. xiii. 6., where we read that true charity rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth (συγχαιρει) in the truth. Some commentators have conceived that this word is emphatic, and have rendered the passage *rejoiceth jointly* (with true believers) in the truth. But in this instance, as Schleusner has remarked from Hesychius, the Greek compound verb means no more than the simple verb χαιρω implies, viz. to be delighted or to rejoice in a thing. Our authorized version therefore fully expresses the apostle's meaning. But in Heb. xii. 2. the preposition is highly emphatic, and demands particular attention, in order to apprehend the full force and beauty of the passage, which is wholly *agonistical,* i. e. allusive to the ancient footraces. Having in the first verse exhorted Christians to divest themselves of every incumbrance, and to run with patience their Christian course, St. Paul adds (v. 2.), *Looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith.* The original word here rendered *looking* (αφορωντες),[3] literally means to *look off* FROM every other object to some particular object placed full in view; as the reward destined to the victor in the olympic footrace was placed immediately in view of the candidates. It is impossible to express the full import of this passage without the aid of a paraphrase. The whole clause may be thus rendered—*Wherefore, seeing we are also compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses,* who (like the spectators at the ancient olympic race) surround us on every side in a vast innumerable assembly, the spectators of our trial, *let us lay aside every* incumbering *weight,* and especially *the sin, which in present circumstances has the greatest advantage* [*against us*], or *the well circumstanced sin,* that which has every thing in its favour, time, place, and opportunity, more particularly, a disposition to relinquish or dissemble our profession of the Gospel for fear of sufferings; *and* let us *run with patience* and perseverance *the race which is set before us,* resolutely persisting in it, however long and painful it may be: *Looking off* from every object that would interrupt us in our career, and fixing our eyes upon (or to) *Jesus, the author* (or *leader*) *and finisher of our faith;* who called us out to this strenuous yet glorious enterprise; who animates us by his example, and supports us by his grace, until the season arrive, when he will bestow upon us the promised crown.[4]

2. *Further: Emphases are not to be sought in* versions; *which, however excellent they may in general be, are yet liable to error; consequently the derivation of emphases from them may lead us not merely to extravagant, but even to false expositions of Scripture.*

One instance will suffice to illustrate this remark. In Col. ii. 6. according to the authorized English version, we read thus, *As ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord,* so *walk ye in him.* From this rendering of the Greek text many persons have laid much stress on the words *as* and *so* (which but is not to be found in the original), and have deduced a variety of inferences from them, viz. *as* ye received Jesus Christ in a spirit of faith, *so* walk ye in him; *as* ye received him in a spirit of humility, *so* walk ye in him, &c. Now all these inferences, though proper enough in themselves, are derived from *false emphases,* and are contrary to the apostle's meaning, who intended to say no such thing. His meaning, as Dr. Macknight has well

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[1] Kuinöel in loc. who has given illustrations from classical writers, and also from the Apocrypha.

[2] Dr. Lardner has collected and given at length various passages from Josephus (De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 10. and Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 9.) and Philo (De Legat. ad Caium. 1024.), which confirm the above statement. See his Credibility book i. ch. ii. § 12.

[3] This word occurs in Josephus precisely in the very same meaning as it is used by the apostle. The Jewish historian, relating the aggressions of the Jews which led to the war with the Romans, says, among other things, that those who officiated in the temple-service rejected the sacrifice for Cæsar and the Roman people. "And when many of the high-priests and principal men besought them not to omit the sacrifice, which it was customary for them to offer for their princes, they would not be prevailed upon. These relied much upon their number, for the most flourishing part of the innovators assisted them," ΑΦΟΡΩΝΤΕΣ εις τον Ελεαζαρον, "*having the chief regard to Eleazar,* the governor of the temple;" *looking* TO HIM EXCLUSIVELY, by whom they had been instigated to those offensive measures. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. xvii. § 2.

[4] See Braunius, Krebsius, Kypke, Ernesti, and also Drs. Doddridge, Macknight, and A. Clarke on Heb. xii. 1, 2. by whom every emphatic word in these two verses is particularly illustrated.

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translated the passage, is simply this,—"*Since ye have received Christ Jesus the Lord, walk ye in him*:" in other words, as the context plainly shows, "since ye have embraced the doctrine of Christ, continue to hold it fast, and permit not yourselves to be turned aside by sophistical or Judaizing teachers."[1]

3. *No emphases are to be sought merely in the plural number of words.*

We must be cautious, also, that we do not deduce emphasis merely from the use of the plural number; supposing that, where the plural is put instead of the singular, it necessarily denotes emphases. Thus ουρανος and ουρανοι simply mean *heaven*; yet Origen, following the trifling distinctions of some Jewish writers, has attempted to distinguish between them, and has announced the existence of several heavens each above the other.

4. *No emphases are to be sought in words where the abstract is put for the concrete.*

In the Old Testament the abstract is very frequently put for the concrete; that is, substantives are necessarily put in the place of adjectives, on account of the simplicity of the Hebrew language, which has few or no adjectives. A similar mode of expression obtains in the New Testament. Thus, in Eph. v. 8. we read, *Ye were sometimes* DARKNESS, σκοτος: in the parallel place, in iv. 18. the metonymy is thus expressed: being DARKENED, σκοτισμενοι, *in the understanding*; or, as it is rendered in our authorized version, having the understanding darkened. Numerous examples, in which the abstract is put for the concrete, will be found, *infra*, Book II. Chap. II. Sect. II. § 4.

5. *As every language abounds with* idioms,[2] *or expressions peculiar to itself, which cannot be rendered verbatim into another language without violating its native purity, we should be careful not to look for emphases in such expressions.*[3]

"In the sacred books, and especially in the Hebraisms of the New Testament, we must take care not to seek for and recognise emphasis, merely in the idiom, which is so very dissimilar to ours. Many persons, though acquainted with Hebrew, have often made this mistake; but nothing is more fallacious. In the oriental languages many things *appear* hyperbolical (if you translate them literally, that is, merely by the aid of common lexicons and etymology) which are not in reality hyperbolical."[4]

CHAPTER II.

ON THE SUBSIDIARY MEANS FOR ASCERTAINING THE SENSE OF SCRIPTURE.

WORDS being the arbitrary signs of things, the meaning of them depends upon the *usus loquendi*, or the custom of expressing certain things by certain words. It is surprising that any attempts should have been made to find the sense of words in a dead language, by means different in their nature from those which we employ in order to find the sense of words in a living language. The meaning of a word must always be a simple matter of fact; and, of course, it is always to be established by appropriate and adequate testimony. The original languages of Scripture being to us dead languages, the *usus loquendi* in them is to be ascertained by the testimony of those who lived at the time when these languages were flourishing and in common use, and who well understood them. This testimony is either direct or indirect.

DIRECT TESTIMONY is to be obtained, in the first place, from those writers to whom the language, which is to be investigated by us, was vernacular, either from the same authors whom we interpret, or from their contemporaries; next from ancient versions made by persons to whom the language was not vernacular, but who lived while it was a spoken language, and by individuals who were acquainted with it; thirdly from Scholiasts and Glossographers; fourthly, from those who, though foreigners, had learned the language in question.

Where direct testimony fails, recourse must be had to INDIRECT TESTIMONY; under which head we may include the Context, Subject-matter, Scope, Analogy of Languages, Analogy of Doctrine, Jewish Authors, the Greek Fathers, Historical Circumstances, and Commentators.[5] Some of these various aids are peculiar to the Old Testament, and others to the New Testament: to avoid unnecessary repetition, it is proposed to discuss them in the order pursued in the following Sections.

SECTION I.

DIRECT TESTIMONIES FOR ASCERTAINING THE USUS LOQUENDI.

§ 1. THE TESTIMONY OF CONTEMPORARY WRITERS.

THE most important aid is afforded by those writers to whom the language to be investigated was vernacular; and where it is undubitable its evidence is abundantly sufficient. This testimony may be drawn from three sources, viz. I. From the definitions of words; II. From examples. and the nature of the subject; and, III. From parallel passages.

I. With regard to DEFINITIONS, nothing more is necessary than to take good care that the definition be well understood; and to consider how much weight the character of the writer who defines may properly give to it.[6]

Professor Morus has collected various examples of definitions from profane writers, both Greek and Latin, which it is not necessary to adduce in this place: but the following definitions of certain words occurring in the New Testament are of importance for the right understanding of the sacred writes.

1. In Heb. v. 14. St. Paul says that he writes τοις τελειοις, to *the perfect*; and he there, with almost logical precision, defines the perfect to be *those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil*; that is, those who by long custom and conversation in the sacred writings have so exercised and improved their faculties, that they can discern between good and bad, true and false doctrines. In the whole of that passage, therefore, we are to understand who are the perfect, agreeably to St. Paul's definition.

2. If we are at a loss to understand, in the style of the same apostle, what he means by the *body of Christ*; we may learn it from Eph. i. 23., where it is defined by the *church*: thus,... *the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.*

3. Heb. xi. 1. contains a definition of *faith*; which is there said to be *the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen.*

II. EXAMPLES and the NATURE OF THE SUBJECT also show us the *usus loquendi* and force of words; but in order to judge correctly, and to make proper distinctions, a good understanding and considerable practice are highly necessary.

1. By *Examples* is meant, that the writer who uses a particular word, though he does not directly define it, yet gives in some one or more passages an example of what it means by exhibiting its qualities or showing the operation of it. Thus,

(1.) In order to explain the word δικαιοσυνη, righteousness, which is of very frequent occurrence in the New Testament, we must examine what *examples of righteousness* are added in each passage.

(2.) In Gal. iv. 3. St. Paul uses the term στοιχεια του κοσμου, elements of the world, at first without an explanation: but afterwards we have an example of the meaning of it in Gal. iv. 9., where the expression is used of the religion and philosophy of the Jews and Gentiles which preceded the Christian dispensation, and includes the idea of incompleteness and imperfection.

2. The *Nature of the subject*, in innumerable instances, helps to define which meaning of a word the writer attaches to it, in any particular passage.

For instance, χαρις, in our version usually rendered *grace*, denotes pardon of sin, divine benevolence, divine aid, temporal blessings, &c. Which of these senses it bears in any particular passage is to be determined from the nature of the subject.[7]

III. In order to ascertain the *usus loquendi*, and to investigate the meaning of a passage, recourse is in the next place

[1] See Drs. Macknight and A. Clarke on Col. ii. 6.

[2] On the Hebraisms, or Hebrew Idioms peculiar to the Sacred Writings, see pp. 196—198. of the present volume.

[3] Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 231—240. Ernesti Instit. Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 40—45. Mori Acroases in Ernesti, tom. i. pp. 321—336. Aug. Pfeiffer, Herm. Sacr. c. vi. § 16—23. (Op. tom. pp. 649—651.) Wetstein, Libelli ad Crisin et Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 120—139. Viser, Herm. Sacr. Nov. Test. pars iii. pp. 263—277. Bishop Marsh's Lectures, lect. xv. pp. 43—49. Prof. Gerard has collected numerous valuable observations on the topics discussed in this and the two preceding sections, in his Institutes of Biblical Criticism, pp. 293—369. particularly in sect. iii. (pp. 300—314.) on the signification of words. J. B. Carpzovii Primæ Lineæ Herm. Sacræ, pp. 23. 40—45. The subject of emphasis is copiously treated by Langius in his Hermeneuticæ Sacra, pp. 64—96.; by Rambach, in his Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, lib. ii. c. 8. pp. 317—362.; by Jahn, in his Enchiridion Herm. Generalis, pp. 127—135.; by Chladenius, in his Institutiones Exegeticæ, pp. 310—322.; and by J. E. Pfeiffer, in his Institutiones Herm. Sacr. pp. 534—569. Stuart's Elements of Interpretation, pp. 83—87.

[4] Stuart's Elements of Interpretation, p. 87.

[5] Bauer, Hermeneut. Sacra, pp. 77—79. Mori Acroases Hermeneuticæ, tom. i. pp. 75—77. Stuart's Elements of Interpretation, pp. 34, 35.

[6] Stuart's Elements of Interpretation, p 35. Morus, tom. i. p. 79.

[7] Mori Acroases, tom. i. pp. 81—94. Stuart's Elements, p. 36.

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to be had to the COMPARISON OF SIMILAR OR PARALLEL PASSAGES; and as much caution is requisite in the application of this hermeneutic aid, it becomes necessary to institute a particular inquiry into its nature, and the most beneficial mode of employing it in the interpretation of the Bible.

1. "When, in any ordinary composition, a passage occurs of doubtful meaning with respect to the sentiment or doctrine it conveys, the obvious course of proceeding is, to examine what the author himself has in other parts of his work delivered upon the same subject; to weigh well the force of any particular expressions he is accustomed to use; and to inquire what there might be in the occasion or circumstances under which he wrote, tending to throw further light upon the immediate object he had in view. This is only to render common justice to the writer; it is necessary both for the discovery of his real meaning, and to secure him against any wanton charge of error or inconsistency. Now, if this may justly be required in any ordinary work of uninspired composition, how much more indispensable must it be when we sit in judgment upon the sacred volume; in which (if we acknowledge its divine original) it is impossible even to imagine a failure either in judgment or in integrity."[1]

"God has been pleased, in sundry portions and in divers manners, to speak unto us in his word; but in all the books of Scripture we may trace an admirable unity of design, an intimate connection of parts, and a complete harmony of doctrines. In some instances the same truths are conveyed nearly in the same modes of expression; in other instances the same sentiments are clothed with beautiful varieties of language. While we are interested in discovering some of the indications of mental diversity among the sacred writers, we clearly perceive that the whole volume of revelation is distinguished by a certain characteristic style and phraseology altogether its own, and which, for simplicity, dignity, energy, and fulness, must be allowed to have no parallel. Now, if there be in the various parts of Scripture such important coincidences of sentiment, of language, and of idiom, it is evident that we proceed on just and rational principles, in comparing together passages that have some degree of resemblance, and in applying those, the meaning of which is clear, to the illustration of such as are involved in some degree of obscurity."[2]

The passages, which thus have some degree of resemblance, are termed PARALLEL PASSAGES; and the comparison of them is a most important help for interpreting such parts of Scripture as may appear to us obscure or uncertain; for, on almost every subject, there will be found a multitude of phrases, which, when diligently collated, will afford mutual illustration and support to each other; the truth which is more obscurely intimated in one place being expressed with greater precision in others. Thus, a part of the attributes or circumstances, relating to both persons and things, is stated in one text or passage, and part in another; so that it is only by searching out several passages, and connecting them together, that we can obtain a just apprehension of them. More particularly, the types of the Old Testament must be compared with their antitypes in the New (as Num. xxi. 9. with John iii. 14.); predictions must be compared with the history of their accomplishment (as Isa. liii. the latter part of v. 12. with Mark xv. 27, 28. and Luke xxii. 37. and the former part of Isa. liii. 12. with Matt. xxvii. 57. Mark xv. 43. Luke xxiii. 50.), and the portion of Scripture, in which any point is specifically treated, ought to be chiefly attended to in the comparison, as Genesis ch. i. on the creation, Romans ch. iii.—v. on the doctrine of justification, &c. &c.[3]

The *foundation* of the parallelisms occurring in the Sacred Writings is the perpetual harmony of Scripture itself; which, though composed by various writers, yet proceeding from one and the same infallible source, cannot but agree in words as well as in things. Parallelisms are either *near* or *remote*; in the former case the parallel passages are sought from the same writer, in the latter from different writers. They are further termed *adequate*, when they affect the whole subject proposed in the text; and *inadequate*, when they affect it only in part; but the most usual division of the analogy of Scripture, or parallelisms, is into *verbal*, or parallelisms of words, and *real*, or parallelisms of things.

2. A *Verbal Parallelism* or *Analogy* is that in which, on comparing two or more places together, the same words and phrases, the same mode of argument, the same method of construction, and the same rhetorical figures, are respectively to be found. Of this description are the following instances:—

(1.) *Parallel words and phrases.*—Thus, when the prophet Jeremiah, speaking of the human heart, says, that it is "deceitful above all things, and *desperately* wicked" (Jer. xvii. 9.), in order to understand the full import of the original word there rendered *desperately*, we must compare Jer. xv. 18. and Micah i. 9. where the same word occurs, and is rendered *desperate* or *incurable*. From which two passages it is obvious that the prophet's meaning was, that the deceitfulness and wickedness of the heart of man are so great that they cannot be healed or removed by any human art. Compare also Isa. xl. 11. and Ezek. xxxiv. 23. with John x. 11. 14, 15. Heb. xiii. 20. and 1 Pet. ii. 25. and v. 4.

(2.) *Parallel modes of arguing.*—Thus the apostles, Paul, James, and Peter, respectively suppport their exhortations to patience by the *example of Jesus Christ*. Compare Heb. xii. 2, 3. James v. 10, 11. and 1 Pet. ii. 21. On the contrary, dissuasives from sin are more strongly set forth in the Old and New Testaments, by urging that sinful courses were the *way of* the *heathen nations*. Compare Lev. xviii. 24. Jer. x. 2. and Matt. vi. 32.

(3.) *Of Parallel constructions and figures* we have examples in Rom. viii. 3. 2 Cor. v. 21. and Heb. x. 6. in which passages respectively the Greek word αμαρτια, there translated sin, means *sacrifices or offerings for sin*, agreeably to the idiom of the Hebrew language, in which the same word elliptically signifies both *sin* and *sin-offering*, which the Septuagint version invariably renders by αμαρτια in upwards of one hundred places. Dr. Whitby, on 2 Cor. v. 21., has pointed out a few instances; but Dr. A. Clarke (on the same text) has enumerated *all* the passages, which are, in fact, so many additional examples of verbal parallelisms. To this class some biblical critics refer those passages in which the same sentence is expressed not precisely in the same words, but in *similar* words, more full as well as more perspicuous, and concerning the force and meaning of which there can be no doubt. Such are the parallelisms of the sacred poets; which, from the light they throw on the poetical books of the Scriptures, demand a distinct consideration.

Verbal Parallelisms are of great importance for ascertaining the meaning of words that rarely occur in the Bible, as well as of those which express peculiar doctrines or terms of religion, as *faith*, *repentance*, *new creature*, &c., likewise in explaining doubtful passages, and also the Hebraisms appearing in the New Testament.

3. A *Real Parallelism* or *Analogy* is, where the same thing or subject is treated of, either designedly or incidentally, in the same words, or in others which are more clear, copious, and full, and concerning whose force and meaning there can be no doubt. In comparing two passages, however, we must

[1] Bp. Van Mildert's Lectures, p. 190.

[2] Rev. H. F. Burder's Sermon on the Duty and Means of ascertaining the Sense of Scripture, pp. 17, 18.

[3] On the importance and benefit of consulting parallel passages, Bishop Horsley has several fine observations in his comment on Psal. xcvii. The whole passage is too long to extract, but the following sentences are so appropriate to the subject of this section that the author deems any apology for their insertion unnecessary. "*It should*," says his lordship, "*be a rule with every one, who would read the Holy Scriptures with advantage and improvement, to compare every text which may seem either important for the doctrine it may contain, or remarkable for the turn of the expression, with the parallel passages in other parts of Holy Writ*; that is, with the passages in which the subject-matter is the same, the sense equivalent, or the turn of the expression similar. These parallel passages are easily found by the marginal references in Bibles of the larger form."....."It is incredible to any one, who has not in some degree made the experiment, what a proficiency may be made in that knowledge which maketh wise unto salvation, by studying the Scriptures in this manner, without any other commentary or exposition than what the different parts of the sacred volume mutually furnish for each other. *I will not scruple to assert that the most* ILLITERATE CHRISTIAN, *if he can but read his English Bible, and will take the pains to read it in this manner, will not only attain all that practical knowledge which is necessary to his salvation; but, by God's blessing, he will become learned in every thing relating to his religion in such degree, that he will not be liable to be misled either by the refined arguments or by the false assertions of those who endeavour to ingraft their own opinions upon the oracles of God.* He may safely be ignorant of all philosophy, except what is to be learned from the sacred books; which indeed contain the highest philosophy adapted to the lowest apprehension. He may safely remain ignorant of all history, except so much of the history of the first ages of the Jewish and of the Christian church, as is to be gathered from the canonical books of the Old and New Testament. *Let him study these in the manner I recommend, and let him never cease to pray for the* ILLUMINATION OF THAT SPIRIT *by which these books were dictated; and the whole compass of abstruse philosophy, and recondite history, shall furnish no argument with which the perverse will of man shall be able to shake this* LEARNED CHRISTIAN'S *faith*. The Bible, thus studied, will indeed prove to be what we Protestants esteem it—a certain and sufficient rule of faith and practice, a helmet of salvation, which alone may quench the fiery darts of the wicked."—Sermons on the Resurrection &c. pp. 221—228.

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ascertain whether the same thing *is* really expressed more fully as well as more clearly, and also without any ambiguity whatever, otherwise little or no assistance can be obtained for illustrating obscure places. Real parallelisms are twofold—historical, and didactic or doctrinal.

(1.) *An Historical Parallelism of things* is, where the same thing or event is related: it is of great and constant use in order to understand aright the Four Gospels, in which the same things are for the most part related more fully by one evangelist than by the others, according to the design with which the Gospels were respectively written.

Thus the account of our Saviour's stilling the tempest in the sea of Gennesareth is more copiously related by Saint Mark (iv. 36—41.) and Saint Luke (viii. 22—25.) than it is by Saint Matthew. (viii. 24. 26.) By comparing the several narratives of the evangelists together, harmonies are constructed from their separate histories. In like manner, the historical books of the Old Testament are mutually illustrated by comparing together the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. For instance, many passages in the book of Genesis are parallel to 1 Chron. i.—ix.; many parts of the books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers are parallel to the book of Deuteronomy; the books of Samuel and Kings, to the two books of Chronicles; and, lastly, 2 Kings xviii. 13—37. and 2 Chron. xxxii. are parallel with Isa. xxxvi. Dr. Lightfoot and Mr. Townsend have compiled very valuable harmonies of the Old Testament, in which the historical and prophetical passages are interwoven in the order of time, of which an account is given in the Bibliographical Appendix to the second Volume, Part I. Chap. II. Sect. I.

(2.) A *Didactic or Doctrinal Parallelism of things* is, where the same thing is *taught*: this species of parallel is of the greatest importance for comprehending the doctrines inculcated in the Bible, which we should otherwise be liable to mistake or grossly pervert.

We have examples of it in all those Psalms which occur twice in the book of Psalms, as in Psal. xiv. compared with liii.; xl. 13—17. with lxx.; lvii. 7—11. with cviii. 1—5.; lx. 5—12. with cviii. 6—13.; and cxv. 4—8. with cxxiv. 15—18. Sometimes also a hymn of David, which occurs in the book of Psalms, is to be found in some one of the historical books, as Psalm xcvi. compared with 1 Chron. xvi. 23—33.; Psalm cv. 1—15. with 1 Chron. xvi. 8—22. and Psal. cvi. 47, 48. with 1 Chron. xvi. 35, 36.

In like manner, in the New Testament, the same thing is taught nearly in the same words, as in the Epistle of Jude compared with 2 Pet. ch. ii. Frequently also the same doctrine is explained more fully in one place, which had been more concisely stated in another: such, for instance, are the superseding of the Mosaic dispensation by that of the Gospel, and all those passages which are parallel as to the thing or subject discussed though different in words; so that, by comparing them, the scope of the doctrine inculcated will readily be collected. On the other hand, where the same subject or doctrine is delivered with more brevity, all the various passages must be diligently collated, and the doctrine elicited from them. Of this description are the numerous predictions, &c. relative to the future happiness of mankind, connected with the removal of the Jewish economy, and the conversion of the Gentiles to the Christian religion.

But the use of this parallelism will more fully appear from one or two instances. Let us then compare Gal. vi. 15. with Gal. v. 6. 1 Cor. vii. 19. 2 Cor. v. 17. and Rom. ii. 28, 29. In the former passage we read, *In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing nor uncircumcision, but a new creature*, or rather [there is] *a new creation*. In Gal. v. 6. the apostle had briefly delivered the same doctrine in the following terms: *In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith that worketh by love.*—1 Cor. vii. 19. *Circumcision is nothing, nor uncircumcision, but the keeping of the commandments of God.*—2 Cor. v. 17. *Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature*, or more correctly, [there is] *a new creation: old things have passed away; behold! all things are become new.*—Rom. ii. 28, 29. *He is not a Jew that is one outwardly*, i. e. he is not a genuine member of the church of God who has only an outward profession: *neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh. But he is a Jew*, a true member of the church of God, *which is one inwardly, and circumcision* is that *of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God.* From these passages it is evident that what Saint Paul, in Gal. vi. 15. terms *a new creature*, or *creation*, he in Gal. v. 6. denominates *faith* that worketh by love; and in 1 Cor. vii. 19. *keeping the commandments of God.* From this collation of passages, then, we perceive, that what the apostle intends by a *new creature* or *new creation*, is the entire conversion of the heart from sin to God: and as creation is the proper work of an All-wise and Almighty Being, so this total change of heart, soul, and life, which takes place under the ministration of the Gospel, is effected by the power and grace of God, and is evidenced by that faith and obedience which are indispensably necessary to all Christians in order to salvation![1]

Again: in 2 Cor. i. 21. God is said to have *anointed us*: the parallel passage, where this expression is so explained as to give an idea of the thing intended, is 1 John ii. 20., where true Christians are said to *have an unction from the Holy One, and to know all things*; and in v. 27. *the same anointing* is said to *teach all things*. Now, if the effect of this unction be that we should know all things, the anointing will be whatever brings knowledge to us, and therefore *teaching*. From this comparison of passages, therefore, we learn that by unction and anointing is intended the Holy Spirit, whose office is to teach all things, and to guide us into all truth (John xiv. 26. and xvi. 13.); and whose gifts and graces are diffused throughout the church of Christ, and imparted to every *living* member of it. For his assistances are equally necessary to all, to the learned as well as the unlearned, to teachers as well as to hearers: he it is that enlightens our minds, purifies our hearts, and inclines our wills, not only beginning but carrying on and perfecting a new and spiritual life in our souls. The expression in v. 20. *and ye know all things*, is not to be understood in the largest sense, but must be limited to those things which are necessary to salvation. These every true Christian not only knows speculatively—that is, he not only has a notion of them in his mind—but he has also a practical and experimental knowledge and taste of them, which is productive of holy obedience. This inestimable gift was purchased by the sufferings and death of Christ, who is here styled the *Holy One*. The words in v. 27. *and ye need not that any man should teach you*, cannot be intended to set aside all outward teaching; but their meaning is, either that ye need not the teaching of any of those antichrists and false teachers mentioned in various parts of this epistle, or that ye need not that any one should teach you how to judge of those deceivers and their doctrines.

[1] Mori Acroases Hermeneuticæ, tom. i. p. 95. See also Macknight and Scott on the texts above cited.

4. Besides verbal and real parallelisms, there is a third species partaking of the nature of both, and which is of equal importance for understanding the Scriptures: this has been termed a *parallelism of members*: it consists chiefly in a certain equality, resemblance, or parallelism, between the members of each period; so that in two lines, or members of the same period, things shall answer to things, and words to words, as if fitted to each other by a kind of rule or measure.

The nature of this kind of parallelism, which is the grand characteristic of the poetical style of the Hebrews, being fully considered in a subsequent chapter,[2] a few examples of its utility as a hermeneutical aid will only be necessary in this place.

In the poetical parts of the Old Testament, it sometimes happens that, in the alternate quatrain, the third line forms a continuous sense with the first, and the fourth with the second. Bishop Lowth has given a striking example of this variety of parallelism in his nineteenth prælection, from Deut. xxxii. 42. But as its distinguishing feature is not there sufficiently noted, Bishop Jebb adopts the following translation of Mr. Parkhurst:—

> I will make mine arrows drunk with blood;
> And my sword shall devour flesh:
> With the blood of the slain and the captive;
> From the hairy head of the enemy.

That is, reducing the stanza to a simple quatrain:—

> I will make mine arrows drunk with blood:
> With the blood of the slain and the captive:
> And my sword shall devour flesh;
> From the hairy head of the enemy.

Again,—

> From without the sword shall destroy;
> And in the inmost apartments terror;
> Both the young man and the virgin:
> The suckling, with the man of gray hairs.
> Deut. xxxii. 25.

"The youths and virgins," says Bishop Jebb, "let out of doors by the vigour and buoyancy natural at their time of life, fall victims to the sword in the streets of the city: while infancy and old age, confined by helplessness and decrepitude to the inner chambers of the house, perish there by fear before the sword can reach them."

Mr. Green, in his "Poetical Parts of the Old Testament translated," observes that there is a similar hyperbaton in Isa. xxxiv. 6. And Dr. Hales reduces to a similar form that remarkable prophecy, Gen. xlix. 10.:—

> The sceptre shall not depart from Judah;
> Nor a scribe of his offspring;
> Until Shiloh shall come;
> And [until] to him a congregation of peoples.

"That is, according to Dr. Hales, the sceptre, or civil government, shall not depart, till the coming or birth of Shiloh; and the scribe, or expounder of the law, intimating ecclesiastical regimen, shall not depart, or cease, until there shall be formed a congregation of people, a church of Christian worshippers from various nations; the former branch of this prophecy was fulfilled, when Augustus made his enrolment preparatory to the census throughout Judæa and Galilee; thereby degrading Judæa to a Roman province: the latter branch was fulfilled at the sacking of Jerusalem by Titus; when the temple was destroyed, and the Jewish ritual abolished."[3]

By the application of this parallelism of members, Bishop Jebb has thrown considerable light upon a difficult passage in the eighty-fourth psalm, which he considers as an *inverted parallelism*:—

> Blessed is the man whose strength is in Thee:
> The passengers, in whose hearts are thy ways,
> In the valley of Baca make it a spring,
> The rain also filleth the pools;
> They go from strength to strength;
> He shall appear before God in Zion.
> Psal. lxxxiv. 5—7.

"The first and sixth lines are here considered, at once, as constructively parallel, and as affording a *continuous sense*: the intermediate four lines may be accounted parenthetical; the second, constructively parallel with the fifth; and the third with the fourth. The first line seems to contain the character of a confirmed proficient in religion,—*his strength is in God*; the

[2] See Book II. Chap. II. *infra*.
[3] Jebb's Sacred Literature, pp. 30, 31.

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sixth line, to describe his final beatification,—*he shall appear before God in Zion.* The intermediate quatrain may be regarded as descriptive of the intermediate course pursued by those who desire to be good and happy: they are passengers, but they know their destination, and they long for it; at a distance from the temple (the mystical "sapientum templa serena"), they are anxious to arrive there; the very highways to Jerusalem are in their heart. And what is the consequence? Affection smooths all difficulties; the parched and sandy desert becomes a rich well-watered valley; and they cheerfully advance from strength to strength; from one degree of virtuous proficiency to another."[1]

One or two examples more will show the great importance of applying the poetical parallelism to the study of the New Testament:—

σκοτισμενοι τη διανοια οντες·
απηλλοτριωμενοι της ζωης του Θεου;
δια την αγνοιαν την ουσαν εν αυτοις·
δια την πωρωσιν της καρδιας αυτων.

Being darkened in the understanding;
Being alienated from the life of God
Through the ignorance which is in them;
Through the blindness of their hearts.
Eph. iv. 18.

That is, adjusting their parallelism:—

Being darkened in the understanding,
Through the ignorance which is in them;
Being alienated from the life of God,
Through the blindness of their hearts.

Again,—

και εζητουν αυτον κρατησαι·
και εφοβηθησαν τον οχλον;
εγνωσαν γαρ, οτι προς αυτους την παραβολην ειπε·
και αφεντες αυτον, απηλθον.

And they sought to seize him;
And they feared the people;
For they knew, that against them he spake the parable;
And having left him, they departed.
Mark xii. 12.

That is, adjusting the parallelism, and giving the particle *και*, the three different senses which Dr. Henry Owen has observed that it bears in this passage:—

And they sought to seize him;
For they knew, that against them he spake the parable;
But they feared the people;
Therefore, having left him, they departed.[2]

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5. As it requires particular attention and much practice in order to distinguish the different species of parallelisms,—especially the sententious or poetical parallelism,—the following hints are offered to the biblical student in the hope of enabling him to avail himself of them, and advantageously to apply them to the interpretation of the Scriptures:—

(1.) *Ascertain the primary meaning of the passage under consideration.*

In 1 Cor. iv. 5. we read, *Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts.* Now here is a parallelism of members, but the fundamental meaning is, that *God judges the counsels of men;* he therefore judges without respect of persons, and with unerring impartiality. The apostle's design was to show that it is impossible for men to perceive and judge the counsels of one another. Thus again, words are also construed with words, and things with things, in order that an enumeration may be made of the species, kinds, or parts of the whole; as in the divine ode of the Virgin Mary contained in Luke i. 46—55., in which the *specific* displays of divine power are enumerated. God *hath put down the proud,* but *exalteth them of low degree,* &c. The diligent reader will observe, that this place describes the power of God, in whose hands is the distribution of prosperity and adversity; and that all these parts or species are, in an exposition, to be joined together with the proposition exhibiting the genus or *kind,* viz. that prosperity and adversity are in the hand of the Almighty.

(2.) *Although the Sacred Scriptures,* PRIMARILY *coming from God, are perfectly consistent, and harmonize throughout; yet, as they were* SECONDARILY *written by different authors, on various topics, and in different styles, those books and parts of books are, in the first instance, to be compared, which were composed by the same author, in the same language, and on a parallel subject.*

[i.] Thus, by comparing Psal. xxxviii. 10. with 1 Sam. xiv. 26, 27. (in which Jonathan having taken some honey for his refreshment is said to have had *his eyes enlightened*), we shall readily apprehend the force of the psalmist's complaint, that *the light of his eyes was gone from him:* for the eyes of a person in good health are so strong, as to sparkle with the rays of light that fall upon them; whereas, when the constitution is worn by long sickness, or broken by grief, the eyes lose their vigour and brilliancy, and in cases of incipient blindness, the light gradually fails the eyes. In like manner, if we compare 1 Thess. v. 23. with Jude, verse 19. we shall find that the *spirit,* mentioned in the former passage, does not denote any *third* constituent part of man, distinct from the soul and body, but that it means the spiritual strength bestowed, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, in our renovation and sanctification; for the apostle Jude, speaking of false teachers, describes them as *sensual,* NOT HAVING THE SPIRIT, that is as persons abandoned to follow their own evil ways, unrenewed and unsanctified by the Holy Spirit.

[ii.] But the propriety of this canon will particularly appear, if we compare the parallel passages of the same author, in preference to every other sacred writer. For instance, in Rom. iii. 24. Saint Paul, when treating of our justification in the sight of God, says, that we are justified freely by his grace; now that this is to be understood of the free favour of God towards us, and not of any quality wrought in us, is evident from Eph. ii. 4, 5. 2 Tim. i. 9. and Tit. iii. 5. 7. in which passages our salvation by Jesus Christ is expressly ascribed to the *great love wherewith God loved us—to his own purpose and grace*—and *to his mercy and grace.*

(3.) *Besides the kindred dialects, much assistance will be derived, in studying the parallelisms of Scripture, from a diligent comparison of the Greek Septuagint version with the New Testament; as the latter was very frequently cited by Jesus Christ and his apostles, and was constantly used in the synagogues during the apostolic age, as well as by the Gentile converts to Judaism.*

Thus the force of our Saviour's expression in Luke xii. 42. (giving a *portion of meat* σιτομετριον *in due season*) will best appear if we compare it with the Septuagint version of Gen. xlvii. 1, 2., where we are told that Joseph (when Pharaoh had constituted him intendant-general of Egypt) supplied his father and his brothers, and all his father's household, with a certain portion of corn for each person; σιτομετρει σιτον, the very expression used by St. Luke. It was usual for the stewards of great families, in ancient times, to measure out to each slave his allotted portion of corn every month. Again, in Luke xv. 13. the younger son is said to *have taken his journey into a far country,* απιδημησαι εις χωραν μακραν; an expression, Grotius remarks, which is singularly appropriate: for in the Septuagint version of Psal. lxxiii. 27. those who have wilfully *cast* off the fear of God are said μακρυνειν απο του Θεου ιδιους, to withdraw themselves afar from God.

(4.) *Whenever the mind is struck with any resemblance, in the first place consider whether it is a true resemblance, and whether the passages are sufficiently similar; that is, not only whether the same word, but also the same thing, answers together, in order to form a safe judgment concerning it.*

It often happens that *one* word has several distinct meanings, one of which obtains in one place, and one in another place. When, therefore, words of such various meanings present themselves, all those passages where they occur are not to be immediately considered as parallel, unless they have a similar power. Thus, if any one were to compare Jonah iv. 10. (where mention is made of the gourd which came up in a night, and perished in a night, and which in the original Hebrew is termed *the son of a night*) with 1 Thess. v. 5., where Christians are called, not children of the night, but *children of the day,* it would be a spurious parallel.

(5.) *Where two parallel passages present themselves, the clearer and more copious place must be selected to illustrate one that is more briefly and obscurely expressed.*

The force and meaning of a word can never be ascertained from a single passage; but if there be a second passage on the same subject, we have a criterion by which to ascertain the writer's meaning. Or, if we consider the subject discussed by him, we shall find that he has in one part touched very slightly on topics which are elsewhere more fully explained, and in which he has omitted nothing that could more copiously illustrate the former place. In availing ourselves, therefore, of a parallel passage to elucidate any part of the inspired writings, it is evident that the clearer places, and those which treat more fully on a subject, are to be considered as fundamental passages, by which others are to be illustrated. Thus, in Hosea xii. 4. there is an allusion to the patriarch Jacob's wrestling with an angel of God; now this place would be extremely obscure, if the whole history of that transaction were not more amply related in Gen. xxxii. 24—31.

(6.) *Other things being equal, a nearer parallel is preferable to one that is more remote*

If a writer elsewhere repeat the same forms of speech, and also discuss in another part a subject which he has but slightly touched in one place, it is better to explain that place from the same writer, than from parallel passages collected from others. But where a writer supplies nothing by which to illustrate himself, recourse must in that case be had to such as were contemporary with him, or nearly so, and from their compositions similar passages are to be collected. Thus Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and Amos, having been nearly contemporary with each other, and having uttered predictions relative to nearly the same events, mutually elucidate each other, as the prophecy of Ezekiel illustrates that of Jeremiah, and *vice versâ.* This rule will apply generally, unless the more remote writer define obscure places better, or continue and adorn the subject discussed.

(7.) *No assistance is to be derived from similar passages the sense of which is uncertain.*

[1] Sacred Literature, p. 55. In p. 56. Bishop Jebb has given a passage from Euthymius's Commentary on Psal. lxxxiv. 7. which is so truly beautiful, that we cannot help inserting it. Εκ δυναμεως εις δυναμιν· εξ αρετης εις αρετην· οιον, εκ ταπεινοφροσυνης εις πενθος, εκ δε πενθους εις κατανυξιν· και ουτως εκ ταυτης εις εκεινην προκοπτοντες, αναβησονται προς την ακροπολιν· δυναμιν δε την αρετην εκαλεσεν, ως ισχυροποιουσαν τον μετιοντα αυτην· "From strength to strength; from virtue to virtue: for example, from lowliness of mind to mourning; from mourning to contrition; and thus advancing from one attainment to another, they shall ascend the summit of the mountain. The psalmist calls virtue strength, because it makes him strong who attains it."—"Perhaps," the learned prelate remarks, "each gradation of goodness may be accounted, as it were, a fortress or stronghold upon the way: a secure stage in the pilgrimage of virtue."

[2] Jebb's Sacred Literature, p. 198. This elegant critic has thrown more light than all the commentators extant on that very obscure passage, Matt. xv. 3—6. by exhibiting it in the form of an introverted parallelism (see pp. 244—248.); and also on that very difficult portion of the New Testament—the song of Zacharias (Luke i. 67—79.), by dividing it according to the poetical parallelism. See Sacred Literature, pp. 403—417.

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For if such passages be cited to explain another that is obscure, they will be of no use whatever, however similar they may be, but equally obscure. It is to little purpose, therefore, to accumulate similar passages where the same name of a tree, plant, herb, &c. is mentioned, and especially where there is no note or mark attached to it; for several of the birds, beasts, fishes, trees, plants, precious stones, and musical instruments, mentioned in the Scriptures, are either unknown to us, or cannot now be precisely distinguished.[1]

(8.) *The exercise of comparison should be often repeated.*

"To the observance of the principles above stated, frequent practice must be added, so that the interpreter may *easily* discern what passages are similar, and how he may rightly compare them, and judge of them. It will be very useful, here, to consult good interpreters, not only of the Scriptures, but of profane authors; that where they carry these principles into practice, and plainly make a right and skilful application of them, we may learn to imitate them, by attentively considering the manner in which they attain to the understanding of things which are obscure or ambiguous. By *frequently* renewing this exercise, we may learn to go in the same path in which they have travelled.

"The books of the New Testament present more inducement to repeat this exercise very frequently, than any other books. For (1.) They are of all books the most important. (2.) They are not only all of the same idiom in general, but they have reference to the same subject, viz. the developement of Christianity. They originated, too, from contemporary writers, possessed of views, feelings, and languages that were alike. Hence comparison has more force in illustrating the New Testament, than in the illustration of either Greek or Latin authors; many of whom, that agreed with each other in all the circumstances just stated, cannot be found. But (3.) To all who admit that the same Holy Spirit guided the authors of the New Testament, and that their views of religion, in consequence of this, must have been *harmonious*, the inducement to comparison of various parts and passages with each other, in order to obtain a correct view of the whole, must be *very great;* and the additional force of the evidence arising from comparison, on account of the really harmonious views of the writers, must make this exercise an imperious duty of every theologian."[2]

(9.) *Many parallel passages should be compared.*

"To compare one passage only is often insufficient, whether you are endeavouring to find the *usus loquendi* by the aid of parallel passages, or by testimony derived from the nature of the subject and from examples. Specially is this the case, when we are investigating the sense of words that have a complex or generic meaning, made up of various parts. In this case, comparisons should be made from numerous passages, until we perceive that what we are seeking is fully and entirely discovered.

"Suppose the word πίστις occurs in a particular passage, where you are doubtful what sense should be applied to it. First, you call to mind, that πίστις is a generic word, having several meanings related to each other, but still diverse, as species under the genus. You wish to determine how many *species* of meaning πίστις has; and in order to accomplish this, *many* passages where it is used must be compared, in order that you may know whether all the species are found. This being done, you proceed to compare them with the passage under investigation, and see which will fit it. And in this way all generic words must be investigated, before the generic idea can be determined."[3]

(10.) *It will be of great use to collect and reduce into alphabetical order all those similar passages in which the same forms of speech occur, and the same things are proposed in a different order of narration: but care must be taken to avoid the accumulation of numerous passages that are parallel to each other in forms of speech, or in things which are of themselves clear and certain;* for such accumulations of parallel places savour more of a specious display of learning than real utility.[4]

The best and most certain help by which to find out parallel passages is, unquestionably, the diligent and attentive perusal of the Scriptures, repeated after short intervals of time, and accompanied by the commital of the most difficult passages to writing, together with such other passages as are either similar in words or in things, and which tend to throw any light on obscure places. But, in instituting such parallelisms, care must be taken not to multiply references *unnecessarily* for mere show rather than for their practical utility, and also that they do not violate the analogy of faith. For instance, Rom. iii. 28. and James ii. 24. are not in every respect parallel to each other; because in the former passage Saint Paul is treating of justification *in the sight of God*—a doctrine which numerous passages of Scripture most clearly testify to be by faith alone; whereas Saint James is speaking of justification *in the sight of men*, who form their judgment of a man by his works.

The method here indicated is the only *effectual* way by which to ascertain parallel words and phrases, as well as parallelisms of things: it will indeed require a considerable portion of time and study, which *every one* may not perhaps be able to give; but individuals thus circumstanced may advantageously facilitate their researches by having recourse to editions of the Bible with parallel references, and to Concordances.[5]

[1] See some instances of this observation in Mr. Pilkington's "Remarks on several Passages of Scripture," pp. 83—90.

[2] Stuart's Elements of Interpretation, p. 40. [3] Ibid. p. 41.

[4] Morus in Ernesti Inst. Interpret. Nov. Test. tom. i. pp. 97—110. Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 163—174. J. B. Carpzov. Primæ Lineæ Herm. Sacr. pp. 45—47. Pfeiffer, Hermeneut. Sacr. c. xi. Franckii Prælect. Hermeneut. pp. 95. *et seq.* 153. *et seq.* Rambach, Inst. Herm. Sacræ, pp. 362—394. 651, 652.; also his Exercit. Herm. pp. 209—219. J. E. Pfeiffer, Inst. Herm. Sacr. pp. 278—305. Jahnii Enchiridion Herm. Generalis, pp. 81—94.; and Chladenius's Institutiones Exegeticæ, pp. 399—406. Schæfer, Institutiones Scripturisticæ, pars ii. pp. 77—84. Dr. Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism, pp. 148—157. Arigler, Hermeneutica Biblica, pp. 181—194. Alber, Inst. Herm. Nov. Test. pp. 132—136.

[5] For an account of the principal editions of the Bible with Parallel References, see the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to the second Volume, PART I. Chap. I. SECT. VI. § 3.; and for Concordances, see PART II. CHAP. VI. SECT. I.

§ 2. ANCIENT VERSIONS.

Observations on the respective merits of the several ancient versions.—Rules for consulting them to the best advantage.

OF the Ancient Versions of the Holy Scriptures, and their uses in sacred criticism, an account has already been given in pages 262—280. 286, 287. and it may here be remarked, that, to those who are able to consult them, these versions afford a very valuable aid in the interpretation of the Bible: for they were the works of men, who enjoyed several advantages above the moderns, for understanding the original languages and the phraseology of Scripture. One or two instances will illustrate the propriety of this remark.

1. In the first promulgation of the Gospel to mankind (Gen. iii. 15.), God said to the serpent that beguiled our first parents, *And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed, and* IT (that is, the seed of the woman, as our authorized translation rightly expounds it) *shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.* But in the Anglo-Romish version, after the Latin Vulgate (which has IPSA *conteret caput tuum*), it is rendered, SHE *shall bruise his head,* as if a woman should do it; which the Romanists interpreting of the Virgin Mary, ascribe to her this great victory and triumph over sin and Satin, and are taught to say in their addresses to her, "*Adoro et benedico sanctissimos pedes tuos, quibus antiqui serpentis caput calcâsti;*" that is, "I adore and bless thy most holy feet, whereby thou hast bruised the head of the old serpent." That this rendering of the Romanists is erroneous, is proved by the Septuagint Greek version, by the Chaldee paraphrase, and by the Syriac version, all of which refer the pronoun IT to the *seed* of the woman, and not to the woman herself.[6]

2. As the expression *breaking bread,* mentioned in Acts ii. 46., ordinarily means taking food in the Jewish idiom, some expositors have understood that expression in this sense; but the old Syriac version, executed towards the close of the first or early in the second century, renders it *breaking of the Eucharist.* We are justified, therefore, in referring the term to the celebration of the Lord's supper among the first Christians (κατ' οἶκον) in a house appropriated to that purpose.

In applying ancient versions, as an auxiliary, to the interpretation of Scripture, it is material to observe, that, since no version can be absolutely free from error, we ought not to rely implicitly on any one translation: but, if it be practicable, the aid of the cognate dialects should be united with reference to a version, in order that, by a comparison of both these helps, we may arrive at the knowledge of the genuine readings and meanings. From inattention to this obvious caution, many eminent men have at different times ascribed to particular versions a degree of authority to which they were by no means entitled. Thus, by many of the fathers, the Alexandrian interpreters were accounted to be divinely inspired, and consequently free from the possibility of mistake; a similar opinion was held by various eminent modern critics, particularly by Isaac Vossius, who asserted the Septuagint to be preferable to the Hebrew text, and to be absolutely free from error! The Church of Rome has fallen into the like mistake with respect to the Vulgate or Latin version, which the Council of Trent declared to be the *only* authentic translation.

Further, *versions of versions,* that is, those translations which were not made *immediately* from the Hebrew Old Testament, or from the Greek New Testament, are of no authority in determining either the genuine text or meaning of the original, but only of that version from which they were taken. This remark applies particularly to the Anglo-Saxon, Old English, Spanish, French, and German translations, whether of the Old or New Testament; which, being made before the sixteenth century, were executed immediately from the Latin: and subsequently, even in those examples where they are unanimous in a reading, their united voices are of no more authority than that of the Latin version alone.[7] In all cases, therefore, which require the aid of a version, either for the purpose of criticism or interpretation, recourse must be had to those translations which, being more ancient or better executed, are preferable to every other. And in this view the following will be found most deserving of attention, not only as uniting the two qualifications of antiquity and

[6] Bp. Beveridge's Works, vol. ii. p. 193. vol. ix. pp. 233, 234. Agier Prophéties concernant Jésus Christ et l'Eglise, pp. 243, 244

[7] Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 3.

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excellence, but also as being more generally accessible to students, being for the most part comprised in the Polyglott Bibles, which are to be found in almost every public library.

I. The *Alexandrian Version* is confessedly the most ancient, and, with all its errors and imperfections, contains very much that is highly valuable, and on this account it has been used by nearly all the more ancient interpreters. With the Septuagint should be consulted the fragments of the translations executed by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and also the fifth, sixth, and seventh versions. The version of Aquila, in particular, exhibits a diction similar to that of the New Testament, as he was not very remote from the age of the apostles; and he has some things which may be of especial use in the interpretation of the New Testament. The version of Symmachus is also a valuable hermeneutic aid; as, by translating into pure Greek, he has facilitated the understanding of Hebrew.

II. The *Syriac Peschito*, whose fidelity as a version, independently of the excellence of its style, has received the highest commendations from Michaelis, is particularly serviceable for the interpretation of the New Testament.[1] Nor is its value inferior in the interpretation of the Old Testament. "Of all the ancient versions," says a living critic, "the Syriac is the most uniformly faithful and accurate; and as the language so nearly resembles the Hebrew, its value can scarcely be estimated too high."[2]

III. The *Latin Vulgate*, with the exception of the Psalms, deservedly claims the third place.

IV. The *Targums*, or Chaldee Paraphrases, though unequally executed, contain many things that are exceedingly useful, and necessary to be known, especially the paraphrases of Jonathan Ben Uzziel; they not only contribute essentially to the understanding of many difficult passages in the Old Testament, but also throw much light on the interpretation of the New Testament, as well as afford much advantage in arguing with the Jews, because they almost invariably view the prophecies in the same light as Christians do, as referring to the Messiah.[3] Extracts from them are to be found in all the larger commentaries, and also in the works of Dr. Lightfoot.

V. The *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus (of whose writings some account is given in page 346. *infra*) may be reckoned among the ancient versions: for though, on some occasions, he followed the Septuagint, yet he derived his representations of sacred history chiefly from the Hebrew Text, as is evident by his abandoning the sense of that version in very many places. With regard to these he is an evidence of great authority, for he is more ancient than the other translators, except the Alexandrine or Septuagint; the Chaldee was his vernacular dialect; and as he was a learned priest, and subsequently a commander of an army in Galilee during the war with the Romans, he was well versed in all ecclesiastical, civil, and military matters. His readers, however, will find it necessary, not rashly to give credence to all his statements, especially such as are warped in favour of his own nation, or even of the heathens, or such as represent the temple of Solomon by a description taken from that of Herod.[4]

VI. The other versions made immediately from the Hebrew and Greek originals follow next in order, particularly the Arabic translations of the Old Testament: but no certain dependence can be placed, as an authority, on the Latin translations of the Oriental versions, which are printed in the Polyglott Bibles.

It will not however be *necessary* to consult ancient versions, except in passages that are really difficult, or unless a particular examination of them be instituted for some special object of inquiry. In this case not one or two versions merely should be consulted, but every version that is accessible should be referred to: and all such places should be compared together as are *parallel*, that is, those passages in which the same word or the same form of speaking respectively occurs; and, where any thing worthy of preservation offers itself, it will materially facilitate future studies to note it either in an interleaved Bible, or, which perhaps is preferable, in an interleaved Lexicon. This practice will not only enable the biblical student to discover and correctly to appreciate the genius of a version, and the ability, or the reverse, with which it may be executed; but it will also supply many important helps for the interpretation of Scripture. As, however, some of the ancient versions have been altered or interpolated in many places, great care must be taken to distinguish the modern amendments from the genuine text of the original ancient translator. The various excellent concordances that are extant will afford great assistance in finding out such parallel words or phrases.

In order to ascertain how far the ancient versions represent correctly the meaning of Hebrew or Greek words, the following rules will be found useful:—

1. *That meaning is to be taken and received as the true one, which all the versions give to a word, and which is also confirmed by the kindred dialects.*

Because, the number of testimonies worthy of credit being as great as possible, there can be no room left for doubt.

2. *All those significations, formerly given to Hebrew words, are to be considered as correctly given, which the Septuagint or other Greek translators express by the same or similar Greek words, although no trace of such meaning appear in any Oriental language:*

For, as no doubt can be entertained of the diligence and scrupulous learning of those translators, who can presume to measure the vast copiousness of the Arabic, Syriac, and other Oriental languages by the few books which in our time are extant in those languages? since no one is so ignorant as to suppose that all the riches of the Greek and Latin languages are comprised in the very numerous remains of classical literature with which our age happily abounds. With regard to the New Testament, "in cases where the sense is not affected by different readings, or the translator might have taken them for synonymous, the evidence of Greek manuscripts is to be preferred to that of an ancient version. The same preference is due to the manuscripts wherein the translator has omitted words that appeared of little importance, or a passage in the Greek original is attended with a difficulty which the translator was unable to solve, and therefore either omitted or altered according to the arbitrary dictates of his own judgment."[5]

3. *Where the versions differ in fixing the sense of a word, the more ancient ones, being executed with the greater care and skill, are in the first place to be consulted, and preferred to all others:*

For, the nearer a translator approaches to the time when the original language was vernacular, we may readily infer that he has expressed with so much the greater fidelity the true signification of words, both primary and proper, as well as those which are derivative and translated. There are, however, some cases in which ancient versions are of more authority than the original itself. Most of the translations of the New Testament, noticed in the preceding pages, surpass in antiquity the oldest Greek manuscripts now extant: "and they lead to a discovery of the readings in the very ancient manuscript that was used by the translator. By their means, rather than from the aid of our Greek manuscripts, not one of which is prior to the fourth or fifth century, we arrive at the certain knowledge, that the ancient writings have been transmitted from the earliest to the present age without material alteration; and that our present text, if we except the passages that are rendered doubtful by an opposition in the readings, *is the same which proceeded from the hands of the apostles.* Whenever the reading can be precisely determined, which the translator found in his Greek manuscript, the version is of equal authority with a manuscript of that period: but as it is sometimes difficult to acquire this absolute certainty, great caution is necessary in collecting readings from the ancient versions."[6]

4. *A meaning given to a word by only one version, provided this be a good one, is by no means to be rejected; especially if it agree with the author's design and the order of his discourse:*

For, it is possible that the force and meaning of a word should be unknown to all other translators, and no trace of it be discoverable in the kindred dialects, and yet that it should be preserved and transmitted to posterity by *one* version. This remark applies chiefly to things which a translator has the best opportunity of understanding from local and other circumstances. Thus the Alexandrine interpreters are the most ample testimony for every thing related in the Old Testament concerning Egypt, while others, who were natives of Palestine, and perhaps deeply skilled in Jewish literature, are the best guides we can follow in whatever belongs to that country.[7]

5. Lastly, "*Those versions*" *of the New Testament*, "*in which the Greek is rendered word for word, and the idioms of the original, though harsh and often unmeaning in another language, are still retained in a translation, are of more value in point of criticism than those which express the sense of the original in a manner more suitable to the language of the translator.*"

The value of the latter, as far as regards their critical application, decreases in proportion as the translator attends to purity and elegance, and of course deviates from his original: but their worth is greater in all other respects, as they are not only read with more pleasure, but understood in

[1] On the critical use of the Syriac version, the reader may consult G. B. Winer's Commentatio de Versionis N. T. Syriacæ Usu Critico cautè instituendo. Erlangæ, 1821.

[2] Mr. Holden's Translation of the Book of Proverbs, p. cviii.

[3] Hamilton's Introd. to Heb. Script. p. 192.

[4] Jahn's Introduction, by Prof. Turner, p. 105. Muntinge, Brevis Expositio Criticea Vet. Fœd. pp. 126—129

[5] Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 3.

[6] Ibid. p. 2.

[7] Jahn, Introduct. ad Vet. Fœd. pp. 116—122. Pictet, Théologie Chrétienne, tom. i. pp. 151, 152. Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 147—162. 301—309. J. P. Carpzov, Prim. Lin. Herm. pp. 62—65. Ernesti, Inst. Interp. N. Test. p. 57. Morus in Ernesti, tom. i. pp. 130, 131. Stuart's Elements, pp. 43. 61. Gerard's Institutes, pp. 107—111. Bishop Lowth's Isaiah, vol. i. pp. lxxvii.—xc. 8vo. ed. Pfeiffer, Herm. Sac. c. 14. (Op. tom. ii. pp. 663, 664.) Arigler, Hermeneutica Biblica, pp. 102--107.

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general with greater ease. By means of the former we discover the words of the original, and even their arrangement;—but the latter are of no use in deciding on the authenticity of a reading, if the various readings of the passages in question make no alteration in the sense. No translation is more literal than the Philoxenian (or New) Syriac, and none, therefore, leads to a more accurate discovery of the text in the ancient manuscript whence that version was taken; but, setting this advantage aside, the Old Syriac is of much greater value than the New.[1]

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§ 3. SCHOLIASTS AND GLOSSOGRAPHERS.

I. *Nature of Scholia.*—II. *And of Glossaries.*—III. *Rules for consulting them to advantage in the interpretation of the Scriptures.*

WE have already stated that scholiasts and glossographers afford direct testimonies for finding out or fixing the meaning of words: it now remains that we briefly notice the nature of the assistance to be derived from these helps.

I. SCHOLIA are short notices on ancient authors, and are of two kinds—*exegetical* or explanatory, and *grammatical*. The former briefly explains the *sense* of passages, and are, in fact, a species of commentary; the latter, which are here to be considered, illustrate the force and meaning of *words* by other words which are better known. Such scholia are extant on most of the ancient classics, as Homer, Thucydides, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Horace, Juvenal, Persius, &c. &c.

On the Old Testament, we believe, there are no ancient scholia extant: but on the New Testament there are several collections, which present themselves under three classes.

1. *Scholia taken from the writings of the Greek fathers,* who in their homilies and commentaries have often briefly explained the force of particular words.

The homilies of Chrysostom, in particular, abound with these scholia; and from his works, as well as those of Origen and other fathers, the more modern Greeks have extracted what those illustrious men had concisely stated relative to the meaning of words. Similar grammatical expositions, omitting whatever was rhetorical and doctrinal, have been collected from Chrysostom by Theodoret in a commentary on the fourteen Epistles of Saint Paul; by Theophylact, in an indifferent commentary on the four Evangelists; and, to mention no more, by Euthymius in a similar commentary executed with better judgment. There are extant numerous collections of this kind of explanations, made from the writings of the fathers, and known by the appellation of *Catenæ*,[2] which follow the order of the books comprised in the New Testament. Many such scholia have been published by Matthæi in his edition of the New Testament.

2. *Scholia, written either in the margin, within the text, or at the end of manuscripts.*

Many of this description have been published separately by Wetstein in the notes to his elaborate edition of the Greek Testament, and particularly by Matthæi in his edition of the New Testament already noticed.

3. *Ancient Scholia, which are also exegetical* or explanatory; these, in fact, are short commentaries, and, therefore, are discussed *infra*, in the Appendix to the second volume.

II. A GLOSSARY differs from a Lexicon in this respect, that the former treats only of words that really require explanation, while the latter gives the general meaning of words. The authors of the most ancient Glossaries are Hesychius, Suidas, Phavorinus, Photius, and Cyril of Alexandria. The celebrated Ernesti selected from the first three of these writers, and also from the *Etymologicon Magnum*, whatever related to the New Testament, and published the result of his researches at Leipsic, in 1786, in two octavo volumes; from which Schleusner has extracted the most valuable matter, and inserted it in his well known and excellent Greek Lexicon to the New Testament.

III. In estimating the value of scholiasts and glossographers, and also the weight of their testimony, for ascertaining the force and meaning of words, it is of importance to consider, first, whether they wrote from their own knowledge of the language, and have given us the result of their own learning, or whether they compiled from others. Almost all the scholia now extant are compiled from Chrysostom, Origen, or some other fathers of the third and fourth centuries; if the scholiast have compiled from good authorities, his labours have a claim to our attention.

In proportion, therefore, to the learning of a scholiast (and the same remark will equally apply to the glossographer), he becomes the more deserving of our confidence: but this point can only be determined by daily and constant use. The Greek fathers, for instance, are admirable interpreters of the New Testament, being intimately acquainted with its language; notwithstanding they are sometimes mistaken in the exposition of its Hebraisms. But the Latin fathers, many of whom were but indifferently skilled in Hebrew and Greek, are less to be depended on, and are, in fact, only wretched interpreters of comparatively ill-executed versions.

Again, our confidence in a scholiast, or in the author of a glossary, increases in proportion to his antiquity, at least in the explanation of every thing concerning ancient history, rites, or civil life. But, in investigating the force and meaning of words, the antiquity of scholia and glossaries proves nothing; as their authors are liable to error, notwithstanding they lived near the time when the author flourished, whose writings they profess to elucidate. It not unfrequently happens that a more *recent* interpreter, availing himself of all former helps, perceives the force of words much better than one that is more ancient, and is consequently enabled to elicit the sense more correctly. The result, therefore, of our inquiry into the relative value of scholiasts and compilers of glossaries is, that in perusing their labours, we must examine them for ourselves, and form our judgment accordingly, whether they have succeeded, or failed, in their attempts to explain an author.[3]

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§ 4. ON THE TESTIMONY OF FOREIGNERS WHO HAVE ACQUIRED A LANGUAGE.

I. *Importance of this testimony.*—II. *Rules for applying it to the interpretation of the Scriptures.*

THE testimony of those who, though foreigners, have acquired a language, are an important help for ascertaining the *Usus Loquendi*. Thus, the writings of Philo and Josephus, who were Jews, and also those of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, may be used to illustrate the meaning of Greek words; because, although foreigners, they well understood the Greek language. The productions of those writers, indeed, whom by way of distinction we commonly term *Pagan Writers*, are in various ways highly deserving the attention of the biblical student, for the confirmation they afford of the leading facts recorded in the sacred volume, and especially of the doctrines, institutions, and facts, upon which Christianity is founded, or to which its records indirectly relate. "Indeed it may not be unreasonably presumed, that the writings of Pagan antiquity have been providentially preserved with peculiar regard to this great object, since, notwithstanding numerous productions of past ages have perished, sufficient remains are still possessed, to unite the cause of heathen literature with that of religion, and to render the one subservient to the interests of the other."[4]

Of the value of the heathen writings in thus confirming the credibility of the Scriptures, very numerous instances have been given in the early part of this volume. We have there seen that the heathen writings substantiate, by an independent and collateral report, many of the events, and the accomplishment of many of the prophecies recorded by the inspired writers; and that they establish the accuracy of many incidental circumstances which are interspersed throughout the Scriptures. "Above all, by the gradually perverted representations which they give of revealed doctrines, and institutions, they attest the actual communication of such truth from time to time; and pay the tribute of experience to the wisdom and necessity of a written revelation." Valuable as these testimonies, from the works of heathen authors, confessedly are, their uses are not confined to the confirmation of Scripture facts; they also frequently contribute to elucidate the phraseology of the sacred writers. Two or three instances will illustrate this remark.

1. *Pagan writers use words and phrases coincident with, or analogous to, those of the sacred writers, whose meaning they enable us to ascertain, or show us the force and propriety of their expressions.*

Thus, the sentiment and image of the prophet Isaiah,

> On what part will ye smite again, will ye add correction?
> The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint:
> Isa. i. 5. Bp. Lowth's Translation.

Are exactly the same with those of Ovid, who, deploring his exile to Atticus, says that he is wounded by the continual strokes of fortune, so that there is no space left in him for another wound:

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[1] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. ii. p. 3.

[2] See an account of the principal Catena, in the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to the second Volume, Part II. Chap. V. Sect. III. § 1.

[3] Mori Acroases, tom. i. pp. 110—130. Arigler, Hermeneutica Biblica, pp. 65. 115—119.

[4] Bp. Gray's Connection of Sacred and Profane Literature, vol. i. p. 3.

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—— Ego continuo fortunæ vaneror ictu:
Vixque habet in nobis jam nova plaga locum.
OVID, Epist. ex Ponto. lib. ii. ep. vii. 41, 42.

But the prophet's sentiment and image are still more strikingly illustrated by the following expressive line of Euripides, the great force and effect of which Longinus ascribes to its close and compressed structure, analogous to the sense which it expresses.

Γέμω κακῶν δὴ κ' οὐκέτ' ἐστὶ δόμῳ τόπος.
I am full of miseries: there is no room for more.
Eurip. Herc. Furens, v. 1245.[1]

2. *Pagan writers often employ the same images with the sacred, so as to throw light on their import, and generally to set off their superior excellence.*

Thus, the same evangelical prophet, when predicting the blessed effects that should flow from the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom, says,

They shall beat their swords into ploughshares,
And their spears into pruning-hooks:
Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,
Neither shall they learn war any more.
Isa. ii. 4.

The same prediction occurs in the same words, in Micah iv. 2. The description of well-established peace (Bp. Lowth remarks) by the image of *beating their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks*, is very poetical. The Roman poets have employed the same image. Thus Martial has an epigram (lib. xiv. ep. xiv.) entitled *Falx ex ense*—the sword converted into a pruning-hook.

The prophet Joel has reversed this image, and applied it to war prevailing over peace.

Beat your ploughshares into swords,
And your pruning-hooks into spears.
Joel iii. 10.

And so has the prince of the Roman poets:

Non ullus aratro
Dignus honos: squalent abductis arva colonis,
Et curvæ rigidum falces conflantur in ensem.
VIRGIL, Georg. lib. i. 506—508.

Dishonour'd lies the plough: the banish'd swains
Are hurried from the uncultivated plains;
The sickles into barbarous swords are beat.[2]

Additional examples, finely illustrative of the above remark, may be seen in Bishop Lowth's notes on Isa. viii. 6—8. xi. 6—8. xx. xxix. 4, 5. xxxii. 2. xiv. 2. and xlix. 2.

The following cautions will be useful in applying the productions of the Greek and Latin writers to the ascertaining of the *usus loquendi*.

1. The profane writers are not to be promiscuously used.

2. We must observe in what sense each of the Greek writers uses the expression which occurs in the New Testament, in what places, in what manner, and in what kind of writings.

3. We are not to seek illustration from profane authors of those passages and expressions, which may more properly be explained from Jewish sources.

4. Nor are we to expect from them an explanation of those expressions which are peculiar to the Christian system.

5. They are not to be consulted with a view of proving the entire purity of the style of the sacred writers; nor that the rules, which (it may be found) they observed, should be applied in all cases to determine the sense of the sacred penmen.

6. It is not sufficient, when a *single* word in a phrase used in the New Testament is found in profane writers, to prove that the latter may properly be cited as an illustration of the former.

7. Some Greek authors may be more advantageously compared with certain writers of the New Testament than with others, as Thucydides with Saint Paul; and particular modes of expression may be more happily illustrated from some authors than from others.

8. Some of the Greek writers may, to a certain extent, be applied to the illustration, not only of the language, but also of the ideas and subjects, of the sacred writers. This, however, must be done with the greatest caution.[3]

The great benefit which is to be derived from Jewish and Heathen profane authors, in elucidating the Scriptures, is excellently illustrated by the Rev. Dr. Gray [now Bishop of Bristol], in his

"Connection between the Sacred Writings and the Literature of Jewish and Heathen Authors, particularly that of the Classical Ages, illustrated." London, 1819, in 2 vols. 8vo.

Grotius and other commentators have incidentally applied the productions of the classical writers to the elucidation of the Bible: but no one has done so much in this department of sacred literature, as Elsner, Raphelius, and Kypke, to whose publications an account is given in the Bibliographical Appendix to the second Volume.

[1] Longinus, de Sublim. c. 40. Bp. Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. p. 9.
[2] Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. p. 29.
[3] Beckii Monogrammata Hermeneutices Novi Test. pp. 148, 149

SECTION II.

INDIRECT TESTIMONIES FOR ASCERTAINING THE USUS LOQUENDI.

THE *usus loquendi* cannot always be found with sufficient certainty by those *direct* means which have been discussed in the preceding section. Proper evidence is sometimes wanting; sometimes usage is variable or inconstant, even in the same age or in the same writer; or there is an ambiguity of language, or of grammatical forms; or an obscurity covers the thing or subject treated of; or novelty of language occurs or a neglect of the *usus loquendi*, which sometimes happens even in the most careful writers. Other means must, therefore, be used, by which the true sense can be elicited. These *indirect* means it is the object of the present section to state and to illustrate.

§ 1. OF THE CONTEXT.

1. *The Context defined and illustrated.*—II. *Rules for investigating the Context.*

1. ANOTHER most important assistance, for investigating the meaning of words and phrases, is the consideration of the CONTEXT, or the comparison of the preceding and subsequent parts of a discourse.

1. If we analyze the words of an author, and take them out of their proper series, they may be so distorted as to mean any thing but what he intended to express. Since, therefore, words have several meanings, and consequently, are to be taken in various acceptations, *a careful consideration of the preceding and subsequent parts will enable us to determine that signification, whether literal or figurative, which is best adapted to the passage in question.*

A few instances will illustrate this subject, and show not only the advantage, but also the necessity, of attending to the context.

(1.) It has been questioned whether those words of the prophet Micaiah (1 Kings xxii. 15.), *Go and prosper, for the Lord shall deliver* it (Ramoth) *into the hand of the king*, are to be understood affirmatively according to their apparent meaning, or are to be taken in an ironical and contrary sense? That they are to be understood in the latter sense, the consideration of the context will plainly show, both from the prophet's intention, and from the prophetic denunciation afterwards made by him. Hence it may be inferred that some sort of ironical gesture accompanied Micaiah's prediction, which circumstance ought to be borne in mind by the interpreter of Scripture.[4]

(2.) Further, there is a difference of opinion whether the address of Job's wife (Job ii. 9.) is to be understood in a good sense, as *Bless* (or ascribe glory to) *God, and die*, or in a different signification, *Curse God, and die*, as it is rendered in our authorized version. Circumstances show that the last is the proper meaning; because as yet Job had not sinned with his lips, and, consequently, his wife had no ground for charging him with indulging a vain opinion of his integrity.

(3.) Job xli. Whether the leviathan is a whale or a crocodile has also divided the judgment of commentators. That the latter animal is intended is evident from the circumstances described in the context, which admirably agree with the crocodile, but can in no respect be applied to the whale: for instance, ch. xli. 17, &c. relative to the hardness of his skin, and v. 13—16. concerning his teeth and impenetrable scales.

(4.) Once more, it has been doubted whether our Lord's command to his disciples, *to provide neither gold nor silver in their purses* (Matt. x. 9.), be a rule of perpetual observation. That it was only a temporary command is evident from the preceding and subsequent parts of the chapter, which prove *that* particular mission to have been only a temporary one; and that as they were to go for a short time through Judea, and then to return to Jesus, he therefore forbade them to take any thing that would retard their progress.

2. *The context of a discourse or book in the Scriptures, may comprise either one verse, a few verses, entire periods or sections, entire chapters, or whole books.*

Thus, if 1 Cor. x. 16. be the passage under examination, the preceding and subsequent parts of the epistle, which belong to it, are the eighth, ninth, and tenth chapters. If Isa. ii. be the chapter in question, the reader must not stop at the end of it, but continue his perusal to the twelfth verse of ch. liii.; for these together form one subject or argument of prediction in which the prophet is announcing to his countrymen the certainty of their deliverance and return from the Babylonish captivity. This entire portion ought, therefore, to be read at once, in order to apprehend fully the prophet's meaning. In like manner, the verses from v. 13. of ch. lii. to the end of ch. liii. form a new and entire section relative to the sufferings of the Messiah. Here, then, is a wrong division of chapters, to which

[4] See a further illustration of this passage in Vol. I. p. 120 122.

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so regard should be paid in examining the context of a book. Ch. ii. ought to include v. 12. of ch. iii., and ch. iii. ought to commence at v. 13. and be continued to the end of ch. iiii. In like manner, the first verse of the fourth chapter of Saint Paul's Epistle to the Colossians ought to be joined to the third chapter. the slightest attention to this point will enable a diligent student to add numerous other examples.

3. Sometimes a book of Scripture comprises only one subject or argument, in which case the whole of it must be referred to precedents and subsequents, and ought to be considered together.

Of this description is Saint Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, which consists of two parts, doctrinal and practical. The design of the doctrinal portion is to show, that although there was a difference between Jewish and Gentile believers, inasmuch as the former enjoyed a priority of time in point of expecting and acknowledging Christ, and through the free grace of God they were a church or congregation of believers before the Gentiles; yet that *now*, the latter are become partakers of the same grace with them, and being thus admitted to this communion of grace, every *real* distinction between them is abolished; and, therefore, that both Jews and Gentiles together, form one body of the church under one head, even Jesus Christ. Other special doctrines, indeed, are incidentally mentioned; but these are either adduced to explain and enforce the principal doctrine, or they are derived from it. The practical part or exhortation, which naturally flows from the doctrine inculcated, is concord and peace between Jew and Gentile, which the apostle enforces with great beauty and energy.[1]

To this head may also be referred the Psalms, each of which being separated from the other, and having no connection with the preceding or following Psalm, for the most part comprises a distinct and entire subject. That some of the Psalms have been divided, and forcibly disjoined, which ought to have remained united, and to have formed one ode, is evident as well from the application of sacred criticism as from the subject-matter. The *number* of the Psalms by no means corresponds, either in manuscripts or in the ancient versions. Thus, in some manuscripts, the first and second Psalms are not reckoned at all, while in others the former is considered as part of the second Psalm: that they are two distinct compositions, is evident from a comparison of the subject-matter of each Psalm. In the first Psalm the characters of the pious man and the sinner, as well as their respective ends, are contrasted: the second Psalm is prophetic of the Messiah's exaltation. The ninth and tenth Psalms are united together in the Septuagint version; while the hundred and sixteenth and hundred and forty-seventh are each divided into two. The argument which pervades the forty-second and forty-third Psalms plainly shows that they are properly but one divine ode, and are, therefore, rightly joined together in many manuscripts, although they occur as separate compositions in all our printed editions.[2]

II. In examining the context of a passage, it will be desirable,

1. To investigate each word of every passage: and as the connection is formed by PARTICLES, *these should always receive that signification which the subject-matter and context require.*

The Hebrew Concordances of Noldius and Taylor, and also Glassius's Philologia Sacra,[3] will materially assist in ascertaining the force of the Hebrew particles; as will the elaborate work of Hoogeveen on the subject of the Greek particles.[4] Further, where particles are wanting, as they sometimes are, it is only by examining the argument and context that we can rightly supply them. For instance, the conditional conjunction is sometimes wanting, as in Gen. xlii. 38., *and* [if] *mischief befall him by the way*,[5] in Exod. iv. 23. *and* [if] *thou refuse to let him go*. Particles of comparison also are frequently wanting, as in Gen. xvi. 12., *he will be a wild man;* literally, *he will be a wild ass man*, that is, [like] *a wild ass*. How appropriately this description was given to the descendants of Ishmael, will readily appear by comparing the character of the wild ass in Job xxxix. 5—8. with the wandering, lawless, and freebooting lives of the Arabs of the Desert, as portrayed by all travellers. Psal. xi. 1. *Flee* [as] *sparrows to your mountain.* Psal. xii. 6. *The words of the Lord are pure words*, [as] *silver tried in a furnace of earth.* Isaiah ix. 18. *They shall mount up* [as or like] *the ascending of smoke.* Similar examples occur in the New Testament; as in John v. 17. *My father worketh hitherto, and I work:* that is, as my Father worketh hitherto, so also do I work together with him. Sometimes particles are wanting both at the beginning and end of a sentence: thus Job xxiv. 19. [As] *drought and heat consume the snow:* so doth *the grave* those which *have sinned.* Jer. xvii. 11. [As] *the partridge sitteth on eggs, and hatcheth not;* [so] *he that getteth riches and not by right*, &c. Numerous similar instances occur in the book of Job, and especially in the Proverbs; where, it is but justice to our admirable authorized version to add, that the particles omitted are properly supplied in Italic characters, and thus complete the sense.

2. Examine the entire passage with minute attention.

Sometimes a single passage will require a whole chapter, or several of the preceding and following chapters, or even the entire book, to be perused, and that not once or twice, but several times. The advantage of this practice will be very great: because, as the same thing is frequently stated more briefly in the former part of a book, which is more clearly and fully explained in the subsequent portion, such a perusal will render every thing plain to the meanest capacity. For instance, that otherwise difficult passage, Rom. ix. 18. *Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth*, will become perfectly clear by a close examination of the context, beginning at verse 18. of chap. viii., and reading to the end of the eleventh chapter; this portion of the epistle being most intimately connected. Disregarding this simple and all but self-evident canon, some expositors have explained 1 Pet. ii. 8. as meaning that certain persons were *absolutely appointed* to destruction; a notion, not only contradicting the whole tenor of Scripture, but also repugnant to every idea which we are there taught to entertain of the mercy and justice of God. An attentive consideration of the context and of the proper punctuation of the passage alluded to (for the most ancient manuscripts have scarcely any points), would have prevented them from giving so repulsive an interpretation. The first epistle of Peter (it should be recollected) was addressed to believing *Jews*.[6] After congratulating them on their happiness in being called to the glorious privileges and hopes of the Gospel, he takes occasion to expatiate upon the sublime manner in which it was introduced, both by the prophets and apostles; and having enforced his general exhortations to watchfulness, &c. by an affecting representation of our relation to God, our redemption by the precious blood of Christ, the vanity of all worldly enjoyments, and the excellence and perpetuity of the Gospel dispensation (ch. i. throughout);—he proceeds (ii. 1—12.) to urge them, by a representation of their Christian privileges, to receive the word of God with meekness, to continue in the exercise of faith in Christ as the great foundation of their eternal hopes, and to maintain such an exemplary conduct as might adorn his Gospel among the unconverted Gentiles. *Wherefore*, says he, in consideration of the ever lasting permanency and invariable certainty of the word of God, *laying aside all malice, and all guile, and hypocrisies, and envies, and all evil speakings*, which are so contrary to its benevolent design, with all simplicity, *as new-born babes*[7] (or infants), who are regenerated by divine grace, *desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby* [unto salvation].[8] *since* [or *seeing* that] *you have tasted that the Lord is gracious. To whom coming* as unto *a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God*, and *precious, Ye also* (who believe), *as living stones are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices by Jesus Christ. (Wherefore also it is contained in the Scripture, Behold I lay in Sion a chief corner-stone, elect, precious; and he that believeth on it* (confideth in it) *shall not confounded*, or ashamed). *Unto* YOU, *therefore*, WHO BELIEVE, *he is* precious; *but unto them that* DISBELIEVE, ἀπειθοῦσι,[9] *the stone which the builders disallowed, the same is become the head of the corner, and a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence. They* DISBELIEVING THE WORD (τῷ λόγῳ ἀπειθοῦντες), that is the word of the Gospel, which contains this testimony, *stumble* at this corner-stone, *whereunto they were appointed. But* YE (believers, who rest your salvation on it) are *a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a peculiar people*, &c. &c. Hence, it is evident, that the meaning of 1 Pet. ii. 8. is not, that God had *ordained* them to disobedience (for in that case their obedience would have been impossible, and their disobedience would have been no sin): but that God, the righteous judge of all the earth, had appointed, or decreed, that destruction and eternal perdition should be the punishment of such disbelieving persons, who wilfully rejected all the evidences that Jesus Christ was the Messiah, the Saviour of the world. The mode of pointing above adopted, is that proposed by Drs. John Taylor, Doddridge, and Macknight, and recognised by Griesbach in his critical edition of the Greek Testament, and is manifestly required by the context.

3. A verse or passage must not be connected with a remote context, unless the latter agree better with it than a nearer context.

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[1] Moldenhaweri Introductio ad Libros Vet. et Nov. Fœderis, p. 307. Professor Franck's Guide to the Reading of the Scriptures, translated by Mr. Jacques, p. 178. (1st edit.)

[2] They are considered, and translated as *one* Psalm, by Bishop Horsley. See his Version of the Psalms, vol. i. pp. 110—114. and the notes.

[3] See particularly, tract v.—viii. on adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions. tom. i. pp. 361—656. ed. Dathii.

[4] Hoogeveen, Doctrina Particularum Græcarum, 2 vols. 4to. 1769. Though treating of Greek particles generally, this elaborate work incidentally illustrates a great number of passages in the New Testament. A valuable abridgment of it, with the notes of various literati, was published by Professor Schutz at Leipsic in 1806, which has been handsomely reprinted at Glasgow, 1813. See also Dr. Macknight on the Epistles, vol. i. essay 4. § 74., to the end of that essay.

[5] Purver rightly supplies it, and renders the passage thus, *and should death befall him in the way:* in the authorized English version the conjunction *and* is omitted, and the conditional *if* is properly supplied.

[6] See this proved, *infra*, Vol. II. p. 361.

[7] This expression very emphatically denotes those who are newly converted or regenerated, as the apostle had said (1 Pet. i. 23.) the believing Jews were, through the *incorruptible word of God.* It is well known that the ancient Jewish rabbies styled new proselytes to their religion, *little children* and *new-born babes;* and Peter, who was a Jew, very naturally adopts the same phraseology, when writing to Jewish converts to the Gospel.

[8] These words [*unto salvation*, εἰς σωτηρίαν], though omitted in the common printed editions, are, by Griesbach, inserted in the text, *of which they form an integral part.* They are found in the Codices Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, and Ephremi (the three *oldest* manuscripts extant); in thirty nine others of good authority, though of less antiquity; and also in the Old Syriac, the Philoxenian (or later) Syriac, the Arabic edited by Erpenius, the Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Sclavonic, and Vulgate versions, and are quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Cyril, Joannes Damascenus, and Theophylact, among the *Greek Fathers;* and by the *Latin Fathers*, Jerome, Rufinus, Augustine, Gildas, Cassiodorus, and the venerable Bede. This reading is, therefore, undoubtedly *genuine*, and is of great importance. It shows the reason *why* the believing Jews were regenerated, and also why they were to desire the unadulterated doctrines of the Gospel, viz that they *might thereby increase*, or *grow up, unto salvation.* This was the *end* they should always have in view; and nothing could so effectually promote this end, as continually receiving the pure truth of God, praying for the fulfilment of its promises, and acting under its dictates.

[9] The verb ἀπειθεῖν (whence the particle ἀπειθοῦντες) and its derivative substantive ἀπείθεια, signify such a *disbelief*, as constitutes the party guilty of obstinacy, or wilful refusal to credit a doctrine or narrative. In the New Testament it is *specially* used concerning those who obstinately persist in rejecting the doctrine of the Gospel, regardless of all the evidences that accompanied it. Thus, in John iii. 36. ἀπειθῶν τῷ υἱῷ, *he that disbelieveth the Son* is opposed to *him that believeth on the Son*, τῷ πιστεύοντι εἰς τὸν υἱόν. So in Acts xiv. 2., those Jews *who stirred up the Gentiles*, and made them evil affected towards the brethren, are termed οἱ ἀπειθοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι, *the disbelieving* (or, as it is not ill rendered in our authorized version). the *unbelieving* or wilfully incredulous *Jews*, who are opposed to the great multitude *both of the Jews and also of the Greeks, who believed*, πιστεῦσαι, (verse 1.) The same verb is found in Acts xvii. 5. and xix. 9. Rom. xi. 30, 31. and 1 Pet. iii. 1. (Gr.), in which last place Saint Peter exhorts wives, who believed the Gospel, to be in subjection to their husbands, that if any, ἀπειθοῦσι τῷ λόγῳ, *disbelieve the word, they may also without the word be won* over to the Gospel, by *the* exemplary *conversation of the wives.* The lexicographer, Suidas (as cited by Schleusner, *in voce*, to whom we are chiefly indebted for this note), considers ἀπειθεῖν as synonymous with ἀπιστεῖν. Ἀπειθεῖν ἐστ᾽ ἀντ᾽ ἀπιστεῖν.

For examples, in which the derivative substantive ἀπείθεια means *disbelief*, or contempt of the Christian doctrine, see Schleusner's Lexicon *sub voce.*

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Thus, Rom. ii 16., although it makes a good sense if connected with the preceding verse, makes a much better when joined with verse 12. (the intermediate verses being read parenthetically as in the authorized version); and this shows it to be the true and proper context.

4. *Examine whether the writer continues his discourse, lest we suppose him to make a transition to another argument, when, in fact, he is prosecuting the same topic.*

Rom. v. 12. will furnish an illustration of this remark. From that verse to the end of the chapter Saint Paul produces a strong argument to prove, that as all men stood in need of the grace of God in Christ to redeem them from their sins, so this grace has been afforded equally to all, whether Jews or Gentiles. To perceive the full force, therefore, of the apostle's conclusion, we must read the *continuation* of this argument from verse 12. to the close of the chapter.

5. *The parentheses which occur in the sacred writings should be particularly regarded: but no parenthesis should be interposed without sufficient reason.*

Sometimes the grammatical construction, with which a sentence begins, is interrupted; and is again resumed by the writer after a larger or shorter digression. This is termed a parenthesis.

Parentheses being contrary to the genius and structure of the Hebrew language, are, comparatively, of rare occurrence in the Old Testament. In fact, as there is no sign whatever for it in Hebrew, the sense only can determine when it is to be used.

The prophetic writings, indeed, contain interruptions and interlocutions, particularly those of Jeremiah; but we have an example of a real parenthesis in Zech. vii. 7. The Jewish captives had sent to inquire of the prophet, whether their fasting should be continued on account of the burning of the temple, and the assassination of Gedaliah; after a considerable digression, but closely connected with the question proposed, the prophet at length replies, in ch. viii. 19., that the season formerly devoted to fasting should soon be spent in joy and gladness. The intermediate verses, therefore, from ch. vii. 4. to ch. viii. 17., are obviously parenthetical, though not marked as such in any of the modern versions which we have had an opportunity to examine.

A remarkable instance of complicated parenthetic expression occurs in Dan. viii. 2. *And I saw in vision (and when I saw I was in Shushan), and I saw (I was then by the waters of Ulai), and I lifted up my eyes, and saw and beheld!* &c. See other instances in Gen. xxiv. 10. 2 Chron. xxxii. 9. Exod. xii. 15. Psal. xlv. 6. Isa. lii. 14.[1]

In the New Testament, however, parentheses are frequent, especially in the writings of St. Paul; who, after making numerous digressions (all of them appropriate to, and illustrative of, his main subject), returns to the topic which he had begun to discuss. They are generally introduced in the following manner:—

(1.) *Where the parenthesis is* SHORT, *it is inserted without hesitation between two clauses which are grammatically connected, and then after the conclusion of the parenthesis, the latter clause proceeds, as if no interruption had taken place.* Thus:—

i. In Acts i. 15. *Peter....said (the number of names together was about an hundred and twenty,* ην τε οχλος, &c.), *Men* and *brethren*, &c.

ii. Rom. viii. 19—21. The application of the parenthesis will render this very difficult passage perfectly easy. *The earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God: (for the creation,* γαρ....ματαιοτητι....*was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who subjected it) in hope that the creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God.*[2]

iii. 1 Cor. xv. 52. *At the last trump: (for the trumpet shall sound..... and we shall be changed;* σαλπιγγιγαρ, &c.) *for this corruptible must put on incorruption*, &c.

Similar parentheses occur in 2 Cor. vi. 2. x. 3, 4. Gal. ii. 8. A parenthesis of considerable length is in this way inserted in Rom. ii. 13—16. In cases of this kind the parenthesis is commonly indicated by the particles τε, γαρ, &c. at its commencement. See the examples above adduced, and Rom. i. 20. xv. 3., and Heb. vii. 20, &c.

(2.) *When the parenthesis is* LONGER, *the principal word or words of the preceding clause are repeated, with or without variation, after the parenthesis.*

i. 1 Cor. viii. 1—4. *Now as touching things offered unto idols (we know that we all have knowledge. Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth,* &c.....*as concerning those things that are offered in sacrifice unto idols) we know that an idol is nothing*, &c. Similar instances occur in John vi. 22—24. Eph. ii. 1—5. 12—19. and Rev. iii. 8—10.: and the *observant* student of the New Testament will easily be enabled to supply other examples.[3]

Another instance of the parenthesis we have in Phil. i 27. to chap. ii. 16. inclusive: in which the apostle discusses a subject, the proposition of which is contained in ch. i. 27.; and afterwards in ch. ii. 17. he returns to the topic which he had been treating in the preceding chapter. "In conformity with this statement we find (ch. i. 23.), that Saint Paul says, he is influenced by two things—a desire both of life and death; but he knows not which of these to choose. Death is the most desirable to himself; but the welfare of the Philippians requires rather that he may be spared a little longer; and, having this confidence, he is assured that his life will be lengthened, and that he shall see them again in person. Then, after the interruption which his discourse had received, he proceeds (ch. ii. 17.) as follows:—"Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all. The intervening charge is happily and judiciously introduced by the apostle in order that the Philippians might not remit their exertions until his arrival, but contend for the faith of the Gospel with unity and humility; as will be evident to those who examine the point with attention and candour."[4]

ii. To this class we may refer the following beautiful example of an parenthesis, in 2 Tim. i. 16—18. The apostle acknowledging the intrepid affection of Onesiphorus—who, when timorous professors deserted him, stood by him and ministered to him—begins with a prayer for the good man's family: *The Lord grant mercy to the house of Onesiphorus, for he often refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chains, but, being in Rome, very carefully sought me, and found me out.* St. Paul then stops his period, and suspends his sentence, to repeat his acknowledgment and prayer with renewed fervour and gratitude—(*The Lord grant that he may find mercy from the Lord in that day), and in how many instances he ministered to me at Ephesus, you very well know.* If we peruse the choicest authors of Greece and Rome, we shall scarcely find, among their many parentheses and transpositions of style, one expressed in so pathetic and lively a manner, nor for a reason so substantial and unexceptionable.[5]

Additional instances might be offered, to show the importance of attending to parentheses in the examination of the context but the preceding will abundantly suffice for this purpose. The author has been led to discuss them at greater length than may seem to have been requisite, from the circumstances, that less attention appears to be given to the parenthesis, than to any other species of punctuation, in the different works on the study of the Scriptures, in our language, that have fallen under his notice.[6]

6. *No explanation must be admitted, but that which suits the context.*

In direct violation of this self-evident canon of interpretation, the church of Rome expounds Matt. xviii. 17. *if a man neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and as a publican*, of the infallibility and final decisions of all doctrines by the (Roman) Catholic church. But what says the evangelist? Let us read the context. "*If*," says our Lord, "*thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear, take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of one or two witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican.* (verses 15—17.) That is, if a man have done you an injury, first admonish him privately of it; if that avail not, tell the church;—not the universal church dispersed throughout the world, but that particular church to which you both belong. And if he will not reform upon such reproof, regard him no longer as a true Christian, but as a wicked man with whom you are to hold no *religious* communion, though, as a fellow-man, you owe him earnest and persevering good-will and acts of kindness. Through the whole of this context there is not one word said about disobeying the determination of the Catholic church concerning a disputed doctrine, but about slighting the admonition of a particular church concerning known sin; and particular churches are owned to be fallible.[7]

7. *Where no connection is to be found with the preceding and subsequent parts of a book, none should be sought.*

This observation applies solely to the Proverbs of Solomon, and chiefly to the tenth and following chapters, which form the second part of that book: and are composed of separate proverbs or distinct sentences, having no real or verbal connection whatever, though each individual maxim is pregnant with the most weighty instruction.[8]

From the preceding remarks it will be evident, that, although the comparison of the context will require both labour and unremitting diligence, yet these will be abundantly compensated by the increased degree of light which will thus be thrown upon otherwise obscure passages. The very elaborate treatise of Franzius, already referred to, will supply numerous examples of the Holy Scriptures, which are rendered perfectly clear by the judicious consideration of the context.

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§ 2. OF THE SUBJECT-MATTER.

ALTHOUGH, in interpreting words that have various meanings, some degree of uncertainty may exist as to which of their different senses is to be preferred; yet the ambiguity in

[1] Stuart's Heb. Gram. § 244. p. 335.

[2] Those who are acquainted with the original language will, on consideration, easily perceive the justice of the above translation. For the reasons on which it is founded, and for an able elucidation of the whole passage, see "Sermons preached at Welbeck Chapel, by the Rev. Thomas White," sermon xx. pp. 363—380. Griesbach, and after him Vater, has printed in a parenthesis only the middle clause of verse 20. ("not willingly, but by reason of him who subjected it"); which certainly does not materially contribute to clear up the difficulty of this passage.

[3] Winer's Grammar to the Gr. Test. p. 164. Some observations on parentheses will be found in Franck's Guide to the Scriptures, pp. 188, 189. Mr. Jacques's Translation.) 1st edit.

[4] Franck's Guide, p. 189.

[5] Blackwall's Sacred Classics illustrated, vol. i. pp. 68, 69. 3d edit.

[6] On the subject of parenthesis, the reader is referred to the very valuable treatise of Christopher Wollius, De Parenthesi Sacrâ at Lipsiæ, in 1726, 4to. The same subject has also been discussed in the following works; viz. Joh. Fr. Hirt, Dissertatio de Parenthesi, et generatim, et speciatim Sacrâ, 4to. Jena, 1745. Joh. Gott. Lindneri, Commentationes Duæ de Parenthesibus Johannei, 4to. 1765. Ad. Bened. Spitzneri Commentatio Philologica de Parenthesi, Libris Sacris V. et N. T. accommodata 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1773.

[7] Whitby on Matt. xviii. 15—17. Bishop Porteus's Confutation of the Errors of the Church of Rome, pp. 13, 14.

[8] J. B. Carpzov. Prim. Lin. Herm. pp. 36, 37. Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 192—200. Pfeiffer, Herm. Sacr. c. x. (op. tom. ii. pp. 656—668.) Franzius, Pref. pp. 8—11. Tract. pp. 48—51. Morus, in Ernesti, tom. i. pp. 161—163. Viser, Herm. Nov. Test. Sacr. pars iii. pp. 189—194. Weistein et Semler de Interpret. Nov. Test. pp. 116—190. Franckii Prælectiones Hermeneuticæ, pp. 61—94. Rambach, Inst. Herm. pp. 197—216. Jahnii Enchiridion Herm. Generalis, pp. 51—71. Chladenii Institutiones Exegeticæ, pp. 365—374. J. E. Pfeifferi Institutiones Herm. Sacr pp. 464—468. 607—609. Schaefer, Institutiones Scripturisticæ, pars ii. pp 56—62. Angler, Hermeneutica Biblica, pp. 148—165.

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such cases is not so great but that it may in general be removed, and the proper signification of the passage in question may be determined: for the SUBJECT-MATTER—that is, the topic of which the author is treating—plainly shows the sense which is to be attached to any particular word. For there is a great variety of agents introduced in the Scriptures, whose words and actions are recorded.

Some parts of the Bible are written in a responsive or dialogue form: as the twenty-fourth Psalm, Isa. vi. 3. and Rom. iii. 1—9. And the sense of a text is frequently mistaken, by not observing who is the speaker, and what is the specific topic of which he treats; and also by not attending to the frequent and very elegant changes and successions of persons occurring in the Scriptures, and especially in the prophetic writings. One or two examples will illustrate the necessity of considering the subject-matter.

1. The Hebrew word בָּשָׂר (BE-SHER) literally signifies the *skin*; by a metonymy, the *flesh* beneath the skin; and by a synedoche it denotes *every animal*, especially man considered as infirm or weak, as in Jer. xvii. 5. *Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh* FLESH *his arm*; there are also several other meanings derived from these, which it is not material now to notice. But that the word *flesh* is to be understood of *man* only in Gen. vi. 12. Psal. lxv. 2. and Job x. 4. will be evident on the slightest inspection of the subject-matter. *All flesh had corrupted his way*—that is, all men had wholly departed from the rule of righteousness, or had made their way of life abominable throughout the world. And, in the Psalm above cited, who can doubt but that by the word *flesh* men are intended: *O thou that hearest prayer, unto thee shall all flesh*, that is, all mankind, come. In like manner, also, in Job x. 4. it is evident that *flesh* has the same meaning; if, indeed, the passage were at all obscure, the parallelism would explain it—*Hast thou the eyes of a man* (Heb. *of flesh*)? *or, seest thou as man sees?*

2. The first chapter of the prophecy of Isaiah affords an apposite elucidation of attending to the changes and successions of persons occurring in the Scriptures. Jehovah is there represented as impleading his disobedient people, Israel. The prophet, with a boldness and majesty becoming the herald of the Most High, begins with summoning the whole creation to attend when Jehovah speaks. (ver. 2.) A charge of gross insensibility is in the next verse brought against the Jews, whose guilt is amplified (ver. 4); and their obstinate wickedness highly aggravated the chastisements and judgments of God, though repeated till they had almost been left like Sodom and Gomorrah. (v. 5—9.) The incidental mention of these places leads the prophet to address the rulers and people of the Jews, under the character of the princes of Sodom and Gomorrah, in a style not less spirited and severe, than it is elegant and unexpected. (10.) The vanity of trusting to the performance of the external rites and ceremonies of religion is then exposed (11—15.), and the necessity of repentance and reformation is strongly enjoined (16, 17.), and urged by the most encouraging promises, as well as by the most awful threatenings. (18—20.) But, as neither of these produced the proper effect upon that people, who were the prophet's charge, he bitterly laments their degeneracy (21—23.), and concludes with introducing the Almighty himself, declaring his purpose of inflicting such heavy judgments as would entirely cut off the wicked, and excite in the righteous, who should pass through the furnace, an everlasting shame and abhorrence of every thing connected with idolatry, the source of all their misery. (24—31.) The whole chapter, in loftiness of sentiment, and style, affords a beautiful example of this great prophet's manner, whose writings, like his lips, are touched with hallowed fire.[1]

But it is not merely with reference to the meaning of particular passages that a consideration of the *subject-matter* becomes necessary to the right understanding of Scripture. It is further of the greatest importance in order to comprehend the various dispensations of God to man, which are contained in the sacred writings. For although the Bible comprises a great number of books, written at different times, yet they have a mutual connection with each other, and refer, in the Old Testament, with various but progressively increasing degrees of light and clearness, to a *future* Saviour, and in the New Testament to a *present* Saviour. With reference, therefore, to the several divine dispensations to man, the subject-matter of the whole Bible ought to be attentively considered: but, as each individual book embraces a particular subject, it will also be requisite carefully to weigh its subject-matter, in order to comprehend the design of the author. An analysis of each book will materially assist a reader of the Scriptures in forming a comprehensive view not only of its chief subject-matter, but will also show the methodical and orderly coherence of all the parts of the book with one another. Such an analysis the author has attempted in the second volume of this work. "Books," says an old writer, "looked upon *confusedly*, are but darkly and confusedly apprehended: but considered *distinctly*, as in these distinct analyses or resolutions into their principal parts, must needs be distinctly and much more clearly discerned."[2]

[1] Bp. Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. pp. 4—27. 8vo. edit. Vitringa, in his comment on the same prophet, eminently excels in pointing out the rapid transitions of persons, places, and things. Van Til, in his celebrated *Opus Analyticum*, has ably noticed various similar transitions in the Scriptures generally, and in the Psalms in particular, though in the last-mentioned book he has sometimes unnecessarily multiplied the speakers introduced. The value of Dr. Macknight's version and paraphrase of the Epistle to the Romans is enhanced by his distinguishing between the objections brought by the Jews whom St. Paul introduces as arguing with him, and the replies and conclusive reasonings of the apostle.

[2] Roberts's Key to the Bible, pp. (11.) (12.) folio edit. 1665. See also Rambachii Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, pp. 108—110. and Chladenii's Institutiones Exegeticæ, pp. 532. *et seq.*

§ 3. OF THE SCOPE.

I. *The scope defined.—Importance of investigating the scope of a book or passage of Scripture.*—II. *Rules for investigating it.*

I. A CONSIDERATION of the SCOPE, or DESIGN, which the inspired author of any of the books of Scripture had in view, essentially facilitates the study of the Bible: because, as every writer had some design which he proposed to unfold, and as it is not to be supposed that he would express himself in terms foreign to that design, it therefore is but reasonable to admit that he made use of such words and phrases as were every way suited to his purpose. To be acquainted, therefore, with the scope of an author is to understand the chief part of his book. The scope, it has been well observed, is the soul or spirit of a book; and that being once ascertained, every argument and every word appears in its right place and is perfectly intelligible: but, if the scope be not duly considered, every thing becomes obscure, however clear and obvious its meaning may really be.[3]

The scope of an author is either *general* or *special*; by the former we understand the design which he proposed to himself in writing his book; by the latter we mean that design which he had in view when writing particular sections, or even smaller portions, of his book or treatise.

The means, by which to ascertain the scope of a *particular* section or passage, being nearly the same with those which must be applied to the investigation of the *general* scope of a book, we shall briefly consider them together in the following observations.

II. The *Scope* of a book of Scripture, as well as of any particular section or passage, is to be collected from the writer's express mention of it, from its known occasion, from some conclusion expressly added at the end of an argument; from history, from attention to its general tenor, to the main subject and tendency of the several topics, and to the force of the leading expressions; and especially from repeated, studious, and connected perusals of the book itself.

1. *When the scope of a whole book, or of any particular portion of it, is expressly mentioned by the sacred writer, it should be carefully observed.*

Of all criteria this is the most certain, by which to ascertain the scope of a book. Sometimes it is mentioned at its commencement, or towards its close, and sometimes it is intimated in other parts of the same book, rather obscurely, perhaps, yet in such a manner that a diligent and attentive reader may readily ascertain it. Thus the scope and end of the whole Bible, collectively, is contained in its manifold utility, which St. Paul expressly states in 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. and also in Rom. xv. 4. In like manner, the royal author of Ecclesiastes announces pretty clearly, at the beginning of his book, the subject he intends to discuss, viz. to show that all human affairs are vain, uncertain, frail, and imperfect; and, such being the case, he proceeds to inquire, *What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun?* (Eccl. i. 2, 3.) And towards the close of the same book (ch. xii. 8.) he repeats the same subject, the truth of which he had proved by experience. So, in the commencement of the book of Proverbs, Solomon distinctly announces their scope. (ch. i. 1—4. 6.)—"*The Proverbs of Solomon, the Son of David king of Israel;—to know wisdom and instruction, to perceive the words of understanding: to receive the instruction of wisdom, justice, judgment, and equity; to give subtility to the simple, to the young man knowledge and discretion; to understand a proverb, and the interpretation; the words of the wise, and their dark sayings.*"—Saint John, also, towards the close of his gospel, announces his object in writing it to be, "*That ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that, believing, ye might have life through his name.*" Therefore, all those discourses of our Lord, which are recorded almost exclusively by this evangelist and apostle, are to be read and considered with reference to this particular design: and, if this circumstance be kept in view, they will derive much additional force and beauty.

Of the application of this rule to the illustration of a *particular* section, or the ascertaining of a *special* scope, the seventh chapter of Saint Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians will supply an example.—In that chapter, the object of which is to show that *it was not good to marry*, the apostle is replying to the queries which had been proposed to him by the Corinthian converts; and it is evident that his reply is continued through the whole chapter. But did he mean to insinuate *absolutely* that matrimony in itself was not good? By no means: on the contrary, it is clear from the scope of this section, given by Saint Paul in express words, that his design was not, in general, to prefer a state of celibacy to that of marriage: much less

[3] "How unfair, how irrational, how arbitrary, is the mode of interpretation which many apply to the word of God? They insulate a passage; they fix on a sentence; they detach it from the paragraph to which it belongs, and explain it in a sense dictated only by the combination of the syllables or the words, in themselves considered. If the word of God be thus dissected or tortured, what language may it not seem to speak, what sentiments may it not appear to countenance, what fancy may it not be made to gratify? But would such a mode of interpretation be tolerated by any living author? Would such a method be endured in commenting on any of the admired productions of classical antiquity? Yet in this case it would be comparatively harmless, although utterly indefensible: but who can calculate the amount of injury which may be sustained by the cause of revealed truth, if its pure streams be thus defiled, and if it be contaminated even at the very fountain head?" Rev. H. F. Burder's Sermon on the Duty and Means of ascertaining the Genuine Sense of the Scriptures, p. 2

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was it to teach that the living unmarried was either more holy or more acceptable to God; or that those who vow to lead a single life shall certainly obtain eternal salvation, as the church of Rome erroneously teaches from this place. But we perceive that he answered the question proposed to him with reference to the then existing circumstances of the Christian church. The apostle thought that a single life was preferable on account of the *present distress*—that is, the sufferings to which they were *then* liable. The persecutions to which they were exposed, when they came upon them, would be more grievous and afflictive to such as had a wife and children who were dear to them, than to those who were single: and, therefore, under such circumstances, the apostle recommends celibacy to those who had the gift of living chastely without marriage.

2. *The scope of the sacred writer may be ascertained from the known occasion on which his book was written.*

Thus in the time of the apostles, there were many who disseminated errors, and defended Judaism: hence it became necessary that the apostles should frequently write against these errors, and oppose the defenders of Judaism. Such was the occasion of Saint Peter's second epistle: and this circumstance will also afford a key by which to ascertain the scope of many of the other epistolary writings. Of the same description also were many of the parables delivered by Jesus Christ. When any question was proposed to him, or he was reproached for holding intercourse with publicans and sinners, he availed himself of the occasion to reply, or to defend himself by a parable. Sometimes, also, when his disciples laboured under any mistakes, he kindly corrected their erroneous notions by parables.

The inscriptions prefixed to many of the Psalms, though some of them are evidently spurious, and consequently to be rejected, frequently indicate the occasion on which they were composed, and thus reflect considerable light upon their scope. Thus the scope of the 18th, 34th, and 3d Psalms is illustrated from their respective inscriptions, which distinctly assert upon what occasions they were composed by David. In like manner, many of the prophecies, which would otherwise be obscure, become perfectly clear when we understand the circumstances on account of which the predictions were uttered.

3. *The express conclusion, added by the writer at the end of an argument, demonstrates its general scope.*

Thus, in Rom. iii. 28. after a long discussion, Saint Paul adds this conclusion:—*Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law:* Hence we perceive with what design the whole passage was written, and to which all the rest is to be referred. The conclusions interspersed through the epistles may easily be ascertained by means of the particles, "wherefore," "seeing that," "therefore," "then," &c. as well as by the circumstances directly mentioned or referred to. The principal conclusions, however, must be separated from those which are of comparatively less importance, and subordinate to the former. Thus in the epistle to Philemon, our attention must chiefly be directed to verses 8. and 17., whence we collect that Saint Paul's design or scope was to reconcile Onesimus (who had been a runaway slave) to his master, and to restore him to the latter, a better person than he had before been. In the Epistle to the Ephesians, the principal conclusions are, ch. ii. 11, 12. and ch. iv. 1. 3. The subordinate or less principal conclusions are ch. i. 15. iii. 13. iv. 17. 25. v. 1. 7. 15. 17. and vi. 13, 14.[1]

4. *A knowledge of the time when a book was written, and also of the state of the church at that time, will indicate the scope or intention of the author in writing such book.*

For instance, we learn from history, that during the time of the apostles there were numerous errors disseminated; and therefore they wrote many passages in their epistles with the express design of refuting such errors. An acquaintance with these historical particulars will enable us to determine with accuracy the scope of entire books as well as of detached passages.

Thus, the epistle of Saint James was written about the year of Christ 61, at which time the Christians were suffering persecution, and probably (as appears from ch. ii. 6. and ch. v. 6.) not long before the apostle's martyrdom; which Bp. Pearson thinks,[2] happened A. D. 62, in the eighth year of Nero's reign, when the destruction of the Jewish temple and polity was impending. (James v. 1. 8.) At the period referred to, there were in the church certain professing Christians, who in consequence of the sanguinary persecution then carried on against them both by Jews and Gentiles, were not only declining in faith and love, and indulging various sinful practices—for instance, undue respect of persons (chapter ii. verse 1. *et seq.*); contempt of their poor brethren (chapter ii. verse 9. *et seq.*); and unbridled freedom of speech (chapter iii. verse 3. *et seq.*); but who also most shamefully abused to licentiousness the grace of God, which in the Gospel is promised to the penitent; and, disregarding holiness, boasted of a faith destitute of its appropriate fruits, viz. of a bare assent to the doctrines of the Gospel; and boldly affirmed that this inoperative and dead faith was alone sufficient to obtain salvation. (chapter ii. verse 17. *et seq.*) Hence we may easily perceive, that the apostle's scope was not to treat of the doctrine of justification; but, the state of the church requiring it, to correct those *errors in doctrine, and those sinful practices, which had crept into the church, and particularly to expose that fundamental error of a dead faith unproductive of good works.* This observation further shows the true way of reconciling the supposed contradiction between the apostles Paul and James, concerning the doctrine of salvation by faith.[3]

5. *If, however, none of these subsidiary aids present themselves, it only remains that we* REPEATEDLY AND DILIGENTLY STUDY THE ENTIRE BOOK, AS WELL AS THE WHOLE SUBJECT, AND CAREFULLY ASCERTAIN THE SCOPE FROM THEM, *before we attempt an examination of any particular text.*

Thus we shall be enabled to understand the mind of its author, and to ascertain the main subject and tendency of the book or epistle which may be under consideration: or, if it have several views and purposes in it, not mutually dependent upon each other, nor in subordination to one chief end, we shall be enabled to discover what those different matters were, as also in what part the author concluded one and began another; and, if it be necessary to divide such book or epistle into parts, to ascertain their exact boundaries.

But in this investigation of the scope, there is not always that clearness which leads to a certain interpretation: for sometimes there are *several* interpretations which sufficiently agree with the writer's design. In those places, for instance, where the coming of Christ is mentioned, it is not always determined whether it is his last advent to judge the world, or his coming to inflict punishment on the unbelieving Jews. In such cases, the interpreter must be content with some degree of probability. There are, however, two or three cautions, in the consideration of the scope, to which it will be desirable to attend.

1. *Where, of two explanations, one is evidently contrary to the series of the discourse, the other must necessarily be preferred.*

In Psal. xlii. 2. the royal psalmist pathetically exclaims—*When shall I come and appear before God?*—This verse has, by some writers, been expounded thus; that a man may wish for death, in order that he may the sooner enjoy that state of future blessedness which is sometimes intended by the phrase *seeing God.* Now this exposition is manifestly contrary to the design of the Psalm; in which David, exiled from Jerusalem, and consequently from the house of God, through Absalom's unnatural rebellion, expresses his fervent desire of returning to Jerusalem, and beholding that happy day, when he should again present himself before God in his holy tabernacle. In the fourth verse he mentions the sacred pleasure with which he had gone (or would repair, for some of the versions render the verb in the future tense) with the multitude to the house of God. There is, therefore, in this second sense a necessary and evident connection with the scope and series of the discourse.

In 1 Cor. iii. 17. we read, *If any man defile* (more correctly destroy) *the temple of God, him shall God destroy.* The phrase *temple of God*, in this passage, is usually interpreted of the human body, and by its defilement is understood libidinous unchastity, which God will destroy by inflicting corresponding punishment on the libidinous man. This sense is certainly a good one, and is confirmed by a similar expression at the close of the sixth chapter. But, in the former part of the third chapter, the apostle had been giving the teachers of the Corinthian Christians an important caution to teach pure and salutary doctrines, together with that momentous doctrine —*Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ* (v. 11.)—and that they should not add false doctrines to it. After largely discussing this topic, he subsequently returns to it, and the passage above cited occurs intermediately. From this view of the scope it will be evident that by the temple of God is to be understood the Christian church; which, if any man defile, corrupt, or destroy, by disseminating false doctrines, God will destroy him also.

2. *Where a parallel passage plainly shows that another passage is to be understood in one particular sense, this must be adopted, to the exclusion of every other sense, although it should be supported by the grammatical interpretation as well as by the scope.*

Thus, in Matt. v. 25. we read—"*Agree with thine adversary quickly, whilst thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison.*" This passage has been interpreted to refer either to a future state of existence, or to the present life. In the former sense, the *adversary* is God; the *judge*, Christ; the *officer*, death; and the *prison*, hell and eternal punishments. In the latter sense, the meaning of this passage simply is, "If thou hast a lawsuit, compromise it with the plaintiff, and thus prevent the necessity of prosecuting it before a judge: but if thou art headstrong, and wilt not compromise the affair, when it comes to be argued before the judge, he will be severe, and will decree that thou shalt pay the uttermost farthing." Now, both these expositions yield good senses, agreeing with the *scope*, and both contain a cogent argument that we should be easily appeased: but if we compare the parallel passage in Luke xii. 58, 59. we shall find the case thus stated:—*When thou goest with thine adversary to the magistrate*, as thou art *in the way, give diligence that thou mayest be delivered from him, lest he hale thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer* (τῷ πράκτορι, whose duty it was to levy fines imposed for the violation of the law); *and the officer* on non-payment *cast thee into prison. I tell thee thou shalt not depart thence till thou hast paid the very last mite.*—In this passage there is no reference whatever to a future state, nor to any punishments which will hereafter be inflicted on the implacable: and thus a single parallel text shows which of the two senses best agrees with the scope of the discourse, and consequently which of them is preferably to be adopted.[4]

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§ 4. ANALOGY OF LANGUAGES.

I. *Analogy of languages defined.—Its different kinds.*—II. *Use of grammatical analogy.*—III. *Analogy of kindred languages.*—IV. *Hints for consulting this analogy in the interpretation of Scripture.*—V. *Foundation of analogy in all languages.*

I. ANALOGY of languages is an important aid in enabling us to judge of the signification of words.

Analogy means *similitude.* For instance, from the meaning

[1] Franckii Manuductio, cap. iii. pp. 87, 88. 292. or English edition, pp. 61. *et seq.* 177. *et seq.* Franckii Prælect. Herm. pp. 38. *et seq.*

[2] Annales Paulinæ, p. 31.

[3] Jo. Henr. Michaelis Introductio Historico-Theologica in Jacobi Minoris Epistolam Catholicam. §§ viii. xi.

[4] Bauer, Herm. Sacr pp. 201—204. J. B. Carpzov. Herm. Sacr. pp. 23—35. Ernesti, Institutio Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 61, 62. Mori Acroases in Ernesti, tom. i. pp. 150—160. Franckii Prælect. Herm. pp. 29—61. Franckii Commentatio de Scopo Veteris et Novi Testamenti, Halæ. 1724. 8vo. Jahnii Enchiridion, pp. 69—71. Rambach, Inst. Herm. pp. 145—197. 234. 238—242. Chladenii Instit. Exeget. pp. 375—387. J. E. Pfeifferi, Inst. Herm. Sacr. pp. 147—151. 257—276. Schræfer, Institutiones Scripturisticæ, pars ii. pp. 62—69

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attached to the forms of words, their position, connection, &c. in one, or rather in many cases, we agree to establish a similarity of meaning, where the phenomena are the same, in another. This analogy is the foundation of all the rules of grammar, and of all that is established and intelligible in language. The analogy of languages is of different kinds, viz. 1. the *Analogy of any particular Language* (that is, of the same language with that which is to be interpreted), the principles of which are developed by grammarians. This kind of analogy has been termed *Grammatical Analogy*. 2. The *Analogy of kindred Languages*.[1]

II. USE OF GRAMMATICAL ANALOGY.

Grammatical analogy is not only useful in finding the *usus loquendi*, but is also applicable to some doubtful cases; for instance, when the kind of meaning, generally considered, is evident (by comparing other similar words, and methods of speaking concerning such things, appropriate to the language), we may judge of the especial force or power of the word, by the aid of grammatical analogy.

1. In Col. ii. 23. occurs the word θελοθρησκια, in our version rendered *will-worship*. As there is no example of this word, its meaning must be sought from analogy by ascertaining the import of words compounded with θελω. Of this description of words there are many examples. Thus, θελοπαρξος is one who takes upon him voluntarily to afford hospitality to strangers, in the name of a city: θελοδουλος is one who offers himself to voluntary servitude: θελεργος is one who labours of his own free will. From this analogy, we may collect that θελοθρησκια, in Col. ii. 23., means an affected or superstitious zeal for religion; which signification is confirmed by the argument of the apostle's discourse.

2. In 1 Pet. v. 5. where many critics have attached an emphatic sense to ενκομβωσασθε, we must compare the other Greek phrases which relate to clothing or investing; and thus we shall see that the prepositions περι, αμφι, and εν, are used in composition without any accession of meaning to the verb thereby; for instance, ιματιον περιβαλλειν, αμφιβαλλειν, or ενδυειν, simply means to *put on a garment*. Consequently, ενκομβωσασθαι means no more than ενδυεσθαι, with which it is commuted by Clemens Romanus.[2] The meaning, therefore, of the apostle Peter's expression —*be clothed with humility*—is to *exhibit a modest behaviour*.

III. ANALOGY OF KINDRED LANGUAGES.

Another analogy is that of KINDRED LANGUAGES, either as descended from one common stock, as the Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, and Arabic; or derived the one from the other, as Latin and Greek.

Besides the critical use to which the Cognate or Kindred Languages[3] may be applied, they afford very considerable assistance in interpreting the Sacred Writings. They confirm by their own authority a Hebrew form of speech, already known to us from some other source: they supply the deficiencies of the Hebrew language, and make us fully acquainted with the force and meaning of obscure words and phrases, of which we must otherwise remain ignorant, by restoring the lost roots of words, as well as the primary and secondary meaning of such roots; by illustrating words, the meaning of which has hitherto been uncertain, and by unfolding the meanings of other words that are of less frequent occurrence, or are only once found in the Scriptures. Further, the cognate languages are the most successful, if not the only means of leading us to understand the meaning of phrases, or idiomatical combinations of words found in the Bible, and the meaning of which cannot be determined by it, but which, being agreeable to the genius of the original languages, are preserved in books written in them. Schultens, in his Origines Hebrææ,[4] has illustrated a great number of passages from the Arabic, from whose work Bauer[5] and Dr. Gerard[6] has given many examples which do not admit of abridgment. Schleusner has also availed himself of the cognate dialects to illustrate many important passages of the New Testament. Of the various *modern* commentators on the Bible, no one perhaps has more successfully applied the kindred languages to its interpretation than Dr. Adam Clarke.

[1] Stuart's Elements, p. 50. Ernesti Institutio Interpretis Nov. Test. p. 65.

[2] Epist. i. p. 39. Mori Acroases, tom. i. pp. 171, 172 Stuart's Elements, p. 51.

[3] See a notice of the Cognate languages in p. 199. of the present volume.

[4] Alberti Schultens Origines Hebrææ, sive Hebrææ Linguæ antiquissima Natura et Indoles, ex Arabiæ penetralibus revocata. Lugduni Batavorum, 1761, 4to.

[5] Bauer's Hermeneutica Sacra, pp. 90—144.

[6] Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism, pp. 58—70.

IV. In consulting the cognate languages, however, much care and attention are requisite, lest we should be led away by *any* verbal or *literal* resemblance that may strike the mind, and above all by *mere* etymologies, which, though in some instances they may be advantageously referred to, are often uncertain guides. The resemblance or analogy must be a *real* one. We must, therefore, compare not only similar *words* and *phrases*, but also similar *modes of speech*, which, though perhaps differing as to the etymology of the *words*, are yet evidently employed to designate the *same idea*. The following examples will illustrate this remark:—

1. In 1 Cor. iii. 15. St. Paul, speaking of certain Christian teachers at Corinth, observes, that "*if any man's work shall be burnt, he shall suffer loss, but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire.*" On this passage, by a forced and erroneous construction, has the church of Rome erected the doctrine of purgatory, a place in which she pretends that the just, who depart out of this life, expiate certain offences that do not merit eternal damnation. Let us, however, consider the subject-matter of the apostle's discourse in his Epistle to the Corinthians. Reflecting on the divisions which were among them, and on that diversity of teachers who formed them into different parties, he compares these to various builders;[7] some of whom raised an edifice upon the only foundation, Jesus Christ, composed of *gold silver*, and *precious stones*; in other words, who preached the pure, vital, and uncorrupted doctrines of the Gospel; while others, upon the same foundation, built *wood, hay, stubble*, that is, disseminated false, vain, and corrupt doctrines. Of both these structures, he says (v. 13.), *Every man's work shall be made manifest; for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try* (rather *prove*) *every man's work of what sort it is*:—either the day of the heavy trial of persecution, or rather the final judgment of God, shall try every man's work, search it as thoroughly as fire does things that are put into it. Then, adds the apostle, *if any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon*, if the doctrines he hath taught bear the test, as silver, gold, and precious stones abide in the fire, *he shall receive a reward*. But *if any man's work shall be burnt*, if, on that trial, it be found that he has introduced false or unsound doctrines, he shall be like a man, whose building, being of wood, hay, and stubble, is consumed by the fire; all his pains in building are lost, and his works destroyed and gone. *But* (rather *yet*) if he be upon the whole a good man, who hath built upon Christ as the foundation, and on the terms of the Gospel committed himself to him, *he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire*, ως δια πυρος, that is, not without extreme hazard and difficulty, as a man is preserved from the flames of his house when he escapes naked through them, and thus narrowly saves his life, though with the loss of all his property. This expression is proverbial concerning persons who escape with great hazard out of imminent danger; and similar expressions are to be found in the Old Testament, as in Amos iv. 11.[8] and Zech. iii. 2., and also in the Epistle of Jude, ver. 23. Now, let this phrase be compared with the Latin words *ambustus* and *semiustus*. Livy, speaking of Lucius Æmilius Paulus, says, that he had very narrowly escaped being sentenced to punishment, *prope ambustus evaserat* (lib. xxii. c. 35.); and again (c. 40.) the consul is represented as saying that he had, in his former consulate, escaped the flames of the popular rage not without being scorched, *se populare incendium semiustum evasisse*.[9]

[7] Some writers have imagined that the apostle is speaking of the *materials*, that is, the persons, of which the church of God is composed, rather than of the *ministers* of the Gospel, whom he represents as architects in the heavenly building. On a repeated consideration of the verses in question, the author is satisfied that the *latter* are intended: and in this view of the subject he is supported by Mr. Locke, Dr. Doddridge, and other eminent critics.

[8] Grotius, in his note on this passage, has remarked that a similar mode of speaking obtained among the Greeks, Σωζεσθαι εκ πυρος, or, εκ φλογγος, but he has not cited any examples. Palairet cites the following passage from one of the orations of Aristides; who, speaking of Apelles, says that the gods saved him out of the midst of the fire, ΕΚ ΜΕΣΟΥ ΠΥΡΟΣ τον ανδρα ΣΩΖΕΙΝ. Observationes Philologico-Criticæ in Nov. Test. p. 386 Some additional instances are given in Elsner's Observationes Sacræ in Novi Fœderis Libros, vol. ii. p. 78. See Bishop Porteus's Brief Confutation of the Errors of the Church of Rome, pp. 48, 49. 12mo. London, 1796; and Bishop Tomline's Elements of Christian Theology, vol. ii. pp. 347—351.; Drs. Whitby, Macknight, and A. Clarke, on 1 Cor. iii. 15.

[9] Cicero (Orat. pro Milone, c. 5.) has the following passage:—"Declaramus hujus *ambusti* tribuni plebis illæ intermortuæ conciones, quibus quotidie meam potentiam invidiose criminabatur" (tom. vi. p. 91. edit. Bipont.), and in his second pleading against Verres, the following sentence, which is still more fully in point:—"Sic iste (Verres) multo sceleratior et nequior quam ille Hadrianus, aliquanto etiam felicior fuit. Ille quôd ejus avaritiam cives Romani ferre non potuerant, Uticæ domi suæ vivus exustus est idque ita illi merito accidisse existimatum est, ut lætaruntur omnes nequ- ulla animadversio constitueretur: *hic sociorum ambustus incendio, tamen ex illa flamma periculoque evolavit*," &c. (Cont. Verr. Action ii. lib. 5 c. 27. tom. iii. p. 265.)

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Here, also, though there is no *verbal* resemblance between the expression of Saint Paul and those of the Roman historian, yet the *real* analogy is very striking, and shows that the apostle employed a well known proverbial expression, referring solely to a narrow escape from difficulty, and not, as the Romanists erroneously assert, to the fire of purgatory, a doctrine which is justly characterized as "a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God."[1]

2. The sentence in Gen. xlix., *nor a lawgiver from between his feet*, has greatly exercised the ingenuity of commentators. It is at present considered as equivalent to a *teacher from his offspring*. But, without altogether rejecting this interpretation, we *may* derive some light on the venerable patriarch's meaning from the Greek writers, among whom the expression of Moses occurs in the *very same terms*. Thus in the age of Plato we have ἐκ των ποδων αποχωρησομεν. In other writers the expression is ἐκ ποδων, or ἐκ ποδων γιγνεσθαι, which is equivalent to *e medio discedere, e medio evadere, e conspectu abire*, that is, to disappear.[2] The general meaning of Moses, therefore, may be, that a native *lawgiver*, or expounder of the law, teacher, or scribe (intimating the ecclesiastical polity of the Jews), should not be wanting to that people, until *Shiloh*, or the Messiah, *come*. How accurately this prediction has been accomplished it is not necessary to show in this place.

3. In Matt. viii. 20. we read that Christ *had not where to lay his head:* which expression has been interpreted as meaning that he had literally no home of his own. But considerable light is thrown upon it by two passages from the Arabic History of Abulpharagius; in the first of which, having stated that Saladin had animated his soldiers to the storming of Tyre, he says, that *no place now remained to the Franks*, WHERE THEY COULD LAY THEIR HEAD, *except Tyre;* and again, after relating that the Arabs had stormed Acca, or Ptolemais, he says that NO PLACE WAS LEFT TO THE FRANKS, *on the coast of this* (the Mediterranean) *Sea*, WHERE THEY COULD LAY THEIR HEAD.[3] From these two passages it is evident that the evangelist's meaning is, that Jesus Christ had no secure and fixed place of residence.

V. FOUNDATION OF ANALOGY IN ALL LANGUAGES.

"No one can doubt that men are affected in nearly the same way, by objects of sense. Hence, those who speak of the same objects, perceived and contemplated in the same manner, although they may use language that differs in respect to etymology, yet must be supposed to have meant the same thing; and on this account the one may be explained by the other.

"Men are physically and mentally affected in the same manner, by very many objects; and, of course, it may be presumed that they entertain and, mean to express the same ideas concerning these objects, however various their *language* may be. Besides, *modes* of expression are often communicated from one people to another.

"In general, this principle is of great extent, and of much use to the interpreter, in judging of the meaning of tropical language, and in avoiding fictitious emphasis. Accordingly, we find it resorted to, now and then, by good interpreters, with great profit. But it needs much and accurate knowledge of many tongues to use it discreetly; whence it is not to be wondered at, that its use is not very common among interpreters."[4]

The following general cautions, on the subject of comparing words and languages with each other, may be of some utility: they are abridged from Dr. H. C. A. Eichstädt's notes to Morus's Acroases Academicæ.

1. The meaning in each or any language is not to be resolved into the authority of Lexicons, but that of good writers.

2. Words, phrases, tropes, &c. of any ancient language are to be judged of by the rules of judging among those who spoke that language, and not by those which prevail in modern times, and which have originated from different habits and tastes.

3. Guard against drawing conclusions as to the meaning of words, in the same or different languages, from fanciful etymology, similarity or metathesis of letters, &c.

4. When the sense of words can be ascertained in any particular language, by the ordinary means, other languages, even kindred ones, should not be resorted to, except for the purpose of increased illustration or confirmation.

5. Take good care that *real* similitude exists whenever comparison is made.[5]

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§ 5. OF THE ANALOGY OF FAITH.

I. *The Analogy of Faith defined, and illustrated.*—II. *Its importance in studying the Sacred Writings.*—III. *Rules for investigating the Analogy of Faith.*

I. OF all the various aids that can be employed for investigating and ascertaining the sense of Scripture, the ANALOGY OF FAITH is one of the most important. We may define it to be *the constant and perpetual harmony of Scripture in the fundamental points of faith and practice*, deduced from those passages, in which they are discussed by the inspired penmen, either directly or expressly, and in clear, plain, and intelligible language. Or, more briefly, the analogy of faith may be defined to be that *proportion which the doctrines of the Gospel bear to each other*, or *the close connection between the truths of Revealed Religion.*

The *Analogy of Faith* is an expression borrowed from Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans (xii. 6.), where he exhorts those who *prophesy* in the church (that is, those who exercise the office of authoritatively expounding the Scriptures), to *prophesy according to the proportion*, or, as the word is in the original, the *analogy of faith*. To the same effect many commentators interpret Saint Peter's maxim (2 Pet. i. 20.), that *no prophecy of Scripture is of any private* or self-*interpretation;* implying that the sense of any prophecy is not to be determined by any abstract consideration of the passage itself, but by taking it in conjunction with other portions of Scripture relating to the subject, "comparing things spiritual with spiritual" (1 Cor. ii. 13.);—a rule which, though it be especially applicable to the prophetic writings, is also of general importance in the exposition of the sacred volume.

II. It is evident that God does not act without a design in the system of religion taught in the Gospel, any more than he does in the works of nature. Now this design must be uniform: for as in the system of the universe every part is proportioned to the whole, and is made subservient to it, so, in the system of the Gospel, all the various truths, doctrines, declarations, precepts, and promises, must correspond with and tend to the end designed. For instance, if any one interpret those texts of Scripture, which maintain our justification by faith only, or our salvation by free grace, in such a sense as to exclude the necessity of good works, this interpretation is to be rejected, because it contradicts the main design of Christianity, which is to save us *from* our sins (Matt. i. 21.), to make us holy as God is holy (1 Pet. i. 15.), and to cleanse us from all filthiness both of flesh and spirit. (2 Cor. vii. 1.) In the application, however, of the analogy of faith to the interpretation of the Scriptures, it is indispensably necessary that the inquirer *previously* understand the whole scheme of divine revelation; and that he do not entertain a predilection for a *part* only; without attention to this, he will be liable to error. If we come to the Scriptures with any preconceived opinions, and are more desirous to put that sense upon the text which coincides with our own sentiments rather than the truth, it then becomes the analogy of *our* faith rather than that of the whole system. This, Dr. Campbell remarks, was the very source of the blindness of the Jews in our Saviour's time: they searched the Scriptures very assiduously; but, in the disposition they entertained, they would never believe what that sacred volume testifies of Christ. The reason is obvious; their great rule of interpretation was *the analogy of faith*, or, in other words, the system of the Pharisean

[1] Article XXII. of the Anglican church. The antiscriptural doctrine of purgatory is copiously and ably exposed by Dr. Fletcher in his "Lectures on the Principles and Institutions of the Roman Catholic Religion" (pp. 236—250.); and more concisely, but with great force of argument, in the Rev. Geo. Hamilton's "Tracts upon some leading Errors of the Church of Rome" (London, 1825), pp. 73—81.

[2] Mori Acroases in Ernesti Instit. Interp. Nov. Test. vol. i. p. 181.

[3] Abulpharagii Historia, pp. 406. 591. cited by Ammon, in his notes on Ernesti's Instit. Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 67, 68.

[4] Stuart's Elements, p. 53.

[5] Mori Acroases, tom. i. pp. 169. 184. Ernesti Institutio Interpretis Nov. Test. pp. 65—70., and his Opera Philologica, pp. 171. *et seq.* and 277. Stuart's Elements, p. 53. The subject of the Analogy of Languages is also discussed at considerable length by G. G. Zemisch in his Disputatio Philologica de Analogia Linguarum Interpretationis Subsidio (Lipsiæ, 1768, 4to.), reprinted in Pott's and Ruperti's Sylloge Commentationum Theologicarum, vol. vii. pp. 185—221.

[6] Bishop Vanmildert's Bampton Lect. p. 181. Pfeiffer, Herm. Sacr. c. xii. (Op. t. ii. p. 659.) Carpzov. Prim. Lin. Herm. Sacr. p. 28.

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Scribes, the doctrine then in vogue, and in the profound veneration of which they had been educated. This is that veil by which the understandings of the Jews were darkened, even in reading the law, and of which Saint Paul observed that it remained unremoved in his day; and we cannot but remark that it remains unremoved in our own time.[1] There is, perhaps, scarcely a sect or denomination of Christians, whether of the Greek, Romish, or Protestant churches, but has some particular system or digest of tenets, by them termed the *analogy of faith*, which they individually hold in the greatest reverence; and all whose doctrines terminate in some assumed position, so that its partizans may not contradict themselves. When persons of this description, it has been well remarked, meet with passages in Scripture which they cannot readily explain, consistently with their hypothesis, they strive to solve the difficulty by the analogy of faith which they have themselves invented. But allowing all their assumptions to be founded in truth, it is by no means consonant with the principles of sound divinity, to interpret Scripture by the hypothesis of a church; because the sacred records are the *only proper media* of ascertaining theological truth.[2]

III. Such, then, being the importance of attending to the analogy of faith, it remains to state a few observations which may enable the student to apply it to the clearing up of obscure or difficult passages of Scripture.

1. *Wherever any doctrine is manifest, either from the whole tenor of divine revelation or from its scope, it must not be weakened or set aside by a few obscure passages.*

As the observance of this canon is necessary to every student of the inspired volume, so it ought especially to be regarded by those who are apt to interpret passages, which are not of themselves plain, by those opinions, of the belief of which they are already possessed; but for which they have little ground besides the mere sound of some texts, that appear, when first heard, to be favourable to their preconceived notions. Whereas, if such texts were compared with the scope of the sacred writers, they would be found to bear quite a different meaning. For instance, no truth is asserted more frequently in the Bible, and consequently is more certain in religion, than that God is good, not only to some individuals, but also toward all men. Thus David says (Psal. cxlv. 9.), *The Lord is good to* ALL, *and his tender mercies are over* ALL *his works*; and Ezekiel (xviii. 23.), *Have I any pleasure at all in the wicked that he should die; saith the Lord: and not that he should turn from his ways and live?* Frequently also does the Almighty declare, both in the books of the law as well as in the prophets, and also in the New Testament, how earnestly he desires the sinner's return to him. See, among other passages, Deut. v. 29. Ezek. xviii. 32. and xxxiii. 11. Matt. xxiii. 37. John iii. 16. 1 Tim. ii. 4. Titus ii. 11. and 2 Pet. iii. 9. If, therefore, any passage occur which at first sight *appear* to contradict the goodness of God, as, for instance, that He has created some persons that he might damn them (as some have insinuated); in such case the very clear and certain doctrine relative to the goodness of God is not to be impugned, much less set aside, by these obscure places, which, on the contrary, ought to be illustrated by such passages as are more clear. Thus, in Prov. xvi. 4. according to most modern versions, we read, that *The Lord hath made all things for himself, yea even the wicked for the day of evil.* This passage has, by several eminent writers, been supposed to refer to the predestination of the elect and the reprobation of the wicked, but without any foundation. Junius, Cocceius, Michaelis, Glassius, Pfeiffer, Turretin, Ostervald, Dr. Whitby, Dr. S. Clarke, and other critics, have shown that this verse may be more correctly rendered, *The Lord hath made all things to answer to themselves*, or aptly to refer to one another, *yea even the wicked, for the evil day*, that is, to be the executioner of evil to others; on which account they are in Scripture termed the rod of Jehovah (Isa. x. 5.) and his sword. (Psal. xvii. 13.) But there is no necessity for rejecting the received version, the plain and obvious sense of which is that there is nothing in the world which does not contribute to the glory of God, and promote the accomplishment of his adorable designs. The pious and the wicked alike conduce to this end; the wicked, whom God has destined to punishment *on account of their impiety*, serve to display his justice (see Job xxi. 30.), and consequently to manifest his glory. "God," says Dr. Gill (who was a strenuous advocate for the doctrines of election and reprobation), "made man neither to damn him nor to save him, but for his own glory, and that is secured whether in his salvation or damnation; nor did nor does God make men wicked. He made man upright, and man has made himself wicked; and being so, God may justly appoint him to damnation for his wickedness, in doing which he glorifies his justice."[3]

2. *No doctrine can belong to the analogy of faith, which is founded on a* SINGLE *text.*

Every essential principle of religion is delivered in more than one place. Besides, single sentences are not to be detached from the places where they stand, but must be taken in connection with the whole discourse.

From disregard of this rule, the temporary direction of the apostle James (v. 14, 15.) has been perverted by the church of Rome, and rendered a permanent institution, from a mean of recovery, to a charm, when recovery is desperate, for the salvation of the soul. The mistake of the church of Rome, in founding what she calls the *sacrament of extreme unction* upon this place, is very obvious; for the anointing here mentioned was applied to those whose *recovery* was *expected*, as appears from verse 16., where it is said that the Lord in answer to the prayer of faith shall raise up and restore the sick: whereas in the Romish church, extreme unction is used where there is little or no hope of recovery, and is called the *sacrament of the dying*.[4] The same remark is applicable to the popish system of auricular confession to a priest; which is attempted to be supported by James v. 16. and 1 John i. 9. neither of which passages has any reference whatever to the ministerial office. In the former, confession of our faults is represented as the duty of the faithful to each other; and in the latter, as the duty of the penitent to God alone.

3. *The* WHOLE *system of revelation must be explained, so as to be consistent with itself.—When two passages* APPEAR *to be contradictory, if the sense of the one can be clearly ascertained, in such case that must regulate our interpretation of the other.*

Thus, in one passage, the apostle John says; *If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins: if we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us.* (1 John i. 8—10.) In another passage, the same apostle affirms: *Whosoever abideth in him, sinneth not. Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin: for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin because he is born of God.* (1 John iii. 6. 9.) This is an apparent contradiction; but the texts must be explained, so as to agree with one another. Now, from Scripture and experience, we are certain that the first passage must be literally understood. At the dedication of the temple, Solomon said; *If they sin against thee, and thou be angry (for there is no man that sinneth not)*, 1 Kings viii. 46. And in Eccl. vii. 20. *For there is not a just man upon the earth, that doeth good and sinneth not.* The explanation of the second passage, therefore, must be regulated by the established signification of the first; that both may agree. When it is affirmed that even good men cannot say they have no sin, the apostle speaks of occasional acts, from which none are free. When Saint John says, that he who is born of God doth not commit sin, he evidently means, *habitually*, as the slave of sin; and this is incompatible with a state of grace. Both passages, therefore, agree, as the one refers to particular deeds, and the other to general practice; and in this manner must every seeming contradiction be removed. The passage, of which the literal sense can be established, must always regulate the interpretation of a different expression, so as to make it agree with fixed principles.

4. *An obscure, doubtful, ambiguous, or figurative text must never be interpreted in such a sense as to make it contradict a plain one.*

In explaining the Scriptures, consistency of sense and principles ought to be supported in all their several parts; and if any one part be so interpreted as to clash with another, such interpretation cannot be justified. Nor can it be otherwise corrected than by considering every doubtful or difficult text, first by itself, then with its context, and then by comparing it with other passages of Scripture; and thus bringing what may seem obscure into a consistency with what is plain and evident.

(1.) The doctrine of transubstantiation, inculcated by the church of Rome, is founded on a strictly literal interpretation of figurative expressions, *this is my body*, &c. (Matt. xxvi. 26, &c.) and (which has no relation to the supper) *eat my flesh, drink my blood.* (John vi. 51—58.) But independently of this, we may farther conclude that the sense put upon the words, "*this is my body*," by the church of Rome, cannot be the true one, being contrary to the express declaration of the New Testament history, from which it is evident that our Lord is ascended into heaven, where he is to continue "*till the time of the restitution of all things*" (Acts iii. 21.); that is, till his second coming to judgment. How then can his body be in ten thousand several places on the earth at one and the same time? We may further add that, if the doctrine of transubstantiation be true, it will follow that our Saviour, when he instituted the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, did actually eat his own flesh and drink his own blood; a conclusion this, so obviously contradictory both to reason and to Scripture, that it is astonishing how any sensible and religious man can credit such a tenet.

(2.) Upon a similar literal interpretation of Matt. xvi. 18. *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church*, the church of Rome has erected the claim of supremacy for Peter and his successors. Hence, building on Peter is explained away by some commentators as being contrary to the faith that Christ is the only foundation. (1 Cor. iii. 11.) The most eminent of the ancient fathers, as well as some of the early bishops or popes of Rome, particularly Gregory the Great, and likewise several of the most judicious modern commentators, respectively take this rock to be the profession of faith, which Peter had just made, that *Christ was the Son of God.* The connection, however, shows that Peter is here plainly meant. *Thou art Peter*, says Christ; and *upon this rock*, that is, Peter, pointing to him; for thus it connects with the reason which follows for the name, in the same manner as the reason is given for that of Abraham in Gen. xvii. 5. and of Israel in Gen. xxxii. 28. The apostles are also called, in other parts of the New Testament, the foundation on which the church is built, as in Eph. ii. 20. and Rev. xxi. 14. as being the persons employed in erecting the church, by preaching. It is here promised that Peter should commence the building of it by his preaching, which was fulfilled by his first converting the Jews (Acts ii. 14—42.) and also the Gentiles. (Acts x. xv. 7.) This passage, therefore, gives no countenance to the papal supremacy, but the contrary, for this prerogative was personal and incommunicable.[5]

5. *Such passages as are expressed with brevity are to be expounded by those where the same doctrines or duties are expressed* MORE LARGELY *and fully.*

[1] Dr. Campbell's translation of the Four Gospels, vol. i. dissert. iv. § 14. p. 116. 3d edit.

[2] Franck's Guide to the Scriptures, p. 79. Franckii Prælect. Herm. p. 185.

[3] Gill in loc. See also J. E. Pfeiffer's Inst. Herm. Sacr. pp. 134—136., and Twopenny's "Dissertations on some Parts of the Old and New Testaments," pp. 74—76.

[4] See Bishop Burnet on the 25th Article; Whitby, Benson, Macknight, and other commentators on this text; and Dr. Fletcher's Lectures on the Principles and Institutions of the Roman Catholic Religion, pp. 198. *et seq.* The Christian Guardian for 1823 (p. 305.) contains a good illustration of James v. 14, 15.

[5] Barrow's Works, vol. i. p. 581. Grotius in loc. Elsley's Annotations, vol. i. pp. 273—275. Gerard's Institutes, p. 163. See also the commencement of Bishop Burgess's Letter to his Clergy, entitled *Christ, and not St. Peter, the Rock of the Christian Church*, and especially Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary on Matt. xvi. 18.

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(1.) The doctrine of justification, for instance, is briefly stated in Phil. iii.; but that momentous doctrine is professedly discussed in the Epistle to the Galatians, and especially in that to the Romans; and according to the tenor of these, particularly Rom. iii., all the other passages of Scripture that treat of justification should be explained.

(2.) Even slight variations will oftentimes serve for the purpose of reciprocal illustration. Thus the beatitudes related in the sixth chapter of Saint Luke's Gospel, though delivered at another time and in a different place, are the same with those delivered by our Lord in his sermon on the mount, and recorded in the fifth chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel. Being, however, epitomized by the former Evangelist, they may be explained by the latter.

(3.) Further, the quotation from Isaiah vi. 9, 10. *Hear ye indeed, but understand not*, &c. is contracted in Mark iv. 12, Luke viii. 10. and John xii. 40., but it is given at large in Matt. xiii. 14, 15.; and accordingly from this last cited Gospel, the sense of the prophet is most evident. Again, nothing is more certain than that God *hath no pleasure in wickedness*, or sin (Psal. v. 4.), and, consequently, cannot be the cause of sin. When, therefore, any passages occur which *appear* to intimate the contrary, they must be so understood as not to impugn this important truth. The *hardening* of Pharaoh's heart, therefore, is not to be taken as the act of God, but that he permitted him to go on, following his own cruel schemes, regardless of the divine judgments.[1]

6. "*Where several doctrines of equal importance are proposed, and revealed with great clearness, we must be careful to give to each its full and equal weight.*"

"Thus, that we are saved by the free grace of God, and through faith in Christ, is a doctrine too plainly affirmed by the sacred writers to be set aside by any contravening position: for it is said, *By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God.* (Eph. ii. 8.) But so, on the other hand, are the doctrines of repentance unto life, and of obedience unto salvation; for again it is said, *Repent and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out* (Acts iii. 19.), and, *If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.* (Matt. xix. 17.) To set either of these truths at *variance* with the others, would be to frustrate the declared purpose of the Gospel, and to make it of none effect. Points thus clearly established, and from their very nature indispensable, must be made to correspond with each other; and the exposition, which best preserves them unimpaired and undiminished, will in any case be a safe interpretation, and most probably the true one. The analogy of faith will thus be kept entire, and will approve itself, in every respect, as becoming its divine author, and *worthy of all acceptation.*"[2]

Some farther remarks might be offered in addition to the above rules; but as they fall more properly under consideration in the subsequent part of this work, the preceding observations on the interpretations of Scripture by the analogy of faith will, perhaps, be found abundantly sufficient. It only remains to state, that valuable as this aid is for ascertaining the sense of Scripture, it must be used in *concurrence* with those which have been illustrated in the foregoing sections, and to subjoin a few cautions respecting the application of the analogy of faith, attention to which will enable us successfully to "*compare things spiritual with spiritual.*"

1. "Care," then, "must be taken, not to confound seeming with real analogies; not to rely upon merely verbal resemblances when the sense may require a different application; not to interpret what is parallel only in one respect, as if it were so in all; not to give to any parallel passages so absolute a sway in our decisions as to overrule the clear and evident meaning of the text under consideration; and, above all, not to suffer an eagerness in multiplying proofs of this kind to betray us into a neglect of the immediate context of the passage in question, upon which its signification must principally depend."[3] The occasion, coherence, and connection of the writing, the argument carrying on, as well as the scope and intent of the paragraph, and the correspondence of the type with its antitype, are all to be carefully remarked.

2. Further, "In forming the analogy of faith, all the plain texts relating to one subject or article ought to be taken together, impartially compared, the expressions of one of them restricted by those of another, and explained in mutual consistency; and that article deduced from them all in conjunction: not, as has been most commonly the practice, one set of texts selected, which have the same aspect, explained in their greatest possible rigour; and all others, which look another way, neglected or explained away, and tortured into a compatibility with the opinion in that manner partially deduced."

3. Lastly, "the analogy of faith, as applicable to the examination of particular passages, ought to be very short, simple, and purely scriptural; but most sects conceive it, as taking in all the complex peculiarities, and scholastic refinements, of their own favourite systems."[4]

[1] Franck's Guide, p. 41. Pfeiffer, Herm. Sac. c. xii. p. 669. and Critica Sacra, c. 5. § 15. (Op. t. ii. pp. 719, 720.) Gerard's Institutes, p. 161. J. E. Pfeiffer has given some additional examples, illustrating the preceding rule, in his Inst. Herm. Sacr. pp. 142—144.

[2] Bishop Vanmildert's Bampton Lectures, p. 204. [3] Ibid. p. 215.

[4] Gerard's Institutes, p. 161. The analogy of faith is copiously illustrated, in addition to the authorities already cited, by Franck, in his Prælect. Herm. positio v. pp 166—192.; by Rambach, in his Instit. Herm. Sacræ, lib. ii. c. i. pp. 87—105.; by Jahn in his Enchiridion Herm. Generalis, § 32. pp. 96—100.; by J. F. Pfeiffer, in his Instit. Herm. Sacræ, pp. 706—740.; and by Chladenius, in his Institutiones Exegeticæ, pp. 405—430.

Thus, as it has been remarked with equal truth and elegance,[5] "by due attention to these principles, accompanied with the great moral requisites already shown to be indispensable, and with humble supplication to the throne of grace for a blessing on his labours, the diligent inquirer after Scripture truth may confidently hope for success. The design of every portion of Holy Writ, its harmony with the rest, and the divine perfection of the whole, will more and more fully be displayed. And thus will he be led, with increasing veneration and gratitude, to adore HIM, to whom every sacred book bears witness, and every divine dispensation led the way; even HIM who is *Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.*"[6]

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§ 6. ON THE ASSISTANCE TO BE DERIVED FROM JEWISH WRITINGS IN THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

I. *The apocryphal books of the Old Testament.*—II. *The Talmud.*—1. *The Misna.*—2. *The Gemara.*—*Jerusalem and Babylonish Talmuds.*—III. *The writings of Philo Judæus and Josephus.*—*Account of them.*

BESIDES the various aids mentioned in the preceding sections, much important assistance is to be obtained in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, from consulting the apocryphal writings, and also the works of other Jewish authors, especially those of Josephus and Philo; which serve not only to explain the grammatical force and meaning of words, but also to confirm the facts, and to elucidate the customs, manners, and opinions of the Jews, which are either mentioned or incidentally referred to in the Old and New Testaments.

Of the writings of the Jews, the Targums or Chaldee Paraphrases, which have been noticed in a former page,[7] are, perhaps, the most important; and next to them are the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, and the Talmud.

I. The APOCRYPHAL BOOKS are the productions of the Alexandrian Jews and their descendants, who thought and wrote in the Jewish manner: hence there are many things in those books not found in the Old, though alluded to in the New Testament. (Compare Heb. xi. with Ecclus. xiv. xv.) The apocryphal books are all curious, and some of them extremely valuable. It is to regretted that the just rejection of these books from the scriptural canon by the reformed churches has occasioned the opposite extreme of an entire disregard to them in the minds of many serious and studious Christians. As a collection of very ancient Jewish works, anterior to Christianity, as documents of history, and as lessons of prudence and often of piety, the Greek apocryphal writings are highly deserving of notice; but, as elucidating the phraseology of the New Testament, and as exhibiting the Jewish manner of narration, teaching, and arguing, they claim the frequent perusal of scholars, and especially of theological students. Kuinöel has applied these books to the illustration of the New Testament, with great success; and Dr. Bretschneider has also drawn many elucidations from the apocryphal books in his Lexicon to the New Testament. The apocryphal books of the New Testament exhibit a style in many respects partaking of the Hebraic-Greek idiom of the genuine books of the New Testament.

II. The TALMUD (a term which literally signifies *doctrine*) is a body of Jewish Laws, containing a digest of doctrines and precepts relative to religion and morality. The Talmud consists of two general parts, viz. The *Misna* or text, and the *Gemara* or commentary.

1. The MISNA (or *repetition*, as it literally signifies) is a collection of various traditions of the Jews, and of expositions of Scripture texts; which, they pretend, were delivered to Moses during his abode on the Mount, and transmitted from him, through Aaron, Eleazar, and Joshua, to the prophets, and by them to the men of the Great Sanhedrin, from whom they passed in succession to Simeon (who took our Saviour in his arms), Gamaliel, and ultimately to Rabbi Jehuda, surnamed *Hakkadosh* or the Holy. By him this digest of oral law and traditions was completed, towards the close of the second century, after the labour of forty years. From this time it has been carefully handed down among the Jews,

[5] By Bishop Vanmildert, Bamp. Lect. p. 216.

[6] Rev. i. 11. Heb. xiii. 8.

[7] See an account of the Targums in pp. 252, 253. of the present volume.

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from generation to generation; and in many cases has been esteemed beyond the written law itself. The Misna consists of six books, each of which is entitled *order*, and is further divided into many treatises, amounting in all to sixty-three: these again are divided into chapters, and the chapters are further subdivided into sections or aphorisms.

2. The GEMARAS or Commentaries on the Misna are twofold:—

(1.) The *Gemara of Jerusalem*, which in the opinion of Prideaux, Buxtorf, Carpzov, and other eminent critics, was compiled in the third century of the Christian æra; though, from its containing several barbarous words of Gothic or Vandalic extraction, Father Morin refers it to the fifth century. This commentary is but little esteemed by the Jews.

(2.) The *Gemara of Babylon* was compiled in the sixth century, and is filled with the most absurd fables. It is held in the highest estimation by the Jews, by whom it is usually read and constantly consulted, as a sure guide in all questions of difficulty.

The Jews designate these commentaries by the term Gemara, or *perfection*, because they consider them as an explanation of the whole law, to which no further additions can be made, and after which nothing more can be desired. When the Misna or text, and the commentary compiled at Jerusalem, accompany each other, the whole is called the *Jerusalem Talmud*; and when the commentary which was made at Babylon is subjoined, it is denominated the *Babylonish Talmud*. The Talmud was collated for Dr. Kennicott's edition of the Hebrew Bible; and as the passages of Scripture therein contained were taken from manuscripts in existence from the second to the sixth century, they are so far authorities as they show what were the readings of their day. These various readings, however, are neither very numerous nor of very great moment. Bauer states that Frommann did not discover more than *fourteen* in the Misna; and although Dr. Gill, who collated the Talmud for Dr. Kennicott, collected about a thousand instances, yet all these were not, in strictness, various lections. The Talmud, therefore, is chiefly useful for illustrating manners and customs noticed in the Scriptures.[1] Sometimes the passages cited from the Old Testament are exactly quoted; and sometimes many things are left out, or added arbitrarily, in the same manner as some of the fathers have quoted from the New Testament.[2]

The *Rabbinical Writings* of the Jews are to be found chiefly in their *Commentaries* on the Old Testament.

As all these Jewish writings are both voluminous and scarce, many learned men have diligently collected from them the most material passages that tend to illustrate the Scriptures. An account of their labours, as well as of the editions of the Misna, Talmud, and Jewish Commentators, will be found in the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to the second volume.

The Misna, being compiled towards the close of the second century, may, for the most part, be regarded as a digest of the traditions received and practised by the Pharisees in the time of our Lord. Accordingly, different commentators have made considerable use of it in illustrating the narratives and allusions of the New Testament, as well as in explaining various passages of the Old Testament; particularly Ainsworth on the Pentateuch, Drs. Gill and Clarke in their entire comments on the Scriptures, Wetstein in his critical edition of the New Testament, and Koppe in his edition of the Greek Testament, who in his notes has abridged the works of all former writers on this topic.

In availing ourselves of the assistance to be derived from the Jewish writings, we must take care not to compare the expressions occurring in the New Testament *too strictly* with the Talmudical and Cabbalistical modes of speaking; as such comparisons, when carried too far, tend to obscure rather than to illustrate the sacred writings. Even our illustrious Lightfoot is said not to be free from error in this respect; and Dr. Gill has frequently encumbered his commentary with Rabbinical quotations. The best and safest rule, perhaps, by which to regulate our references to the Jewish writers themselves, as well as those who have made collections from their works, is the following precept delived by Ernesti:—*We are to seek for help*, says he, *only in those cases where it is absolutely necessary; that is to say, where our knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues affords no means of ascertaining an easy sense, and one that corresponds with the context.* The same distinguished scholar has further laid it down as a rule of universal application, that our principal information is to be sought from the Jewish writings, in every thing that relates to their sacred rites, forms of teaching and speaking; especially in the Epistle to the Romans, which evidently shows its author to have been educated under Gamaliel.[3]

Some very important hints, on the utility of Jewish and Rabbinical literature in the interpretation of the New Testament, occur in the Rev. Dr. (now Bishop) Blomfield's discourse, entitled *A Reference to the Jewish Tradition necessary to an Interpretation of the New Testament.* London, 1817, 8vo.

III. More valuable in every respect than the Talmudica and Rabbinical Writings, are the works of the two learned Jews, Philo and Josephus, which reflect so much light on the manners, customs, and opinions of their countrymen, as to demand a distinct notice.

1. PHILO, surnamed Judæus, in order to distinguish him from several other persons of the same name,[4] was a Jew of Alexandria, descended from a noble and sacerdotal family, and pre-eminent among his contemporaries for his talents, eloquence, and wisdom. He was certainly born before the time of Jesus Christ, though the precise date has not been determined: some writers placing his birth twenty, and others thirty years before that event. The latter opinion appears to be the best supported; consequently Philo was about sixty years old at the time of the death of our Redeemer, and he lived for some years afterwards. He was of the sect of the Pharisees, and was deeply versed in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, which he read in the Septuagint version, being a Hellenistic Jew, unacquainted (it is supposed) with the Hebrew, and writing in the Greek language. Some eminent critics have imagined that he was a Christian, but this opinion is destitute of foundation; for we have no reason to think that Philo ever visited Judæa, or that he was acquainted with the important events which were there taking place. Indeed, as the Gospel was not extensively and openly promulgated out of Judæa, until ten years after the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and as there is not the most distant allusion to him—much less mention of him—made in the New Testament, it cannot be supposed that this distinguished person was a convert to Christianity. The striking coincidences of sentiment, and more frequently of phraseology, which occur in the writings of Philo, with the language of Saint Paul and Saint John in the New Testament, are satisfactorily accounted for, by his being deeply versed in the Septuagint (or Alexandrian Greek) version of the Old Testament, with which those apostles were also intimately acquainted. The writings of Philo exhibit many quotations from the Old Testament, which serve to show how the text then stood in the original Hebrew, or at least, in the Septuagint Version: and although they contain many fanciful and mystical comments on the Old Testament, yet they abound with just sentiments eloquently expressed, and were highly esteemed by the primitive Christian church; and his sentiments concerning the LOGOS or WORD, bear so close a resemblance to those of the apostle John, as to have given rise to the opinion of some eminent men that he was a Christian.[5] In the writings of Philo, we meet with accounts of

[1] Bauer, Crit. Sacr. pp. 340—343. Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. p. 174. Kennicott, Dissertatio Generalis, §§ 32—35. Leusden, Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, pp. 90. *et seq.* In pp. 95—98. he has enumerated the principal contents of the Misna; but the best account of the Misna and its contents is given by Dr. Wotton, Discourses, vol. i. Disc. i. and ii. pp. 10—120. See also Vaehner's Antiquitates Ebræorum, vol. i. pp. 266—340. Pfeiffer, op. tom. pp. 852—855. De Rossi, Variæ Lectiones, tom. i. Proleg. canons 78—81.; and Allen's Modern Judaism, pp. 21—64. Buddæus, in his Introductio ad Historiam Philosophiæ Ebræorum, pp. 116. *et seq.*, has entered most fully into the merits of the Jewish Talmudical and Rabbinical writings.

[2] On the alleged castigations and alterations of the Talmud by the Jews, the reader will find some curious information in Mr. Allen's Modern Judaism, pp. 61—64.

[3] Ernesti, Instit. Interp. Novi Testamenti, p. 274. In the 5th vol. of Velthusen's, Kuinöel's, and Ruperti's Commentationes Theologicæ (pp. 117—197.), there is a useful dissertation by M. Weise, De more Domini acceptos a magistris Judaicis loquendi ac diserendi modos sapienter emendandi.

[4] Fabricius and his editor, Professor Harles, have given notices of *forty-seven* persons of the name of Philo. Bibliotheca Græca, vol. iv. pp. 750—754.

[5] The late Mr. Bryant has collected the passages of Philo concerning the Logos in his work entitled "The Sentiments of Philo Judæus concerning the Λογος or Word of God; together with large Extracts from his Writings, compared with the Scriptures on many other particular and essential doctrines of the Christian Religion." (8vo. London, 1776.) As this volume is now rarely to be met with, the reader will find the most material passages of Philo's writings selected and faithfully translated in the Rev. Dr. J. P Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. i. pp. 420—445. Dr. A Clarke has given *thirty-five* instances of the particular terms and doctrines found in Philo's work, with *parallel passages* from the New Testament, in his commentary, at the end of the first chapter of Saint John's Gospel.

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many customs of the Jews; of their opinions, especially such as were derived from the oriental philosophy; and of facts particularly relating to their state under the Roman emperors, which are calculated to throw great light on many passages of the sacred writings.[1]

2. FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS was of sacerdotal extraction and of royal descent, and was born A. D. 37: he was alive in A. D. 96, but it is not known when he died. He received a liberal education among the Pharisees, after which he went to Rome, where he cultivated his talents to great advantage.[2] On his return to Judæa, he commanded the garrison appointed to defend Jotapata against the forces of Vespasian, which he bravely maintained during forty-seven days. Josephus, being subsequently taken prisoner by Vespasian, was received into his favour; and was also greatly esteemed by Titus, whom he accompanied to the siege of Jerusalem, on the capture of which he obtained the sacred books and many favours for his countrymen. When Vespasian ascended the imperial throne, he gave Josephus a palace, together with the freedom of the city of Rome, and a grant of lands in Judæa. Titus conferred additional favours upon him, and Josephus out of gratitude assumed the name of Flavius. The writings of Josephus consist of, 1. Seven books, relating the *War of the Jews* against the Romans, which terminated in their total defeat, and the destruction of Jerusalem. This history was undertaken at the command of Vespasian, and was written first in Hebrew and afterwards in Greek: and so highly was the emperor pleased with it, that he authenticated it by putting his signature to it, and ordering it to be preserved in one of the public libraries; 2. Of the *Jewish Antiquities*, in twenty books, comprising the period from the origin of the world to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero (A. D. 66), when the Jews began to rebel against the Romans; 3. An account of his own *Life;* and, 4. Two books vindicating the *Antiquity of the Jewish nation against Apion* and others.

The writings of Josephus contain accounts of many Jewish customs and opinions, and of the different sects that obtained among his countrymen; which very materially contribute to the illustration of the Scriptures. Particularly, they contain many facts relative to the civil and religious state of the Jews about the time of Christ: which being supposed, alluded to, or mentioned in various passages of the New Testament, enable us fully to enter into the meaning of those passages.[3] His accurate and minute detail of many of the events of his own time, and above all, of the Jewish war, and the siege and destruction of Jerusalem, affords us the means of perceiving the accomplishment of many of our Saviour's predictions, especially of his circumstantial prophecy respecting the utter subversion of the Jewish polity, nation, and religion. The testimony of Josephus is the more valuable, as it is an undesigned testimony, which cannot be suspected of fraud or partiality. The modern Jews have discovered this, and therefore a writer who is a principal ornament of their nation since the cessation of prophecy, is now not only neglected, but despised; and is superseded among the Jews by a forged history, composed by an author who lived more than eight centuries *after* the time of Josephus, and who has assumed the name of Josippon, or Joseph Ben Gorion. The plagiarisms and falsehoods of this pseudo-Josephus have been detected and exposed by Gagnier, Basnage, and especially by Dr. Lardner.[4]

Michaelis particularly recommends a diligent study of the works of Josephus, from the beginning of Herod's reign to the end of the Jewish antiquities, as affording the very best commentary on the Gospels and Acts;[5] and Morus observes, that the Jewish historian is more valuable in illustrating the histories related in the New Testament than for elucidating its style. Our numerous references to his works in the second, as well as in the early part of the present volume of this work, sufficiently attest the advantages resulting from a diligent examination of them.[7] Josephus is justly admired for his lively and animated style, the bold propriety of his expressions, the exactness of his descriptions, and the persuasive eloquence of his relations, on which accounts he has been termed the Livy of the Greek authors. Though a strict Pharisee, he has borne such a noble testimony to the spotless character of Jesus Christ, that Jerome considered and called him a Christian writer.[8]

As, however, the authority of both Philo and Josephus has been disputed, we must distinguish, with respect to both, what is delivered as being merely their own opinion, and what is stated as the popular notion. We must also consider what influence the pharisaical principles of Josephus, and the profane philosophy of Philo, would have upon their writings.

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§ 7. ON THE ASSISTANCE TO BE DERIVED FROM THE WRITINGS OF THE GREEK FATHERS, IN THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

LEARNED men are by no means agreed as to the *persons* to whom the venerable appellation of FATHERS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH ought to be given. While some would confine it exclusively to the apostles, or to those writers who lived in the century immediately succeeding them, others would extend it to those who flourished in the fifth and sixth centuries; and some even give the appellation of *fathers* to all those theologians who lived and wrote so lately as the twelfth century. The most probable classification is, that which would enrol among the fathers those Christian doctors only who flourished before the close of the sixth century; because, in the seventh and following centuries, the purity of Christian doctrine was debased by the most absurd notions and degrading superstitions; and also because but few of those, who held the office of teachers of religion during the dark ages, conducted themselves in such a manner as to deserve the appellation of FATHERS OF THE CHURCH. Still less are the learned agreed as to the degree of *authority* to be conceded to the works of the Fathers of the Christian church: by some they are depreciated beyond measure, while on the other hand they are estimated as repositories of every thing that is valuable in sacred literature.

It is, however, a singular circumstance, that, in almost all theological controversies, both parties are desirous of having the fathers on their side. Considering the question, then, without prejudice or predilection, we may safely assume, that the primitive fathers were men eminent for their piety and zeal, though occasionally deficient in learning and judgment; that they may be relied upon in general for their statements of facts, but not invariably for the constructions which they put upon them, unless in the expositions (by the Greek fathers) of the New Testament, with the language of which they were intimately acquainted; and that they are faithful reporters of the opinions of the Christian church, but not always the most judicious interpreters of Scripture. As repositories, therefore, of Christian antiquity, as preachers of Christian virtue, and as defenders of the true Christian doctrine, they may still be very advantageously consulted; especially if we do not expect that from them which they could not have. The fathers applied themselves to the reading of the Scriptures with undivided attention, with

[1] Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca, à Harles, vol. iv. pp. 720—750. Bp. Gray's Connection between Sacred and Profane Literature, vol. i. pp. 288—302. Dr. Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. i. pp. 417, 418. For the principal editions of Philo's Works, and the principal illustrations of Scripture derived from them, see the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to the second Volume, Part II. Chap. II. Sect. II. § 1.

[2] It is highly probable that Josephus was the companion of St. Paul in his voyage to Rome, related in Acts xxvii. See Otii Spicilegium ex Josepho, pp. 336—338., and especially Bp. Gray's Connection between Sacred and Profane Literature, vol. i. pp. 357—368.

[3] In all matters relating to the temple at Jerusalem, and to the religion of the Jews, there is a remarkable agreement between the authors of the New Testament and Josephus; who had in person beheld that sacred edifice, and was himself an eyewitness of the solemn rites performed there. Hence it is obvious, that his statements are unquestionably more worthy of credit than the unsupported assertions of the Talmudists, who did not flourish until long after the subversion of the city and temple, and of the whole Jewish polity, both sacred and civil. A single instance, out of many which might be adduced, will suffice to illustrate the importance of this remark. The Talmudical writers affirm that the priests only killed the paschal lambs; but Josephus (whose testimony is confirmed by Philo) relates that it was lawful for the master of every family to do it, without the intervention of any priest; and they further relate, that at the time of the passover, there were so many families at Jerusalem, that it was utterly impossible for the priests to kill the paschal lamb for every family. In the New Testament we read that Jesus Christ sent his disciples to a private house, that the passover might be prepared by its possessor and by them, without the presence of any priest, or previously taking the lamb to the temple. As the statements of Philo and Josephus are corroborated by the relation in the New Testament, they are undoubtedly correct.

[4] Jewish Testimonies, chap. vi. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vii. pp. 182—187.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 560—574.

[5] Introduction to the New Test. vol. iii. part i. pp. 339—341.

[6] Mori super Hermeneutica Novi Testamenti Acroases Academicæ, tom ii. p. 195.

[7] Bp. Gray has illustrated at length the benefit to be derived from the writings of Josephus, in the illustration of the Scriptures. See his Connection between Sacred and Profane Literature, vol. i. pp 303—330

[8] See the *genuineness* of Josephus's Testimony concerning Jesus Christ established, in Vol. I. pp. 463, 464. And for an account of the best editions of his works, and of elucidations of Scripture drawn from them, see the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to the second Volume, Part II. Chap. II. Sect II. § 1

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intense thought, and with holy admiration, as to that which was alone worthy to be studied. No part of Scripture was neglected by them; they were so earnestly intent upon it, that not a jot or tittle escaped them. This, with the advantages which they had (especially the Ante-Nicene fathers) in point of languages and antiquities, could not fail to produce remarks which it must be very imprudent in any age to neglect. The mistakes, charged upon the fathers in their expositions of the Old Testament, originated in their being misled by the Septuagint version, which their ignorance of Hebrew, together with their contempt of the Jews, and their unwillingness to be taught that language by them, induced them to trust implicitly. And that excess of allegorical interpretation into which some of the ancients ran, was probably occasioned by their studying, with a warm imagination, prophecies and types, parables and allusions, and by our Saviour's not developing the whole of his plan during his lifetime.

It is obvious that the contemporary friends of any body of men *must* know the sentiments of those men more accurately and perfectly than even the most sagacious inquirers who flourish many ages posterior to them. Such of the primitive fathers, therefore, as conversed with the apostles, or with their immediate followers, are the most likely to know the true sense of their writings; and it is highly probable that the works of these fathers must contain traits and sentiments strongly illustrative of the doctrines of the Bible. The use, then, which is to be made of their writings, is precisely that which a discreet lawyer would make of all the best contemporary authors, who lived when Magna Charta was obtained. If in that celebrated code of civil rights any thing appeared obscure and difficult to be understood, he would consult the best authors of the age who had written upon the same, or upon any collateral subject; and he would especially consult contemporary authors, or those who immediately followed, if any of them had undertaken to illustrate and explain the whole or any part of that invaluable instrument. Magna Charta is to us, as Englishmen, what the Word of God is to us as Christians: the one contains a copy of our civil rights and privileges; the other, of our religious privileges and duties. Nor is it any diminution of the just and absolute authority of the Holy Scriptures in our religious concerns, to consult the contemporary and subsequent writings of the fathers, in order to see how the Bible was understood in the several ages in which they lived; any more than it would be a diminution of the just and absolute authority of Magna Charta, in our civil concerns, to consult the contemporary and subsequent writings of lawyers and historians, in order to see how it was understood in the several ages in which they lived. Similar to this is the conduct of every prudent person in all the common occupations and concerns of life. Accordingly, Christians in all ages, and of every denomination, have eagerly claimed the verdict of the fathers in their own behalf; and no one ever lightly esteemed their testimony, but those whose principles and doctrines the writings of the fathers condemned.[1]

The important testimony in behalf of the genuineness of the Sacred Writings of the New Testament, borne by the fathers of the Christian church, and especially by the Greek fathers, has been exhibited in detail in pp. 41—45. 280, 281., and 288, 289. of the present volume, the value of their writings as a source of the text of Scripture, and also as aids for determining various readings, has been stated. It now remains to show, by one or two examples, the value of such of the fathers as are *not* professed commentators,[2] in determining the meaning of words and phrases, and in whose writings passages of the Old and New Testaments *incidentally* occur, in such a connection, or with such adjuncts, that we may clearly perceive what meaning was attached to them in the age when those fathers respectively flourished. Such interpretations we find in the writings of Barnabas, Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, Justin Martyr, and others; whose testimonies to the divinity of Christ have been collected by Dr. Burton. The evidence of the early fathers on this fundamental topic of Christian doctrine (to omit others which might be adduced relative to the discipline and practice of the Christian church) is peculiarly important; for "if the doctrine of the real nature of Christ was corrupted in the first three centuries, the writings of that period must show the progress of that corruption." And, on the other hand, "if no variation appears in the opinions of Christians, during that period, but the fathers of the first three centuries all deliver the same doctrine," and, "with one consent speak of Christ as having existed from all eternity as very God, and that he took our human nature into the divine, we have surely good grounds for saying, that there never was a time when this was not the doctrine of the church, and that it was the true and genuine doctrine which the apostles themselves preached."[3]

1. In John i. 3. the work of creation is expressly ascribed to Jesus Christ. To evade the force of this testimony to his deity, Faustus Socinus affirms that τα παντα, *all things*, in this verse, means the moral world—the Christian church: but to this exposition there are two objections. *First*, a part of these τα παντα is in verse 10. represented as ὁ κοσμος, *the world*; a term nowhere applied in the New Testament to the Christian church, nor to men as morally amended by the Gospel. *Secondly*, this very world (ὁ κοσμος) which he created *did not know* or acknowledge him, αυτον ουκ εγνω: whereas the distinguishing trait of Christians is, that they know Christ; that they know the only true God and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent. Τα παντα, then, which the Logos created, means (as common usage and the exigency of the passage require) *the universe*, the worlds, material and immaterial.[4] In this passage, therefore, Jesus Christ is unquestionably called God; and this interpretation of it is corroborated by the following passage of Irenæus, who wrote A. D. 185:—

"Nor can any of those things, which have been made, and are in subjection, be compared to the word of God, *by whom all things were made*. For that angels or archangels, or thrones or dominations, were appointed by him, who is God over all, and made by his word, John has thus told us; for, after he had said of the Word of God, that he was in the Father, he added, *all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made*."[5]

2. In Heb. i. 2. God is said to have created the world by his Son—Δι οὗ και τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποιησεν. To evade the force of this testimony, some opposers of our Lord's divinity expound αἰῶνας as meaning new times, or that God by Christ created anew the world of mankind. But the construction will not justify either of these renderings: for, it is evident, in the first place, from Heb. xi. 3. that αἰῶνες does signify the worlds or world. Secondly, it is an undeniable fact, that the tenth verse of this chapter does ascribe the creation of the world to Christ. Thirdly, that διὰ does not denote merely an instrumental cause, is evident from those passages in which it is also said of the Father, that all things were created δι αυτου, *by him* (Heb. ii. 10. Rom. xi. 36.), as also from the fact that διὰ and υπὸ are used interchangeably for each other. But as Heb. i. 1, 2. relates to the person through whom God instructed us, namely, the incarnate Logos or Word, the words "*by whom also he made the worlds*" must be understood thus:—God created the world by the same person through whom he hath spoken unto us, in as much as this person is God himself and one with the Father, *i. e.* He created the world by himself.[6] That this is the correct interpretation is confirmed by the testimony of Justin Martyr (who flourished about A. D. 150.), or the author of the epistle to Diognetus, which is commonly ascribed to him. Speaking of the special revelation of his will which God had made to Christians, he says, "This is no earthly invention which has been handed down to them, neither is it a mortal notion which they are bent upon observing so carefully, nor have they a system of human mysteries committed to them: but the omnipotent and all-creative and invisible God hath Himself from heaven established amongst men the truth and the holy and incomprehensible word, and rooted it in their hearts: not, as you might suppose, by sending to men any of His servants, either an angel or a prince, or one of those who administer the affairs of earth, or one of those who have the management of heavenly things intrusted to them, but the *Framer and Creator of the universe himself, by whom He created the heavens, by whom He shut up the sea in its own bounds.*"[7]

On this passage, Dr. Burton remarks:—"We have here an express declaration that Jesus Christ was *the Framer and Creator of the World.* God created them by Jesus Christ, as is said

[1] Simpson's Plea for the Deity of Christ, p. 438. Dr. Hey's Norrisian Lectures, vol. i. pp. 105—118. Quarterly Review, vol. xiii. pp. 183—188. See also some admirable observations of the learned Dr. Gregory Sharpe, in his Argument in Defence of Christianity, taken from the Concessions of the most ancient Adversaries, p. 90—99.

[2] The principal Commentaries of the Fathers are enumerated in the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to Volume II. Part II. Chap. V. Sect. III. § 1.

[3] Dr. Burton's Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ, Pref. p. viii.

[4] Stuart's Letters to Channing, p. 67.

[5] Irenæus, adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 8. § 2. p. 183. Burton's Testimonies, p. 71. Dr. B.'s reasonings upon the above-cited passage of Irenæus are very powerful.

[6] Schmucker's Biblical Theology, vol. i. pp. 425, 426.

[7] Epist. ad Diognet. c. 7. Burton's Testimonies, p. 47.

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in the Epistle to the Hebrews, i. 2.; and if the words quoted above are not sufficiently strong to exclude the idea of God having employed any subordinate agent, we find in the very next chapter the expression of '*God* the Lord and Creator of the universe, who made all things and arranged them in order.' Thus, according to Justin's own words, God created the world by His Son, and His Son, by whom he created them, was God."[1]

3. We have a striking confirmation of all those passages of the New Testament, in which the appellation and attributes of Deity are given to Jesus Christ, in the practice of the Christian church, mentioned by the father and ecclesiastical historian Eusebius; who, opposing the followers of Artemon (who asserted the mere humanity of Christ), first appeals to the evidence of Scripture and to the works of Justin, Miltiades, Tatian, Clement, and many other fathers, in all of which divinity is ascribed to Christ, and then states the following fact:—"Moreover, all the psalms and hymns of the brethren, *written from the beginning by the faithful, celebrate the praises of Christ, the word of God, and attribute* DIVINITY *to him.*"[2]

It were not difficult to add other examples: but the preceding may suffice to show the value of the fathers, as aids for ascertaining the meaning of particular passages. The reader who is desirous of examining their important evidence on the cardinal doctrine of Christ's Divinity is referred to Dr. Burton's "Testimonies," already cited: of whose elaborate and judicious work it has been truly said, that he "has brought before us a cloud of witnesses to prove that the faith delivered by our Lord to his apostles, and by the apostles to their successors, was essentially that which our church professes and cherishes."[3]

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§ 8. ON HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

Historical circumstances defined.—I. *Order.*—II. *Title.*—III. *Author.*—IV. *Date of the several books of Scripture.*—V. *The place where written.*—VI. *Occasion on which they were written.*—VII. *Ancient sacred and profane history.*—VIII. *Chronology.*—IX. *Biblical Antiquities, including,* 1. *The political, ecclesiastical, and civil state;*—2. *Coins, medals, and other ancient remains;*—3. *Geography;* 4. *Genealogy;*—5. *Natural History; and,* 6. *Philosophical sects and learning of the Jews and other nations mentioned in the Scriptures.*

HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES are an important help to the correct understanding of the sacred writers. Under this term are comprised—1. The *Order;* 2. The *Title;* 3. The *Author;* 4. The *Date* of each of the several books of Scripture; 5. The *Place* where it was written; 6. The *Occasion* upon which the several books were written; 7. *Ancient Sacred and Profane History;* 8. The *Chronology* or period of time embraced in the Scriptures generally, and of each book in particular; 9. *Biblical Antiquities*, including the Geography, Genealogy, Natural History and Philosophy, Learning and Philosophical Sects, Manners, Customs, and private Life of the Jews and other nations mentioned in the Bible. How important a knowledge of these particulars is, and how indispensably necessary to a correct interpretation of the inspired volume, we are now to consider.

I. A knowledge of the ORDER OF THE DIFFERENT BOOKS, especially such as are historical, will more readily assist the student to discover the order of the different histories and other matters discussed in them, as well as to trace the divine economy towards mankind under the Mosaic and Christian dispensations.

This aid, if judiciously exercised, opens the way to a deep acquaintance with the meaning of an author; but, when it is neglected, many things necessarily remain obscure and ambiguous.

II. The TITLES are further worthy of notice, because some of them announce the chief subject of the book;—

As *Genesis*, the generation of heaven and earth—*Exodus*, the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, &c.; while other titles denote the churches or particular persons for whose more immediate use some parts of the Scriptures were composed, and thus afforded light to particular passages.[4]

III. A knowledge of the AUTHOR of each book, together with the age in which he lived, his peculiar character, his sect or religion, and also his peculiar mode of thinking and style of writing, as well as the testimonies which his writings may contain concerning himself, is equally necessary to the historical interpretation of Scripture. Thus,

1. *The consideration of the testimonies concerning himself, which appear in the second Epistle of St. Peter, will shew that he was the author of that book:*

For he expressly says, 1. That he was present at the transfiguration of Jesus Christ (2 Pet. i. 18.); 2. That this was his second epistle to the believing Jews (iii. 1.); and that Paul was his beloved brother (iii. 15); in which circumstances quadrate with Peter. In like manner, the coincidence of style and of peculiar forms of expression, which exist between the second and third epistles of Saint John, and his other writings, prove that those epistles were written by him. Thus we shall be able to account for one writer's omitting some topics and expatiating upon others—as Saint Mark's silence concerning actions honourable to Saint Peter, and enlarging on his faults, he being the companion of the latter, and writing from his information. A comparison of the style of the Epistle to the Hebrews with that of Saint Paul's other epistles, will show that he was the author of that admirable composition.[5]

2. *In order to enter fully into the meaning of the sacred writers, especially of the New Testament, it is necessary that the reader in a manner identify himself with them, and invest himself with their affections or feelings; and also familiarize himself with the sentiments, &c. of those to whom the different books or epistles were addressed.*[6]

This canon is of considerable importance, as well in the investigation of words and phrases as in the interpretation of the sacred volume, and particularly of the prayers and imprecations related or contained therein. If the assistance, which may be derived from a careful study of the affections and feelings of the inspired writers be disregarded or neglected, it will be scarcely possible to avoid erroneous expositions of the Scriptures. Daily observation and experience prove how much of its energy and perspicuity familiar discourse derives from the affections of the speakers; and also that the same words, when pronounced under the influence of different emotions, convey very different meanings. Franzius has paid particular attention to this subject in the examples adduced in his treatise *De Interpretatione Sacræ Scripturæ;* and Franck has written a distinct essay on the same topic, which, being already extant in our language, it is not necessary to abridge in this place.[7]

IV. Knowledge of the TIME when each book was written sometimes shows the reason and propriety of things said in it.[8]

Upon this principle, the solemn adjuration in 1 Thess. v. 27., which at first sight may seem unnecessary, may be explained. It is probable that, from the beginning of the Christian dispensation, the Scriptures of the Old Testament were read in every assembly for divine worship. Saint Paul, knowing the plenitude of the apostolic commission, now demands that the same respect should be paid to his writings which had been given to those of the ancient prophets: this, therefore, is a proper direction to be inserted in the *first* epistle written by him; and the manner, in which it is given, suggests an argument that the first Epistle to the Thessalonians was the earliest of his epistles. An accurate knowledge of the date of a book is further of peculiar importance in order to understand the prophecies and epistles; for not only will it illustrate several apparently obscure particulars in a prediction, but it will also enable us to ascertain and to confute a false application of such prediction. Grotius, in his preface to the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, has endeavoured to prove that the Emperor Caligula was the *man of sin* and Simon Magus *the wicked one*, foretold in the second chapter of that epistle; and has fruitlessly laboured to show that it was written A. D. 38; but its true date, A. D. 52, explodes that application, as also Dr. Hammond's hypothesis that Simon Magus was the *man of sin*, and *the wicked one.*

V. Not unfrequently, the consideration of the PLACE, 1. Where any book was written; or, 2. Where any thing was

[1] Burton's Testimonies p. 48. Some other testimonies may be seen in the "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, briefly stated and defended," by the author of this Introduction, pp. 164—183. second edition.

[2] Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. v. c. 27, 28. Schmucker's Bib. Theol. vol. i. p. 413. The testimony of the heathen philosopher, Pliny, to the practice of the Christian churches in a province of Asia Minor in his day must not be overlooked. *Carmen* CHRISTO *quasi* DEO *dicere secum invicem,*—they were wont to.....*sing among themselves alternately a hymn to* CHRIST *as* GOD. Epist. lib. x. Ep. 97.

[3] British Critic and Quarterly Theol. Review, Oct. 1827, p. 303.

[4] Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, pp. (11.) (12.)

[5] This topic has been ably proved by Braunius, in his Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebræos, pp. 10—21.; by Pritius, in his Introductio in Novum Testamentum, cap. iv. § iii. pp. 47, 48., and by Langius, in his Commentatio de Vita et Epistolis Pauli, p. 157. Le Clerc has some pertinent remarks on the same subject, in his Ars Critica, pars iii. sect. ii. c. vi. p. 372.

[6] Pritii Introductio ad N. Test. p. 612. Wetstein de Interpret. Nov. Test. pp. 149—156. 8vo. edit. Franckii Prælectiones Hermeneuticæ, p. 192.

[7] See Mr. Jaques's translation of Franck's Guide to the Reading and Study of the Scriptures, pp. 141—175. 8vo. edit. An enlarged edition of this essay is given by Franck himself in his Prælectiones Hermeneuticæ, pp. 193—250.; to which Rambach is partly indebted for his chapter De Investigatione Adfectuum. Inst. Herm. Sacr. pp. 122—144. See also Oldendorp's Instit. Exeget. pp. 25. *et seq.;* and J. E. Pfeiffer's Inst. Hermen. Sacr. pp. 251—260.

[8] Rambach, Instit. Herm. Sacr. p. 116.

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said or done, will materially facilitate its historical interpretation, especially if regard be had, 3. To the NATURE OF THE PLACE, and the customs which obtained there.

1. For instance, it is evident that Saint Paul's second Epistle to the Thessalonians was written, shortly after the first, at Corinth, and not at Athens, as its subscription would import, from this circumstance, viz. that Timothy and Silvanus or Silas, who joined him in his first letter, were still with him, and joined him in the second. (Compare 2 Thess. i. 1. with 1 Thess. iii. 6. and Acts xviii. 1—5.) And as in this epistle he desired the brethren to *pray that he might be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men* (2 Thess. iii. 2.), it is probable that he wrote it soon after the insurrection of the Jews at Corinth, in which they dragged him before Gallio the proconsul of Achaia, and accused him of *persuading men to worship contrary to the law.* (Acts xviii. 13.) But this consideration of the place where a book was written will supply us with one or two observations that will more clearly illustrate some passages in the same epistle. Thus it is manifest from 2 Thess. iii. 8. that Saint Paul could appeal to his own personal labours for his subsistence with the greater confidence, as he had diligently prosecuted them at Corinth (compare Acts xviii. 3. with 1 Cor. ix. 11, 12, 13.); and, to mention no more examples, it is clear, from 2 Thess. iii. 1, 2., that the great Apostle of the Gentiles experienced more difficulty in planting a Christian church at Corinth and in some other places, than he did at Thessalonica. In a similar manner, numerous beautiful passages in his Epistle to the Ephesians will be more fully understood, by knowing that they were written at Rome during his first captivity.

2. Our Lord's admirable discourse, recorded in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, which so many disregarded, is said (v. 59.) to have been delivered in the synagogue at Capernaum, consequently in a public place, and in that very city which had witnessed the performance of so many of his miracles. And it is this circumstance of place which so highly aggravated the malice and unbelief of his hearers. (Compare Matt. xi. 23.)

3. The first Psalm being written in Palestine, the comparison (in v. 4.) of the ungodly to chaff driven away by the wind will become more evident, when it is recollected that the threshing-floors in that country were not under cover as those in our modern barns are, but that they were formed in the open air, without the walls of cities, and in lofty situations, in order that the wheat might be the more effectually separated from the chaff by the action of the wind. (See Hosea xiii. 3.) In like manner, the knowledge of the nature of the Arabian desert, through which the children of Israel journeyed, is necessary to the correct understanding of many passages in the Books of Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, which were written in that desert.

VI. We find it to be no small help to the understanding of ancient profane writings, if we can discover the OCCASION on which, as well the time when, they were penned; and for want of such knowledge many passages in such writings are become obscure and unintelligible. The same may be observed in the books of the Old and New Testament (especially in the Book of Psalms and the Apostolical Epistles), the right understanding of the design of which, as well as of their phraseology, is most essentially promoted by a careful observance of the OCCASION upon which they were written.

To some of the Psalms, indeed, there is prefixed a notice of the occasion on which they were composed: and, by comparing these with one another, and with the sacred history, great light may be, and has been, thrown upon the more difficult passages; and the meaning, beauty, and energy of many expressions have been set in a clearer point of view. But where no such titles are prefixed, the *occasion* must be sought from internal circumstances.

Psalm xlii. was evidently written by David, when he was in circumstances of the deepest affliction: but if we compare it with the history of the conspiracy of Absalom, aided by Ahithophel, who had deserted the councils of his sovereign, as related in 2 Sam. xv., and also with the character of the country whither David fled, we shall have a key to the meaning of that psalm, which will elucidate it with equal beauty and propriety.[1]

VII. ANCIENT SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY.—An acquaintance with the history of the Israelites, as well as that of the Moabites, Ammonites, Philistines, Egyptians, Assyrians, Medes, Babylonians, Persians, Arabians, Greeks, Romans, and other ancient nations, is of the greatest importance to the historical interpretation of the Bible: for, as the Jewish people were connected with those nations, either in a hostile or in a pacific manner, the knowledge of their history, customs, arts, and literature, becomes the more interesting; as it is well known that the Israelites, notwithstanding they were forbidden to have intercourse with the heathen, did nevertheless borrow and adopt some of their institutions. More particularly, regardless of the severe prohibitions delivered by Moses and the prophets against idolatry, how many idols did they borrow from the Gentiles at different times, previously to the great Babylonish captivity, and associate them in the worship of Jehovah! Their commercial intercourse with the Egyptians and Arabs, and especially with the Phœnicians, was very considerable; and at the same time, they were almost incessantly at war with the Philistines, Moabites, and other neighbouring nations, and afterwards with the Assyrians and Egyptians, until they were finally conquered, and carried into captivity by the Assyrians and Babylonians. Further, the prophets, in their denunciations or predictions, not only address their admonitions and threatenings to the Israelites and Jews, but also frequently accost foreign nations, whom they menace with destruction. The writings of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel contain very numerous predictions relative to the heathen nations, which would be utterly unintelligible without the aid of profane history. The same remark will apply to the divisions of time and forms of government that obtained at different periods, which cannot be ascertained from the perusal of the Sacred Writings merely.

In proportion, however, as the history of the ancient nations of Asia becomes necessary to the interpretation of the Bible, it is to be regretted that it is for the most part involved in so much obscurity and confusion as to require no small labour before we can extricate it from the trammels of fable, and arrive at any thing like certainty. As the histories of ancient Egypt have perished, with the exception of a few fragments preserved in the writings of Josephus, Eusebius, and other authors, our knowledge of the earliest state of that country (which is sufficiently confused and intricate) can only be derived from Herodotus, Diodorus, and some other Greek writers, who cannot always be depended on. The writings of Sanchoniatho, with the exception of a few fragments, as well as the works of Histiæus, and other Phœnician historians, have long since perished; and, for our accounts of the Assyrians, recourse must chiefly be had to the Scriptures themselves, as no confidence whatever can be placed in the narrations of Ctesias, whose fidelity and veracity have justly been questioned by Aristotle, Strabo, and Plutarch. The history of the Ammonites, Moabites, Idumæans, Philistines, and other petty neighbouring nations, who had no historians of their own, is involved in equal obscurity; for the little that is known of them, with certainty, we are exclusively indebted to the Holy Scriptures.

The sources, therefore, of that historical knowledge, which is so essential to an interpreter of the Sacred Writings, are, in the first place, the Old and New Testaments, and next the works of Josephus and profane authors. It is, however, to be observed, that where the latter speak of the Jews, they *wilfully misrepresent* them, as is done by Justin and Tacitus. With a view to reconcile these various contradictions, and to overcome the difficulties thus interposed by the uncertainty of ancient profane history, various learned men have at different times employed themselves in digesting the remains of ancient history, and comparing it with the Scriptures, in order to illustrate them as much as possible; and the Connections of Sacred and Profane History, by Drs. Shuckford, Prideaux, and Russell, Stackhouse's History of the Bible, and Dr. Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History, are particularly worthy of notice.[2]

VIII. CHRONOLOGY, or the science of computing and adjusting periods of time, is of the greatest importance towards understanding the historical parts of the Bible, not only as it shows the order and connection of the various events therein recorded, but likewise as it enables us to ascertain the accomplishment of many of the prophecies. Chronology is further of service to the biblical critic, as it sometimes leads to the discovery and correction of mistakes in numbers and dates,

[1] Dr. Randolph has very happily elucidated the whole of the forty-second Psalm, from an investigation of the occasion from internal circumstances, in a Dissertation, at the end of vol. i. of his View of Christianity, &c. Oxford. 1784. 8vo

[2] An account of their valuable works is given in the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to Vol. II.

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which have crept into particular texts. As considerable differences exist in the chronology of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint version, and Josephus, different learned men have applied themselves to the investigation of these difficulties, and have communicated the result of their researches in elaborate systems. Some one of these, after examining their various claims, it will be desirable to have constantly at hand. The principal systems of Chronology are those of Cappel, Vossius, Archbishop Usher, Bedford, Jackson, and Dr. Hales; of which an account will be found in the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to the second Volume.

IX. A knowledge of BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES (including the Sacred and Profane History, Geography, Genealogy, Natural History, Coins, Medals, and other ancient remains, and Philosophy, Learning and Philosophical Sects, Manners, Customs, and private Life, of the Jews and other nations mentioned in the Bible) is indispensably necessary to the right understanding of the sacred volume.

1. What the peculiar rites, manners, and customs of the Hebrews and other nations actually were, that are either alluded to or mentioned in the Scriptures, can only be ascertained by the study of their POLITICAL, ECCLESIASTICAL, and CIVIL STATE; without an accurate knowledge of which, all interpretation must be both defective and imperfect.

If, in order to enter fully into the meaning, or correctly apprehend the various beauties, of the Greek and Roman classics, it be necessary to be acquainted with the peculiar forms of government which prevailed—the powers of magistrates—modes of executing the laws—the punishments of criminals—tributes or other duties imposed on subjects—their military affairs—sacred rites and festivals—private life, manners, and amusements—commerce, measures, and weights, &c. &c.—how much greater difficulties will be interposed in *his* way, who attempts to interpret the Scriptures without a knowledge of these topics! For, as the customs and manners of the oriental people are widely different from those of the western nations; as, further, their sacred rites differ most essentially from every thing with which we are acquainted, and as the Jews in particular, from the simplicity of their language, have drawn very numerous metaphors from the works of nature, from the ordinary occupations and arts of life, from religion and things connected with it, as well as from their national history;—there are many things recorded, both in the Old and New Testament, which must appear to Europeans either obscure, unintelligible, repulsive, or absurd, unless, forgetting our own peculiar habits and modes of thinking, we transport ourselves in a manner to the East, and diligently study the customs, whether political, sacred, or civil, which obtained there. In the second volume of this work, the author has attempted to compress the most important facts relative to biblical antiquities.

2. With regard to COINS, MEDALS, AND OTHER ANCIENT REMAINS, considered as a source of interpretation, a few remarks and illustrations may be here introduced. The examples given in pp. 88—92. *supra*, as collateral testimonies to the credibility of the sacred writers, may indeed be considered as so many elucidations of the passages there referred to. Two or three additional instances shall now be subjoined, which will serve to show the important hermeneutical aid, which may be derived from these remains of ancient art.

1. Acts xi. 26. It came to pass that ..... the disciples were called (Χρηματισαι) Christians, first in Antioch.

Commentators and critics are much divided in opinion concerning the origin of the appellation Christian. Some are of opinion that it was first invented by the enemies of religion, and was fixed upon the disciples of Christ as a stigma of reproach. In confirmation of this opinion, they refer to Acts xxvi. 28. and 1 Pet. iv. 16. Others imagine, that the Christians themselves assumed this appellation. Others, with more propriety, conceive that it was given to them by divine appointment, or by an oracle from God. In *every other* passage of the New Testament (with perhaps one exception only), where the word Χρηματιζω occurs, as well as in the Septuagint version,[1] it uniformly means being warned by a divine oracle; and when we consider, that it had been predicted by Isaiah (lxii. 2.) that the future church should *be called* by a NEW NAME, which the *mouth of the Lord shall name*, we shall be justified in adopting the third interpretation, and render the passage thus:—*And the disciples were called Christians by divine appointment first at Antioch.*[2] The correctness of this interpretation is confirmed, not only by the fact, that the verb Χρηματιζω is used in this sense among Greek writers, and is especially understood concerning the manifestation of the heathen gods, in which responses were given to those who consulted them; but also by the fact of its occurring on an ancient votive tablet found at Rome, which was formerly seen in the temple of Æsculapius, on an island in the Tiber: from which the following passages are selected:—

ΑΥΤΑΙΣ ΤΑΙΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΙΣ ΓΑΙΩΙ
ΤΙΝΙ ΤΥΦΛΩΙ ΕΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΣΕΝ (ὁ Θεος).

In those days (the god) DIVINELY ANSWERED (or gave an oracular response to), one Gaius, a blind man.

ΑΟΥΚΙΩΙ ΠΑΓΥΡΙΤΙΚΩΙ....
ΕΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΣΕΝ Ο ΘΕΟΣ.

The God DIVINELY ANSWERED.....Lucius, who laboured under a pleurisy.[3]

2. John xi. 19. Ελληλυθασι ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΠΕΡΙ Μαρθαν και Μαριαν.

The expressions, οι περι τινα, and οι αμφι τινα, are used by the best Greek writers for the persons themselves: the same mode of construction obtains in this passage of St. John's Gospel, which is correctly rendered in our authorized version, *They came to Martha and Mary*. The same expression occurs in an inscription found at Olbiopolis: ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΟΥΛΠΙΟΥ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ ΑΡΣΗΧΟΥ, ΟΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΣΕΙΔΗΝ ΖΗΘΟΥ ΤΟ Γ ΑΓΟΡΟΝΟΜΟΙ, ΚΟΥΝΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ, &c. That is, during the archonship of Marcus Ulpius Pyrrhus [the son of] Arsechus, the Agoronomoi (or inspectors of markets) Poseides the son of Zethus for the third time, Kunus [the son of] Athenæus, &c. &c.[4]

3. Acts xix. 35. Commentators have been much perplexed concerning the functions of the Γραμματευς, or Town-clerk of Ephesus.

As the Ephesians were at this time solemnizing games in honour of Diana (whose celebrated temple was erected at the common expense of all the the cities of Asia) under the presidency of the Asiarchs, that is, principal officers or high-priests chosen by the community of Asia for that purpose, it is highly probable that this Γραμματευς was a person of greater authority than the clerk or recorder of Ephesus. Domninus, an ancient author, cited by the chronologer Malela[5] (who, being a native of Ephesus, could not but be acquainted with the public transactions of his own city), relates that, besides the Syriarch, there were the Alytarch, who represented Jupiter, the Γραμματευς, who represented Apollo, and the Amphitales, who represented Mercury; and that suitable honours were paid to them by all the people. Apuleius[6] also states, that a Γραμματευς presided over certain sacred rites in Egypt. The presumption, therefore, is, that the Γραμματευς of Ephesus was not a civil officer, as is commonly supposed, but a sacred officer; and this presumption is converted into certainty by the fact that, among the various coins of that city, which are still extant, there are several containing the names of persons who bore the title of ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ, ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ, or, High Priest-Scribe, particularly one which was struck during the triumvirate of Augustus, Anthony, and Lepidus (no very long time before the transaction related in Acts xix.), which has the following inscription:—

ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΓΡΑΜ ΓΛΑΥΚΩΝ ΕΥΘΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ

Glaucon Euthycrates, the High Priest-Scribe of the Ephesians.[7]

Now, as this officer was the representative of Apollo, who could be more proper to address the infuriated populace, or more likely to have weight and influence with them, and the force of an oracle in what he said to them, than that officer to whom they paid the honours due to Apollo?[8] The good sense of his address, and the happy effect it produced upon the Ephesian populace, confirm this conclusion.

It were not difficult to adduce many additional instances, in which the comparatively untried application of coins and inscriptions is calculated to elucidate particular words and forms of expression in the New Testament: but the preceding instances may suffice; and the student who is desirous of prosecuting this subject further will find ample materials in the publications of Bishop Münter, already cited.

In the application of Biblical Antiquities to the interpretation of the Sacred Writings, it is, however, of the utmost importance, that we should be guided by the exercise of a sober and cautious judgment, and by the influence of a correct taste; lest we ascribe to the inspired authors sentiments which perhaps never entered their minds, or imagine customs which never had any existence. From this mistake, that acute biblical critic, and most diligent investigator of oriental manners and customs, Michaelis, is not exempt.

In Prov. x. 14. we read, *Wise men lay up knowledge*, that is, treasure it up, and reserve it for a proper opportunity to make use of it: *but the mouth of the foolish is near destruction*; such a one is always talking, and seldom

[1] See Biel's Lexicon in LXX. voce Χρηματιζω.

[2] The place where this divine appellation was given to the disciples of Christ is too important to be altogether passed by. It was.....*at Antioch*, the metropolis of Syria, at that time pre-eminent for the splendour of its edifices, and the riches, luxury, and profligacy of its inhabitants; and in this seemingly little circumstance we may recognise an additional triumph of the Gospel, that *that venerable name*, which obliges every one who bears it to depart from all iniquity (2 Tim. ii. 19.), should have commenced in a city where every kind of iniquity prevailed. Further, it was at Antioch in Syria, and NOT Rome in Italy; and this circumstance annihilates the proud pretensions of that corrupt section of the universal professing Christian church, which, in direct opposition to the evidence of history and fact, arrogantly assumes to be the mother and mistress of all the churches of Christ.

[3] Gruteri Thesaurus Inscriptionum, p. lxxi. Munteri Symbolæ ad Interpretationem Nov. Test. ex Marmoribus, in Misc. Hafniensia, vol. i. part i. pp. 8, 9. The oracular responses above mentioned were given in the temple of Æsculapius, in the night-time, and for the most part to persons while asleep.

[4] Münter, Symbolæ, p. 23. It is, however, proper to remark, that the reading τους περι Μαρθαν και Μαριαν is not fully established. The Codex Bezæ *omits* the words τας περι, and the Codices Vaticanus, Ephremi, Regius 62 [illegible] (Stephani 8.), and Colbertinus, simply read προς την Μαρθαν και Μαριαν *to Martha and Mary*; and the Syriac version has only the names of the two sisters. Münter, ibid. Winer's Grammar to the New Test. p. 54.

[5] Joan. Malela, p. 374, &c. Cited in Biscoe on the Acts, vol. i. p. 305.

[6] In Milesia undecima cited by Basnage, Annal. vol. i. p. 673. Biscoe, p. 306.

[7] Rasche, Lexicon Rei Numinariæ, tom. ii. part i. col. 649.

[8] Biscoe on the Acts, vol. i. p. 306.

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opens his mouth but it proves a present mischief to himself and others. By changing the points in the latter clause of this verse, Michaelis reads: the *mouth of the foolish is as a censer near at hand (thuribulum propinquum)*; and he illustrates this expression by the oriental custom of offering perfumes to a guest, which (it is well known) is an intimation to him that it is time for him to depart. The sense which this profound scholar puts upon the passage is as follows: the foolish man alienates every one from him by his silly and insipid discourses. Is not this torturing words, and ascribing to the sacred penman an allusion which he never designed to make?[1]

But, more particularly,

(1.) *We should investigate the laws, opinions, and principles of those nations among whom the Hebrews resided for a long time, or with whom they held a close intercourse, and from whom it is probable they received some of them.*

From the long residence of the Hebrews in Egypt, it has been conjectured by some learned men that they derived by far the greater part of their institutions from the Egyptians: but this hypothesis appears untenable, to its full extent, the Israelites being separated from the Egyptians by their pastoral habits, which rendered them abominable in the eyes of the latter. At the same time, from their having passed four hundred years in that country, it is not unlikely that they derived *some*[2] things from their oppressors. A few instances will elucidate this remark.

1. Under the Jewish theocracy, the judges are represented as holy persons, and as sitting in the place of Jehovah.[3] The Egyptians regarded their sovereigns in this light.[4] Hence Michaelis, to whom we are indebted for this fact, conjectures that the Israelites just on their exit from Egypt, called their rulers *gods*, not only in poetry, but also in the common language of their laws (see Exod. xxi. 6.), where the word *judges* is, in the original Hebrew, *gods*.[5] Again, agriculture was the basis of the whole Mosaic polity; and it was probably from the Egyptians that the Jewish legislator borrowed the principle on which his polity was thus founded: though indeed we find, that the state of the ancient Romans was accidentally established on a similar plan.[6] The priests, and especially the Levites, united the profession of ministers of religion with that of literati among the Jews, in the same manner as the Egyptian priests had partitioned literature among themselves, so that their institution was wholly Egyptian in its origin.[7] And, to mention no further instances of this kind, the molten calf which the Israelites required of Aaron seems to have been an exact resemblance of the celebrated Egyptian god Apis, who was worshipped under the form of an ox.[8]

2. At a subsequent period, during their captivity, some of the Jews appear to have imbibed the absurd notion of the Persians, that there were two supreme beings, an evil and a good one, representing light and darkness; and that according to the ascendency of one or other of these, good and happiness prevailed among men, or evil and misery abounded. Such, at least, was the absurd opinion held by the person to whom Isaiah addressed his prophecy (ch. xlv.), and which he refutes in the most significant and pointed manner.[9]

3. In our Saviour's time the learning of the Greeks was cultivated by the Jews, who adopted the peculiar tenets of some of their most eminent philosophers. The Pharisees, it was well known, believed the immortality of the soul: but it appears from Josephus, that their notion of such immortality was the Pythagorean metempsychosis.[10] From the Pharisees this tenet was generally received by the Jewish people; and, notwithstanding the benefit derived from hearing the discourses and conversations of our Lord, it appears to have been held by some of his disciples.

(2.) *We must take care not to ascribe comparatively modern rites and customs to the ancient Hebrews.*

From not attending to this rule, the Jewish teachers, and those Christian doctors who have implicitly followed them, have caused much perplexity in the antiquities of the Jews, having attributed to the ancient Hebrews rites and ceremonies that did not exist till later times; and, from not distinguishing the different ages, they have consequently confounded ancient manners and customs with those which are of modern date. The Talmudists, and other Jewish writers, should not be consulted without the greatest caution; for, living as they did long after the destruction of the Jewish polity, they not only were imperfectly acquainted with it, but they likewise contradict each other, as well as Josephus and Philo, authors every way more worthy of confidence, as being contemporary with that event; not unfrequently indeed do they contradict the Scriptures themselves, and, indulging their own speculations, they produce commentaries which are truly ridiculous. The necessary consequence is, that those learned men, who have implicitly followed the Talmudists, have been precipitated into various errors. From these mistakes, not even Reland and Ikenius are exempt—two of the best writers, perhaps, who have applied themselves to the investigation of Jewish antiquities.[11]

(3.) *Lastly, our knowledge of biblical antiquities must be derived from pure sources.*

The first and most important source is unquestionably the Old and New Testaments; the careful collation of which will enable us to collect accounts of the modes of living which obtained among the ancient Jews. Much light will further be obtained into the state of Jewish affairs, from consulting the apocryphal books, among which the first book of Maccabees is particularly valuable. To these may be added the writings of Philo, Josephus and the Talmudists. Further, a judicious comparison of the notions that obtained among ancient, and comparatively uncultivated nations, with those entertained by the Hebrews or Jews, will, from their similitude, enable us to enter more fully into the meaning of the sacred writers. Thus many pleasing illustrations of patriarchal life and manners may be obtained by comparing the writings of Homer and Hesiod with the accounts given by Moses. The Iliad, for instance, illustrates Abraham's manner of dividing the sacrifice.[12] The patriarchal hospitality is similar to that described in the Odyssey.[13] How early a belief in the ministry of angels obtained among the heathen nations, is evident from comparing the account of Hesiod[14] with that of Moses;[15] and it furnishes an additional proof to the many others which have been collected by learned men, to show that all the knowledge of the ancients was traditionally derived, though with innumerable corruptions, from the Hebrews.

Finally, if to these sources we add an acquaintance with the modern customs and manners which prevail in the East, as they are related by travellers of approved character, we shall have a sure and easy access to the knowledge of sacred antiquities: for, as the Orientals, from their tenacious adherence to old usages, are not likely to differ materially from their ancestors,[16] we have no very great reason to be apprehensive, from comparing the manners, &c. of the modern Syrians, Arabs, and other inhabitants of the East, with those of the ancient Hebrews, that we should attribute customs to them which never obtained among them. Where, indeed, any new usage does exist among the Orientals, it may be discovered without much difficulty by men of learning and penetration. The interpretation of the Bible, therefore, is not a little facilitated by the perusal of the voyages and travels of those who have explored the East. Among these valuable contributors to the promotion of Biblical science, the names of D'Arvieux, Maundrell, Thompson, Chardin, Shaw, Hasselquist, Pocock, Niebuhr, Seetzen, Dr. E. D. Clarke, Lord Valentia, Walpole, Ouseley, Morier, Light, Russel, Chateaubriand, Burckhardt, Buckingham, Belzoni, Dr. Richardson, the Rev. Mr. Jowett, Sir R. K. Porter and others, are justly celebrated: but as many of their works are voluminous and costly, various writers have judiciously applied themselves to selecting and arranging the most material passages of their travels, which are calculated to elucidate the Holy Scriptures. In this department of sacred literature, the compilations of Harmer, Burder, and the editor of Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible, are particularly distinguished. Of these works, as well as of the principal writers on Jewish Antiquities, the reader will find a notice in the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to the second Volume.

3. Intimately connected with history and chronology is ancient GEOGRAPHY, especially that of Palestine and the neighbouring countries; the knowledge of which, it is universally confessed, tends to illustrate almost innumerable passages of Scripture. The principal sources of sacred geography are the Scriptures themselves, and the ancient Greek and other writers, who have treated on the different countries mentioned in the Bible; and to these may be added the voyages and travels of Chardin, Seetzen,[17] and others, mentioned above, who have explored the East, and whose narratives contain many very happy elucidations of the physical and political geography of the Bible.—These sources have been diligently consulted by most of the learned men who have applied themselves to the illustration of this important topic. The principal works on sacred geography are those of Bochart Michaelis, Spanheim, Reland, and Wells.[18]

4. Next to History and Geography, GENEALOGY holds an important place in the study of the Sacred Writings. The evidences of Christianity cannot be correctly, if at all under-

[1] Bauer, Hermeneutica, Sacra, p. 275.

[2] That *all* the Hebrew institutions were of Egyptian origin is an hypothesis now generally abandoned, since the able refutation of it by the learned Herman Witsius, in his Ægyptiaca (Amstelodami, 1696, 4to.), and in his Miscellanea Sacra, tom. i. pp. 429. *et seq.*

[3] Deut. i. 17. and xix. 17.

[4] Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. c. 90. "From this cause" (viz. gratitude to benefactors, among whom they reckoned such animals as were peculiarly useful to the country, and held them sacred) "the Egyptians seem so to reverence their kings, and humbly to address them as if *they were gods*. They even believe that it is not without the peculiar care of Providence that they arrive at supreme power; and that those, who have the will and the power to perform deeds of the greatest beneficence, are partakers of the divine nature."

[5] Michaelis's Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, vol. i. p. 192.

[6] Ibid. vol. i. p. 22.

[7] Ibid. vol. i. p. 255.

[8] Schumacher, De Cultu Animalium inter Ægyptios et Judæos Commentatio, pp. 40—47. Our learned countryman, Spencer, in his work De Legibus Hebræorum, and Michaelis, in his commentaries above cited, have shown, in many additional examples, the striking resemblance between many of the institutions of the Israelites and those of the Egyptians.

[9] Vitringa, and Lowth, on Isaiah xlv. 7.

[10] Josephus, De Bello Judaico, lib. ii. c. 8. § 14. and Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 1. § 3. The Pharisees held that every soul was immortal, but that only the souls of the righteous transmigrate into other bodies, while the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment. At first sight, this account appears to contradict the statement of St. Paul (Acts xxiv. 15.): but the repugnance is easily obviated, when it is considered that Josephus is speaking of the Pharisees only, but the apostle of the Jews in general, and of himself in particular

[11] Schulzii Compendium Archæologiæ Hebraicæ, Prolegomena, p. xvii. Bauer, Herm. Sacr. p. 276.

[12] Homeri Ilias, lib. i. v. 460, 461. compared with Gen. xv. 9, 10. Mr. Trollope has happily applied the Homeric expressions to the elucidation of the Scriptures, in about four hundred instances, in his valuable edition of Homer with English Notes. London, 1827, 2 vols. 8vo.

[13] Gen. xviii. 6—8. compared with the Odyssey, lib. xiv. v. 71—76. 419—430.

[14] Opera et Dies, lib. i. v. 130—136.

[15] Gen. xxxii. 1, 2.

[16] "The manners of the East,"—it is remarked by one of the most intelligent of modern oriental travellers,—"amidst all the changes of government and religion, are still the same. They are living impressions from an original mould; and, at every step, some object, some idiom, some dress, or some custom of common life, reminds the traveller of ancient times, and confirms, above all, the beauty, the accuracy, and the propriety of the language and history of the Bible." Morier's Second Journey through Persia. Pref. p. viii.

[17] The result of M. Seetzen's researches, which were undertaken under the patronage of the Palestine Association for investigating the present state of the Holy Land, was published in a thin quarto tract, entitled "A brief Account of the Countries adjoining the Lake of Tiberias, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea." Bath and London, 1810. Many places in Palestine, particularly beyond the Jordan, which are in great degree unknown, are satisfactorily described in this little tract.

[18] The writings of the above noticed geographers and travellers have been consulted for the Summary of Biblical Geography and Antiquities, found in the second volume of this Work.

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stood, unless the genealogy of the Messiah, and his descent from Abraham and David, be distinctly traced. This is obvious from the prophecies, which, ages before his advent, determined the line of his descent; and left nothing to chance or imposture on the important subject of the promised seed, that, in the fulness of time, was to "bruise the serpent's head," and by his one oblation of himself, once offered, was to make a full and perfect atonement for the sins of the whole world. Many neat genealogical tables are to be found in some of the earlier and larger editions of the Bible. Some of the most useful treatises on this subject are noticed in the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX.

5. Of equal importance with either of the preceding branches of knowledge is NATURAL HISTORY; by which alone many, otherwise obscure, passages of Scripture can be explained. Thus, frequent direct mention is made of animals, trees, plants, and precious stones; sometimes the Scripture expresses sentiments either in allusion to, or by metaphors taken from, some fact in natural history; and sometimes characters are described in allusion to natural objects; and without the knowledge of these, we cannot perceive the nature of the characters intended. Much information concerning this important topic may be derived from the labours of the oriental travellers already mentioned, and especially those of Shaw, Russell, Hasselquist, Forskäl, and Niebuhr. The most successful investigations of this interesting topic are to be found in the writings of Bochart, Celsius, Scheuchzer, Professor Paxton, and especially of the Rev. Dr. Harris, of Dorchester, Massachusetts.

6. Lastly, in perusing the sacred volume, the attentive reader cannot fail to be struck with allusions to PHILOSOPHICAL NOTIONS and SECTS, as well as to certain branches of learning, which were cultivated by the nations or people therein mentioned: it is impossible fully to apprehend the force, propriety, and beauty of these allusions without a knowledge of the notions, &c. referred to. A short sketch of the principal Jewish sects occurs in the second volume of this work; but the only writer, to the best of the author's recollection, who has discussed this subject in a separate treatise, is the learned and indefatigable Professor Buddeus, in his *Introductio ad Historiam Philosophiæ Hebræorum*, *Halæ*, 1720, 8vo.; of whose labours he has availed himself. The philosophical notions which obtained among the Jews are also incidentally treated in most of the larger commentaries, as well as in most of those works which profess to be Introductions to the Bible.

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§ 9. ON COMMENTARIES.

I. *Different classes of Commentaries.*—II. *Nature of Scholia.*—III. *Commentaries.*—IV. *Modern versions and paraphrases.*—V. *Homilies.*—VI. *Collections of observations on Holy Writ.*—VII. *The utility and advantage of Commentaries.*—VIII. *Design to be kept in view, when consulting them.*—IX. *Rules for consulting Commentaries to the best advantage.*

I. THE labours of expositors and commentators have been divided into various classes, according to the nature of their different works; for, although few confine themselves to one method of interpretation, exclusively, yet each generally has some predominant character, by which he is peculiarly distinguished. Thus, some are,

1. Wholly *Spiritual* or *Figurative*; as Cocceius, and those foreign commentators who have followed his untenable system, viz. that the Scripture is every where to be taken in the fullest sense it will admit; and in our own country, Dr. Gill, Dr. Hawker, and some minor writers.

2. *Literal and Critical*; such are Ainsworth, Wetstein, Dr. Blayney, Bishop Patrick, Lowth, and Whitby, Calmet, Chais, Bishop Lowth, Archbishop Newcome, Wall, Dr. Campbell, Dr. Priestley, and others.

3. *Wholly Practical*; as Musculus, Zuingle, Baxter, Henry, Ostervald, Dr. Fawcett, the "Reformer's Bible, &c. &c.

4. Those who unite critical, philological, and practical observations: such are the commentaries of Dr. Dodd, Bishop Mant and Dr. D'Oyly, Poole, Scott, M. Martin, Dr. A. Clarke, Mr. Benson, &c. on the entire Bible, and the paraphrases of Pyle, and of Mr. Orton, on the Old Testament; on the New Testament, Dr. S. Clarke and Pyle, Dr. Doddridge, Mr. Locke, Dr. Benson, Dr. Macknight, Mr. Gilpin, &c. &c.

A more correct classification of expository writings may be into *Scholia*, *Perpetual Annotations*, *Commentaries*, and *Paraphrases*; whose united design is, to lead their readers to the right understanding of the author whom they undertake to explain. Hence their province is, to illustrate obscure passages, to reconcile apparent contradictions, to obviate difficulties, whether *verbal* or *real*, and, in short, to remove every thing that may tend to excite doubts in the minds of the readers of the Bible.

II. SCHOLIA are short explanatory notes on the sacred writers; whose authors, termed *scholiasts*, particularly aim at brevity. In this kind of expository writings, obscure words and phrases are explained by such as are more clear; figurative by such as are proper; and the genuine force of each word and phrase is pointed out. Further, the allusions to ancient manners and customs are illustrated, and whatever light may be thrown upon the sacred writer from history or geography is carefully concentrated, and *concisely expressed*: nor does the scholiast fail to select and introduce the principal and most valuable various readings, whose excellence, antiquity, and genuineness, to the best of his judgment, give them a claim to be noticed. The discordant interpretations of difficult passages are stated and examined, and the most probable one is pointed out, but without exhibiting the grounds of the exposition. These various topics, however, are rather touched upon, than treated at length: though no material passages are (or at least ought to be) left unnoticed, yet some very obscure and difficult passages are left to be discussed and expounded by more learned men. Such was the method, according to which the ancient scholiasts composed their scholia for illustrating Homer, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Horace, Virgil, and other Greek and Latin classics; and the same mode has been adopted by those Christian writers who have written scholia on the Bible.[1]

III. The various topics, which engage the attention of the scholiast, are also discussed, but more at length, by COMMENTATORS; whose observations form a series of continuous annotations on the sacred writers, and who point out more clearly the train of their thoughts, as well as the coherence of their expressions, and all the various readings which are of any importance. The commentator, therefore, not only furnishes summaries of the argument, but also resolves the expressions of his author into their several parts, and shows in what respects they agree, as well as where they are apparently at variance. He further weighs and examines different passages, that admit of different interpretations; and while he offers his own views, he confirms them by proper arguments or proofs, and solves any doubts which may attend his own interpretation. Further, a judicious commentator will avoid all prolix, extraneous, and unnecessary discussions, as well as far-fetched explanations, and will bring every philological aid to bear upon passages that are in any degree difficult or obscure. Commentators *ought not* to omit a single passage that possesses more than ordinary difficulty, though the contrary is the case with many, who expatiate very copiously on the more easy passages of Scripture, while they scarcely touch on those which are really difficult, if they do not altogether omit to treat of them. In a word, it is the commentator's province to remove every difficulty that can impede the biblical reader, and to produce whatever can facilitate his studies, by rendering the sense of the sacred writings more clear and easy to be apprehended.

IV. A peculiar and important method of exposition is that of MODERN VERSIONS and PARAPHRASES. Neither can be properly executed unless their authors have previously mastered the book or passage which they intend to translate or paraphrase, and are well versed in the language. Versions of different books and with different designs should not all be conducted upon the same plan.

1. A VERSION is the rendering fully, perspicuously, and faithfully, of the words and ideas of an author into a different language from that which he used. The properties of a good version are—correctness and fidelity in expressing the precise manner in which the idea is presented, the figures, order, connection, and mode of writing; yet without being always literal and expressing word for word. Further, it

[1] Somewhat similar to Scholia are the *Questiones* or inquiries concerning particular books of Scripture which were composed by ancient ecclesiastical writers: they differ from Scholia in this respect, that questions are exclusively confined to the consideration of *some* difficult passages only, whose meaning was at that time an object of discussion, while it is the design of Scholia to notice *every* difficult or obscure passage with brevity and perspicuity. Augustine, among other biblical treatises, wrote two books of *Questiones Evangelica*, on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke.

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should be accommodated to the idiom of the language, which the translator is using, and at the same time be perspicuous and flowing.

In reference to versions it may be inquired, 1. Under what circumstances it may be lawful to depart from the style and manner of the original author? (There are words, figures, and modes of construction, which cannot be literally expressed in a different language.) 2. Whether the Hebraic construction is to be retained? It seems by no means proper, that the peculiar manner of an ancient author should be entirely obliterated; much less, that a different manner be obtruded upon him. 3. Whether the technical terms which occur in the New Testament should be changed for others.

2. A PARAPHRASE is the expression, in greater extent, of the meaning of the sacred author; in which is inserted whatever is necessary to explain the connection and exhibit the sense: so that what is obscure is thus rendered more perspicuous, in one continued and unbroken narrative. *Provided the integrity of his author's sense be observed*, the paraphrast is at liberty to abridge what is narrated at length, to enlarge on what is written with brevity, to supply *supposed* omissions, to fill up chasms, to illustrate obscure and apparently involved passages, by plain, clear, and neatly turned expressions, to connect passages which seem too far asunder, or not disposed in order either of time or subject, and to arrange the whole in a regular series. These, indeed, it must be admitted, are important liberties, not to be taken with the Scriptures by *any* paraphrast without the utmost caution, and even then only in the most sparing manner.

Paraphrases have been divided by Professor Rambach,[1] and other writers on the interpretation of the Bible, into two classes—*historical* and *textual*. In the former class of paraphrases, the argument of a book or chapter is pursued historically; and the paraphrast endeavours to give his author's meaning in perspicuous language. In the latter instance, the paraphrast assumes, as it were, the person of the sacred writer, closely pursues the thread of his discourse, and aims at expressing every word and phrase, though in circumscribed limits, yet in terms that are both clear and obvious to the capacities of his readers. Hence it would appear, that a paraphrase is the most difficult species of expository writing; and, as the number of paraphrasts on the Scriptures is, comparatively, small (probably from this circumstance), the ingenious classification of them proposed by Rambach is not sufficiently important to render it necessary that we should form them into a separate class of interpreters. It is of infinitely greater moment to Bible readers, when purchasing works of this description, that they select those which are neither too prolix nor too expensive, and whose authors avoid every thing like party-spirit; neither extolling beyond measure any thing ancient, merely because it is of remote antiquity, nor evincing a spirit of *dogmatical innovation*; but who, "rightly dividing the word of truth," while they express themselves in clear and perspicuous terms, show themselves to be well skilled both in the theory and application of sound principles of scriptural interpretation, and who have diligently availed themselves of every internal and external aid for ascertaining the sense of the sacred writers.

The utility of both versions and paraphrases is great; but neither can supersede the necessity of more extended and minute interpretation.

V. HOMILIES are another kind of interpretation in which either larger portions of Scripture or single texts are explained and practically applied to the several purposes of instruction, admonition, or consolation; and properly destined to the service of the church. Homilies answered to our discourses on detached texts of Scripture, but they were filled with pious fables and the philosophy of the times when their authors lived. The best homilies extant are those of Origen and Chrysostom.

VI. Closely allied to commentaries are the collections of OBSERVATIONS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE SACRED WRITINGS, which have been formed of late years, and require to be consulted with similar cautions, and in the same manner. These books of observations are either grammatical and philological, or miscellaneous; sometimes they discuss only a few passages which are peculiarly difficult and obscure, and sometimes they appear in the form of a grammatical and philological commentary, following the order of the sacred books. On this account, as well as to facilitate reference, we have classed them with expositions of the Bible: of the best editions of all these, the reader will find some account in the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to the second Volume, PART II. CHAP. V. SECTIONS II. and III., occasionally interspersed with concise bibliographical and critical observations.[2]

VII. Opinions widely different have been entertained respecting the utility and advantage resulting from commentaries, annotations, and other expositions of the Sacred Writings. By some, who admire nothing but their own meditations, and who hold all human helps in contempt, commentaries are despised altogether, as tending to found our faith on the opinions of men rather than on the divine oracles: while others, on the contrary, trusting exclusively to the expositions of some favourite commentators, receive as infallible whatever views or opinions they may choose to deliver, as *their* expositions of the Bible. The safest way in this case, as in all others, is to take the middle path, and occasionally to avail ourselves of the labours of commentators and expositors, while we diligently investigate the Scriptures for ourselves, without relying exclusively on our own wisdom, or being fascinated by the authority of a distinguished name.

The late eminent divine and theological tutor, Dr. Campbell, was of opinion that the Bible should be first read and studied *without* a commentary; but his advice was addressed to students who were *previously* acquainted with the originals: and though the design of the present work is to facilitate to studious inquirers the understanding of the Scriptures, yet the author presumes not to suppose that his labours will supersede the necessity of commentaries; or that he can furnish them with all that information which renders such works desirable to the generality of Bible readers. A sensible writer has observed, that the Bible is a *learned* book, not only because it is written in the learned languages, but also as containing allusions to various facts, circumstances, or customs of antiquity, which, to a common and unlettered reader, require explanation. So far, indeed, as relates to the way of salvation, "he that runs may read:" but there are many important points, if not of the first importance, in which we may properly avail ourselves of the labours of inquirers who have preceded us; especially in clearing difficulties, answering objections, and reconciling passages which at first sight appear contradictory.

Further, "the Bible is a large book, and we are under no small obligations to those who have collated its different parts,—the New Testament with the Old,—the prophetic with the historical books, &c.; and to reject their assistance, in making the Scriptures their own interpreter, is to throw away the labours of many ages. As well might we reject all our historians, and insist on believing nothing but what we derive immediately from state papers, original records, or other documents, on which all history is founded." Once more, "the Bible is intended as a directory for our faith and practice. Now to have an experienced friend who has long been in the habit of perusing it with patient study and humble prayer,—to have *such* a friend at hand, to point out in every chapter what may be useful or important, and especially to disclose its latent beauties, may be no less desirable and useful, than it is, when travelling in a foreign country, to have with us a companion who has passed the same route, and is acquainted both with the road, and with the objects most worthy of notice. It is granted, however, that there are extremes; and that it is no less wrong to place *implicit* confidence in commentators than it is to treat them with contempt: to derive advantage from them, we should treat them as commentators *only*, and *not* as inspired writers."[3]

VIII. The USE to be made of interpreters and commentators is twofold:—

FIRST, *that we may acquire from them a method of interpreting the Scriptures correctly.*

It is not sufficient that we be enabled rightly to understand the Bible ourselves, but it is essentially necessary that those who are destined for the sacred office should be able to explain it with facility, and also to communicate its sense and meaning with perspicuity to others. As, however, this faculty is not to be attained merely by studying rules for the interpretation of the Scriptures, habitual and constant practice must be superadded; and it will further prove of singular advantage to place before us some good expositors, as models for our imitation. In order to accomplish this desirable object, we must not accumulate and read every interpreter or commentator *indiscriminately*, but should select one or two, or a *few* at most of acknowledged character for learning and piety; and by frequent perusal of them, as well as by studying their manner of expounding, should

[1] Rambachii Institutiones Hermeneutica. pp. 706, 707.

[2] Ernesti, Instit. Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 278—288. Morus (Acroases, tom. ii. pp. 204—340.) has given a detailed account of the various kinds of commentaries and commentators.

[3] The Christian Reader's Guide, by Thomas Williams. Part i. p. 62.

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es forbear to form ourselves after them, until we are completely masters of their method. But the reading of commentaries will further assist us,

SECONDLY, *to understand whatever passages appear to us to be difficult and obscure.*

It is not to be denied that there are many passages in the Sacred Writings both difficult and obscure, in consequence of the various times when the different books were written, the different topics of which they treat, and their allusions to ancient customs, &c. The helps, by which most of these difficulties may be removed, have already been stated in the course of the present work. But we cannot suppose that the solitary and unassisted researches even of the most learned expositor are adequate to the removal of every difficulty, or to the elucidation of every obscurity, or that he is not liable to mistake the sense of the sacred penman. By the united labours, however, of many learned and pious men, of different ages and countries, we are put in possession of *accumulated information* relative to the Bible; so that we may derive large accessions of important knowledge from the *judicious* use of the writings of commentators and expositors.

IX. In order, then, that we may avail ourselves of their valuable labours to the utmost advantage, the following hints are submitted to the consideration of the reader:—

1. *We should take care that the reading of commentators does not draw us away from studying the Scriptures for ourselves, from investigating their real meaning, and meditating on their important contents.*

This would be to frustrate the very design for which commentaries are written, namely, to facilitate our labours, to direct us aright where we are in danger of falling into error, to remove doubts and difficulties which we are ourselves unable to solve, to reconcile apparently contradictory passages, and, in short, to elucidate whatever is obscure or unintelligible to us. In the first instance, therefore, no commentators should be consulted until we have previously investigated the Sacred Writings, for ourselves, making use of every grammatical and historical help, comparing the scope, context, parallel passages, the analogy of faith, &c.; and even then commentaries should be resorted to only for the purpose of explaining what was not sufficiently clear, or of removing our doubts. This method of studying the sacred volume will, unquestionably, prove a slow one: but the student will proceed with certainty; and, if he have patience and resolution enough to persevere in it, he will ultimately attain greater proficiency in the knowledge of the Scriptures, than those who, disregarding this method, shall have recourse wholly to assistances of other kinds. From the mode of study here recommended many advantages will result. In the first place, the mind will be gradually accustomed to habits of meditation: without which we cannot reasonably hope to attain even a moderate, much less a profound, knowledge of the Bible;—secondly, those truths will be more readily as well as indelibly impressed on the memory, which have thus been "marked, learned, and inwardly digested" in the mind by silent thought and reflection;—and, thirdly, by pursuing this method, we shall perceive our own progress in sacred literature more readily, than if (like idle drones in a bee-hive) we devour and exhaust the stores provided by the care and labour of others.[1]

2. *We should not inconsiderately assent to the interpretation of any expositor, or commentator, or yield a blind and servile obedience to his authority.*

The canon given by Saint Paul (1 Thess. v. 21.)—*Prove all things, hold fast that which is good*—is therefore particularly worthy of our notice; for since no man is an infallible judge of the sense of Scripture, not only the expositions given by commentators ought to be carefully examined, but we should also particularly investigate the proofs by which they support their interpretations, uninfluenced by the celebrity of their names, the semblance of ingenuity and novelty, the appearance of learning, or the *excellency of speech.*[2] Commentators, in fact, are witnesses, not judges: their authority is merely human, and does not surpass the sphere of human belief. But we should not read, exclusively, commentators of a particular *school*, to which we are perhaps attached, and to whose opinions we subscribe; and though the writings of those who inculcate erroneous doctrines are to be received with the greatest suspicion, yet they are not to be altogether disregarded, as they *sometimes* contain valuable and important hints for the elucidation of difficult passages of Scripture. That he may not be misunderstood, the author will explain himself by a single example. The variety of erroneous *theological* notions, asserted in different publications by the late Dr. Priestley, has justly excited suspicions in the minds of all, who cherish a regard for what they conscientiously believe to be the peculiar doctrines of the Christian dispensation: so that any theological or expository writings, bearing *his* name, are by them received with caution, and subjected to the most rigorous examination. His "*Notes on all the Books of Scripture*" are, nevertheless, well worthy of being consulted: for "though the Doctor keeps his own creed (*unitarianism*) continually in view, especially when considering those texts which other religious people adduce in favour of theirs, yet his work contains many invaluable notes and observations, particularly on the *philosophy, natural history, geography, and chronology* of the Scriptures; and to these subjects few men in Europe were better qualified to do justice."[3]

3. *The best commentators and interpreters only are to be read.*

So numerous are the commentaries at present extant on the Sacred Writings, that to notice them all would require a distinct volume. Not to mention the magnitude of their *cost*, the labour and fatigue of turning over and examining such a multitude of massy volumes, is sufficient to deter any one from the study of them; and must necessarily prevent an ingenious student from deriving any real advantage. For the perplexity of mind, arising from so great a variety of conflicting opinions, will either disgust him altogether with sacred studies, or he will so bewilder himself that he will not be able to determine which to follow or embrace.

Although the more ancient commentators and expositors did not possess those peculiar facilities for interpreting the Scriptures, with which we are now happily favoured, yet they are not to be altogether despised by those, who may have leisure and opportunity to consult them, for the purpose of tracing the time when, and the authors by whom, particular expositions of certain passages were first introduced. The more ancient interpreters, being coëval or nearly so with the sacred writers, and also living in the neighbouring countries, are thus rendered good evidence, for the received sense of certain words in their day. Hence the Jews frequently throw much light on the meaning of Hebrew words and usages, as may be seen in the extracts from their writings which are to be found in all the larger commentaries; and in like manner the Greek fathers, the value of whose labours it has been the fashion unduly to depreciate, are excellent evidence for the meaning attached to Greek words, particularly in controversies relating to the deity of Jesus Christ, the reality and efficacy of his atonement, &c. And since there are *some expositions* of very important passages, in which all or nearly all expositors, both ancient and modern, *are agreed*, these have a high claim to our attention.[4]

The more *ancient* interpreters erred in mingling too many doctrinal discussions in their expositions; in introducing too much of history and archæology, not immediately connected with the passage under consideration; and in investigating too exclusively the arguments of the sacred writers. *Modern* interpreters, on the contrary, have erred, in too frequently and copiously disputing about the events of Scripture, and also in applying so extensively to morals the passages which they undertook to elucidate. For although the methods of exposition may be different, as authors have different objects in view, yet the office of the critic, the interpreter, the theologian, and the popular teacher, ought never to be confounded.[5]

Of the more *modern* commentators, the *best only* must be selected whom we may consult as guides: and those may be considered as the best commentators, who are most deeply furnished with the requisite critical skill; who most diligently investigate the literal sense, and do not attempt to establish a mystical sense until the literal sense is most clearly ascertained; who do not servilely copy the remarks of preceding commentators, but, while they avail themselves of every help for the interpretation of the Scriptures, elicit what appears to be the true meaning, and support it by such clear and cogent arguments, and state it with such perspicuity, as convinces the reader's judgment. To these acquirements it is scarcely necessary to add, that *deep yet sober piety and uprightness are indispensably necessary to a commentator on Holy Writ.*

On the subject of commentaries it is an excellent advice of Ernesti's,[6] that we shall find considerable advantage in making memoranda of the more difficult passages of the Sacred Writings, which have been variously explained by expositors, as well as of those in which there is any remarkable diversity of reading, but concerning which our own researches, or those of others, have failed in procuring satisfactory information. Thus, whenever any professedly *new* commentary falls into our hands, we can in a short time ascertain whether it contains any thing intrinsically new or valuable, or that may lead us to ascertain the genuine sense of a passage. By consulting commentators and expositors in this manner, we shall be able to distinguish ideas of things from ideas of sounds; and, thus becoming habituated to the investigation and consideration of the Sacred Writings, we shall, under divine teaching, be enabled to understand *the mind of the Spirit* in the Scriptures.

4. *Where it does not appear that either ancient or modern interpreters had more knowledge than ourselves respecting particular passages; and where they offer only conjectures,—in such cases their expositions ought to be subjected to a strict examination. If their reasons are then found to be valid, we should give our assent to them: but, on the contrary, if they prove to be false, improbable, and insufficient, they must be altogether rejected.*

5. *Lastly, as there are some commentaries which are either wholly compiled from the previous labours of others, or which contain observations extracted from their writings, if any thing appear confused or perplexed in such commentaries, the original sources whence they were compiled must be referred to, and diligently consulted.*

[1] Bauer, Herm. Sacr. p. 302. Steph. Gausseni Dissertatio de Ratione Studii Theologici, pp. 25, 26. Dr. Henry Owen's Directions for young Students, in Divinity, p. 37. 5th edit.

[2] C. D. Beckii Monogrammata Hermeneutices Librorum Novi Testamenti, pars i. pp. 174, 175.

[3] Dr. A. Clarke, General Preface to vol. i. of his Commentary on the Bible, p. xi.

[4] Bauer, Herm. Sacr. p. 304. Turretin de Interp. Sac. Scrip. p. 333.

[5] Beckii Monogrammata Herm. Nov. Test. p. 184.

[6] Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti, part iii. cap. ix. § 44. p. 268.

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BOOK II.

ON THE SPECIAL INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

HAVING stated and illustrated the general principles of interpretation in the preceding chapters, it remains that we show in what manner the sense, when discovered, is to be communicated, expounded, and applied. The consideration of this topic will lead us to notice the interpretation of the *Figurative* and the *Poetical Language* of the Bible, and also the interpretation of the *Spiritual* and *Typical*, *Prophetical*, *Doctrinal*, and *Moral* parts of the Bible, as well as the interpretation of the *Promises* and *Threatenings* contained in the Scriptures, and of *Passages alleged to be contradictory*, together with that *Inferential Reading*, and that *Practical Application* of them to the heart and conscience, without which all knowledge will be in vain. If, indeed, the previous investigation of the sense of Scripture be undertaken with those moral and devout qualifications which have been stated in the early part of this volume,[1] it is scarcely possible that we can fail to understand the meaning of the word of God.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE OF SCRIPTURE.

FIGURATIVE language had its rise in the first ages of mankind: the scarcity of words occasioned them to be used for various purposes: and thus figurative terms, which constitute the beauty of language, arose from its poverty; and it is still the same in all uncivilized nations. Hence originated the metaphorical diction of the Indians, and the picture-writing of the Mexicans.

The Bible, though too commonly regarded as containing only lessons of morality and plain statements of facts, abounds with the most beautiful images, and with every ornament of which style is susceptible. Yet these very ornaments are sometimes occasions of difficulty; for the books, which contain the revelations of God, being more ancient than any others now extant, are written either in the language used by mankind in the first ages, or in a language nearly allied to it. The style of these writings, therefore, being very different from that of modern compositions, to interpret them exactly as they are usually expounded, is without doubt to *mis*-interpret them; accordingly, persons ignorant of the character of the primitive languages, have, by that method of interpretation, been led to imagine that the Scriptures contain notions unworthy of God: and thus have not only exposed these venerable writings to the scorn of infidels, but have also framed to themselves erroneous notions in religion.[2] To prevent similar mistakes, and, it is hoped, to render more delightful the study of the sacred volume by an explanation of its figurative language, is the design of the present chapter.

Figures, in general, may be described to be that language, which is prompted either by the imagination or by the passions. Rhetoricians commonly divide them into two great classes, *figures of words* and *figures of thought*.

Figures of Words are usually termed *tropes*, and consist in the advantageous alteration of a word or sentence, from its original and proper signification to another meaning; as in 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. *The rock of Israel spake to me.* Here the trope lies in the word *rock* which is changed from its original sense, as intending one of the strongest works and most certain shelters in nature; and is employed to signify, that God, by his faithfulness and power, is the same security to the soul which trusts in him, as the rock is to the man who builds upon it, or flees for safety to its impenetrable recesses. So, in Luke xiii. 32. our Lord speaking of Herod, says *Go ye, and tell that fox:* here the word *fox* is diverted from its proper meaning, which is that of a beast of prey and of deep cunning, to denote a mischievous, cruel, and crafty tyrant; and the application of the term gives us a complete idea of his hypocrisy.

The other class, called Figures of Thought, supposes the words to be used in their literal and proper meaning, and the figure to consist in the turn of the thought; as is the case in exclamations, apostrophes, and comparisons, where, though we vary the words that are used, or translate them from one language into another, we may nevertheless still preserve the same figure in the thought. This distinction, however, Dr. Blair remarks, is of no great use, as nothing can be built upon it in practice; neither is it always very clear. It is of little importance, whether we give to some particular mode of expression the name of a trope or of a figure, provided we remember that figurative language always imports some colouring of the imagination, or some emotion of passion expressed in our style; and perhaps, *figures of imagination*, and *figures of passion*, might be a more useful distribution of the subject.[3]

Without regarding, therefore, the technical distinctions which have been introduced by rhetorical writers, we shall first offer some hints by which to ascertain and correctly interpret the tropes and figures occurring in the Sacred Writings; and in the following sections we shall notice the principal of them, illustrated by examples, to which a diligent reader may easily subjoin others.

SECTION I.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE INTERPRETATION OF TROPES AND FIGURES.

"ALL languages are more or less figurative; but they are most so in their earliest state. Before language is provided with a stock of words, sufficient in their literal sense to express what is wanted, men are under the necessity of extending the use of words beyond the literal sense. But the application, when once begun, is not to be limited by the bounds of necessity. The imagination, always occupied with resemblances, which are the foundation of figures, disposes men to seek for figurative terms, where they might express themselves in literal terms. Figurative language presents a kind of picture to the mind, and thus delights while it instructs: whence its use, though more necessary when a language is poor and uncultivated, is never wholly laid aside, especially in the writings of orators and poets."[4] The language of the Scriptures is highly figurative, especially in the Old Testament. For this, two reasons have been assigned; *one* is, that the inhabitants of the East, naturally possessing warm and vivid imaginations, and living in a warm and fertile climate, surrounded by objects equally beautiful and agreeable, delight in a figurative style of expression: and as these circumstances easily impel their power of conceiving images, they fancy similitudes which are sometimes far fetched, and which to the chastised taste of European readers do not always appear the most elegant. The *other* reason is, that many of the books

[1] Pp. 186, 187. *supra*.

[2] Macknight on the Epistles, vol. iv. 4to., or vol. vi. 8vo. essay viii. sect. 1. On the right Interpretation of Scripture. The materials of this chapter are abridged chiefly from Professor Dathe's edition of Glassius's Philologia Sacra, lib. ii. forming the whole second volume of that elaborate work. See also Jahn's Enchiridion Hermeneuticæ Generalis, cap. iv. (De Tropis Recte Interpretandis, pp. 101—125.), and Rambach's Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, lib. iii. c. ii. De Adminiculis Rhetoricis, pp. 429—440.

[3] Blair's Lectures, vol. i. p. 300.

[4] Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part iii. p. 69.

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of the Old Testament are poetical; now it is the privilege of a poet to illustrate the productions of his muse, and to render them more animated, by figures and images drawn from almost every subject that presents itself to his imagination. Hence David, Solomon, Isaiah, and other sacred poets, abound with figures, make rapid transitions from one to another, every where scattering flowers, and adorning their poems with metaphors, the real beauty of which, however, can only be appreciated by being acquainted with the country in which the sacred poets lived, its situation and peculiarities, and also with the manners of the inhabitants and the idioms of their language.

The language of the New Testament, and especially the discourses and speeches of our Saviour, are not less figurative; "and numerous mistakes have been made by a literal application of what was figuratively meant. When our Saviour said to the Jews, 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up,' the Jews understood the word *temple* in its natural sense, and asked him, Whether he could raise again in three days what had taken six-and-forty years to build? They did not perceive that his language was figurative, and that he spake of the temple of his body."[2]

In order, then, to understand fully the figurative language of the Scriptures, it is requisite, *first*, to ascertain and determine what is really figurative, lest we take that to be literal which is figurative, as the disciples of our Lord and the Jews frequently did, or lest we pervert the literal meaning of words by a figurative interpretation; and, *secondly*, when we have ascertained what is really figurative, to interpret it correctly, and deliver its true sense. For this purpose, Ernesti has given it the following general rule:—We may ascertain whether any expression is to be taken literally or figuratively, by recalling the thing spoken of to its internal or external sense, that is, by seeking out its internal or external meaning; and this may in general be readily ascertained. Hence it is, that in human compositions we are very rarely if ever in doubt, whether a thing be spoken literally or figuratively; because the thing or subject spoken of being human, and capable both of external and internal senses, may be recalled to a human sense, that is, to a sense intelligible by man. To understand this subject more particularly:

1. *The literal meaning of words must be retained, more in the historical books of Scripture than in those which are poetical.*

For it is the duty of an historian to relate transactions simply as they happened; while a poet has license to ornament his subject by the aid of figures, and to render it more lively by availing himself of similes and metaphors. Hence we find, that the style of narration in the historical books is simple and *generally* devoid of ornament, while the poetical books abound with images borrowed from various objects: not, indeed, that the historical books are *entirely* destitute of figurative expressions; for, whatever language men may use, they are so accustomed to this mode of expression, that they cannot fully convey their meaning in literal words, but are compelled by the force of habit to make use of such as are figurative. But we must not look for a figurative style in the historical books, and still less are historical narratives to be changed into allegories, and parables, unless these be obviously apparent. From inattention to this important rule, "some interpreters, in ancient and modern times, have turned into allegory the whole Jewish ceremonial law. So, formerly and recently, the history of the creation of the world, the fall of man, the flood, the account of the tower of Babel, &c. have been explained either as μύθοι, or as philosophical allegories, i. e. philosophical speculations on these subjects, clothed in the garb of narration. By the same principles of exegesis, the Gospels are treated as μύθοι, which exhibit an imaginary picture of a perfect character, in the person of Jesus. In a word, every narration in the Bible, of an occurrence which is of a miraculous nature in any respect, is μύθος; which means, as its abettors say, that some real fact or occurrence lies at the basis of the story, which is told agreeably to the very imperfect conceptions and philosophy of ancient times, or has been augmented and adorned by tradition and fancy.

"But that such liberties with the language of Scripture are utterly incompatible with the sober principles of interpretation, is sufficiently manifest from the bare statement of them. The object of the interpreter is, *to find out what the sacred writers meant to say.* This done, his task is performed. Party philosophy or skepticism cannot guide the interpretation of language."[3]

2. *The literal meaning of words is to be given up, if it be either improper, or involve an impossibility, or where words, properly taken, contain any thing contrary to the doctrinal or moral precepts delivered in other parts of Scripture.*[4]

(1.) The expressions in Jer. i. 18. are necessarily to be understood figuratively. God is there represented as saying to the prophet, *I have made thee a defenced city, and an iron pillar, and brazen walls against the whole land.* Now, it is obvious that these expressions are figurative; because, if taken literally, they involve an impossibility. The general import of the divine promise is, that God would defend Jeremiah against all open assaults, and secret contrivances of his enemies, who should no more be able to prevail against him than they could against an impregnable wall or fortress. So the literal sense of Isa. i. 25. is equally inapplicable; but in the following verse the prophet explains it in the proper words.

(2.) In Psal. xviii. 2. God is termed a *rock*, a *fortress*, a *deliverer*, a *buckler*, a *horn of salvation*, and a *high tower*: it is obvious that these predicates are metaphorically spoken of the Almighty.

(3.) Matt. viii. 22. *Let the dead bury their dead* cannot possibly be applied to those who are really and naturally dead; and, consequently, must be understood figuratively, "Leave those who are spiritually dead to perform the rites of burial for such as are naturally dead." In Psal. cxx. 1. David is said to have *cried unto the Lord out of the* DEPTHS, by which word we are metaphorically to understand a state of the deepest affliction: because it nowhere appears from Scripture, nor is it probable, that the Jewish monarch was ever thrown into the sea, even in his greatest adversity, as we read that the prophet Jonah was, who cried to the Lord out of the *depth*, or midst of the sea. (Jon. i. 15. 17. ii. 2, 3. 5.) Similar expressions occur in 1 Col. iii. 13. and Rev. vi. 13.

(4.) The command of Jesus Christ, related in Matt. xviii. 8, 9. if interpreted literally, is directly at variance with the sixth commandment (Exod. xx. 13.), and must consequently be understood figuratively. So, the declaration of Jesus Christ in John xiv. 28. (*My Father is greater than I*) is to be understood of himself, as he is man. This is evident from the context and from the nature of his discourse. In John xiv. 24. Christ tells his disciples that the Father had *sent* him; that is, in his quality of *Messiah*, he was sent by the Father to instruct and to save mankind. Now as the *sender* is greater than he who is *sent* (xiii. 16.); so, in this sense, is the Father greater than the Son. It certainly requires very little argument, and no sophistry, to reconcile this saying with the most orthodox notion of the deity of Christ; as he is repeatedly speaking of his divine and of his human nature. Of the *former* he says (John x. 30.), *I and the Father are one*; and of the *latter* he states with the same truth, *the Father is greater than I.*

(5.) Whatever is repugnant to natural reason cannot be the true meaning of the Scriptures; for God is the original of natural truth, as well as of that which comes by particular revelation. No proposition, therefore, which is repugnant to the fundamental principles of reason, can be the sense of any part of the word of God; hence the words of Christ,—*This is my body*, and *This is my blood* (Matt. xxvi. 26. 28.),—are not to be understood in that sense, which makes for the doctrine of transubstantiation, or, of the conversion of the bread and wine, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, into the actual body and blood of Christ: because it is impossible that contradictions should be true; and we cannot be more certain that any thing is true, than we are that *that* doctrine is false. Yet it is upon a forced and literal construction of our Lord's declaration, that the Romish church has, ever since the thirteenth century, erected and maintained the doctrine of transubstantiation:—a doctrine which is manifestly "repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions."[4] In fact, if the words—"*this is my body*"—must be *literally* understood, why are not other words of similar import also to be taken literally? In which case Jesus Christ must be a *vine*, a *door*, and a *rock*; for so he is expressly termed in John x. 9. xv. 1. and 1 Cor. x. 4. And in the other part of the sacrament, the cup must be transubstantiated, not into the blood of Christ, but into the New Testament: for he said,—"*This cup is the New Testament*" or covenant (Luke xxii. 20.), that is, the representation or memorial of it. Further, as the words—"*This is my body*," and "*This is my blood*"[5]—were spoken BEFORE Christ's body was broken upon the cross, and BEFORE his blood was shed, he could not pronounce them with the intention that they should be taken and interpreted literally by his disciples. He could not take his body in his hands, nor offer them his blood in the cup, for it had not yet been shed. If the bread which he broke had been changed, he would have had two bodies, one of which would have been instrumental in presenting the other to the apostles. Of such a transformation they do not appear to have had the smallest idea; and if it did not take place in this first sacrament, what reason can we have to believe that it has been effected in any other? Hence it is clear that the doctrine of transubstantiation has no foundation in the words of Christ, which must necessarily be understood, not literally and properly, but *figuratively*, agreeably to the well known metonymy, common in all languages, but peculiar to the Hebrew (the impression of which the Greek here naturally takes), in which the sign is put for the thing signified. Thus in Gen. xl. 12. *the three branches* are *three days*, and in v. 18. *the three baskets* are *three days*; in xli. 26. *the seven good kine* are *seven years*, and *the seven good ears* are *seven years*;[6] and in Ezek. xxxii. 11. the dry *bones are the whole house of Israel*[7]

[1] Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part iii. p. 69.

[2] Stuart's Elements of Interpretation, p. 76. Mori Acroases, tom. i. pp. 281—291.

[3] "I hold it," says the learned and venerable Hooker, "for a most infallible rule in expositions of sacred Scripture, that, where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst. There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious and deluding art, which changes the meaning of words, as alchemy doth or would do the substance of metals, making of any thing what it pleases, and bringing in the end all truth to nothing." Ecclesiastical Polity, book v. cc. 58—60. or p. 211. of Mr. Collinson's Analysis.

[4] Art. xxviii. of the Confession of the Anglican Church. The term—"transubstantiation"—was not invented until the *thirteenth* century; the first idea of Christ's bodily presence in the eucharist was started in the beginning of the *eighth* century; the first writer who maintained the doctrine was Paschasius Radbertus, in the *ninth* century, before it was firmly established: and the first public assertion of it was, at the third Lateran Council, in the year 1215, after it had been for some time avowed by the Roman popes, and inculcated by the clergy dependent on them, in obedience to their injunctions. But the term itself was not known before the *thirteenth* century, when it was invented by Stephen bishop of Autun. Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. iii. pp. 217. 231.

[5] Matt. xxvi. 26. 28. and Mark xiv. 22. 24. compared with Luke xxii. 19, 20 and 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25.

[6] "Solet autem res, quæ significat, ejus rei nomine quam significat nuncupari, sicut scriptum est, *Septem spicæ septem anni sunt*; non enim dicit, septem annos significant: et *Septem boves septem anni sunt*, et multa hujusmodi." Augustini Quæstiones in Leviticum. lib. iii. Quæst. 27. (Operum, tom. iii. pars i. p. 516. Paris, 1680.) In another place the same writer says,—"Inde est, quod ait Apostolus, *Petra autem erat Christus* (1 Cor. x. 4.), non ait, Petra significabit Christum." (Ibid. Quæst. in Genesin. c. xli. Op. tom. iii. pars i. p. 336.)

[7] The Hebrews, having no particular word denoting *to represent*, supply its place by the verb substantive, which is sometimes left to be understood, as in Isa. v. 7. and sometimes is expressed by the personal pronoun, as in the passages above cited, agreeably to the well-known rule of Hebrew grammar, viz. that where these pronouns stand simply for the verb of existence, they are to be translated accordingly; as we read in the Septuagint, Greek and Latin Vulgate versions, and also in every modern version of the Bible. Various additional examples of this construction may be seen in Stuart's Hebrew Grammar, § 649. c. 163. Oxford, 1831.) Robertson's Hebr

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The same metonymy exists in the service for the celebration of the passover among the modern Jews; in which the masters of the family and all the guests take hold of the dish containing the unleavened bread which he had previously broken, and say,—"*Lo! This is the bread of affliction, which all our ancestors ate in the land of Egypt.*"[1] The same phraseology is of frequent occurrence in the New Testament. Thus, in Matt. xiii. 38, 39. "*The field* IS [represents] *the world; the good seed* IS [represents] *the children of the kingdom; the tares* ARE [represent] *the children of the wicked one. The enemy* IS [represents] *the devil; the harvest* IS [represents] *the end of the world; the reapers* ARE *the angels.* And in 1 Cor. x. 4. *That rock* WAS [represented] *Christ.* Similar modes of expression occur in Luke viii. 9. xv. 26. Gr. and xviii. 36. Gr. John vii. 36. and x. 6. Acts x. 17. Gal. iv. 24. and Rev. i. 20. Gr. It is evident, therefore, from the context, from biblical usage, and from the scope of the passage,—it might also be added, if the limits necessarily prescribed to this paragraph would permit, from the testimonies of the fathers of the Christian church and of other ecclesiastical writers, both Greek and Latin), —that the literal interpretation of Matt. xxvi. 26. 28. must be abandoned, and with it necessarily falls the modern Romish tenet of transubstantiation.

(6.) To *change day into night* (Job xvii. 12.) is a moral impossibility, contrary to common sense, and must be a figurative expression. In Isa. i. 5, 6. the Jewish nation are described as being sorely *stricken* or chastised, like a man mortally wounded, and destitute both of medicine as well as of the means of cure. That this description is figurative, is evident from the context; for in the two following verses the prophet delineates the condition of the Jews in literal terms.

(7.) If a passage of Scripture be a precept, prohibiting some heinous wickedness or crime or commanding us to do good, it is NOT figurative; but if it seem to command any heinous wickedness or crime, or to forbid that which is profitable or beneficial to others, it IS figurative, and must be interpreted accordingly.

In John vi. 53. Christ says, *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.* Now this sentence seems to command a heinous wickedness or crime: consequently it is figurative, commanding us to communicate of the passion of our Lord, and with delight and advantage to lay up in our memory, that his flesh was wounded and crucified for us.[2]

It is not, however, sufficient to know whether an expression be figurative or not, but, when this point is ascertained, another of equal importance presents itself; namely, to interpret metaphorical expressions by corresponding and appropriate terms. In order to accomplish this object, it is necessary,

3. *That we inquire in what respects the thing compared, and that with which it is compared, respectively agree, and also in what respects they have any affinity or resemblance.*

For, as a similitude is concealed in every metaphor, it is only by diligent study that it can be elicited, by carefully observing the points of agreement between the proper or literal and the figurative meaning. For instance, the prophetic writers, and particularly Ezekiel, very frequently charge the Israelites with having committed adultery and played the harlot, and with deserting Jehovah, their husband. From the slightest inspection of these passages, it is evident that spiritual adultery, or idolatry is intended. Now the origin of this metaphor is to be sought from one and the same notion, in which there is an agreement between adultery and the worship paid by the Israelites to strange gods. That notion or idea is unfaithfulness; by which as a wife deceives her husband, so they are represented as deceiving God, and as violating their fidelity, in forsaking him.

To explain this general remark more particularly.

(1.) *The sense of a figurative passage will be known, if the resemblance between the things or objects compared be so clear as to be immediately perceived.*

Thus, if any one be said to *walk in the way of the ungodly*, or of the *godly*, we readily apprehend that the imitation of the conduct of those characters is the idea designed to be expressed. In like manner, when any one is compared to a *lion*, who does not immediately understand that strength of limbs, firmness of nerve, and magnanimity, are the ideas intended to be conveyed? In Gen. xlix. 9. Judah is styled a *lion's whelp*, and is compared to a lion and lioness couching, whom no one dares to rouse. The warlike character and the conquests of this tribe are here prophetically described: but the full force of the passage will not be perceived, unless we know that a lion is, among the orientals, used figuratively to denote a hero, and also that a lion or lioness, when lying down after satisfying its hunger, will not attack any person. Mr. Park has recorded an instance of his providential escape from a lion thus circumstanced, which he saw lying near the road, and passed unhurt.[4]

(2.) *As, in the sacred metaphors, one particular is generally the principal thing thereby exhibited, the sense of a metaphor will be illustrated by considering the context of a passage in which it occurs*

This rule particularly applies to images, which do not always convey one and the same meaning. Thus, light and darkness not only denote happiness and misery, but also knowledge and ignorance; which of these two significations is to be preferably adopted, the context alone can show. In Psal. cxii. 4. we read: *Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness.* Bishop Horsley thinks that this is an allusion to what happened in Egypt, when the Israelites had light in all their dwellings in Goshen, while the rest of Egypt was enveloped in darkness. Be this, however, as it may, since the design of the psalm in question is, to show the blessedness of the righteous and the final perdition of the ungodly, the context will plainly indicate that happiness is the idea intended in this verse; for, if we consult what precedes, we shall find that temporal prosperity is promised to the righteous, and that, among the particulars in which his prosperity is stated to consist, it is specified *that his seed shall be mighty upon earth; the generation of the upright shall be blessed; wealth and riches shall be in his house.* On the contrary, in Psal. xix. 8. where the commandment of Jehovah is said to *enlighten the eyes*, the idea of spiritual *knowledge* is intended, and this phrase corresponds to that in the preceding verse, where the testimony of Jehovah is said to *make wise the simple.* In the New Testament, light and darkness are of frequent occurrence, and in like manner designate a state of knowledge and a state of ignorance. It may be sufficient to refer to Luke i. 78, 79. Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. i. 21. Eph. iv. 18. and v. 8. 1 Pet. ii. 9.

(3.) *The sense of a figurative expression is often known from the sacred writer's own explanation of it.*

In common with profane writers, whether in prose or verse, the inspired penmen of the Old Testament frequently subjoin to figurative expressions proper or literal terms, and thus explain the meaning intended to be conveyed by the images they employ. Thus, in Esther viii. 16. it is said that *the Jews had light and gladness, and joy and honour;* here the explanatory synonymes mark the greatness of their prosperity and joy. In Psal. xcvii. 11. *light is* said to be *sown for the righteous:* the exposition immediately follows, *and joy for the upright in heart.* In like manner, when the prophet Hosea complains that a spirit of lasciviousness had driven the Israelites astray (Hos. iv. 12.), he explains his meaning not only by subjoining that they forsook their God, but in the following verse he states in clear and literal terms the eagerness with which they committed idolatry; *upon the tops of the mountains they sacrifice, and upon the hills they burn incense, &c.*

(4.) *The sense of a figurative expression may also be ascertained by consulting parallel passages; in which the same thing is expressed pro-- 'y and literally, or in which the same word occurs, so that the sense may be readily apprehended.*

The Hebrew prophets very often represent Jehovah as holding in his hand a cup, and presenting it to men who are compelled to drink it up to the very dregs. The intoxicated stagger, and, falling prostrate on the ground, shamefully vomit forth the wine they have drunk. This metaphor is frequently repeated in various ways by the sacred poets, who sometimes only glance at it, while at others they more fully illustrate it. Compare Obad. 16. Nahum iii. 11. Habak. ii. 16. Psal. lxxv. 8. Jer. xxv. 15—27. and Ezekiel xxiii. 33, 34. Now, if there were any doubt as to the meaning of the image occurring in these passages, its sense might be immediately ascertained by comparing the following parallel passage in Isaiah li. 17—23., in which the prophet portrays Jerusalem as a woman so intoxicated as to be unable to stand; but in which he introduces some words that clearly mark the sense of the metaphor. The passage itself, Bishop Lowth justly remarks, is poetry of the first order, sublimity of the highest proof.

Rouse thyself, rouse thyself up; arise, O Jerusalem!
Who hast drunken from the hand of JEHOVAH the cup of his fury;
The dregs of the cup of trembling thou hast drunken, thou hast wrung them out.
There is not one to lead her, of all the sons which she hath brought forth;
Neither is there one to support her by the hand, of all the sons which she hath educated.
These two things have befallen thee; who shall bemoan thee?
Desolation and destruction; the famine and the sword; who shall comfort thee?
Thy sons lie astounded; they are cast down:
At the head of all the streets, like the oryx[5] taken in the toils;
Drenched to the full with the fury of JEHOVAH, with the fury of thy God
Wherefore hear now this, O thou afflicted daughter;
And thou drunken, but not with wine.
Thus saith thy Lord JEHOVAH;
And thy God, who avengeth his people;
Behold I take from thy hand the cup of trembling;
The dregs of the cup of my fury:
Thou shalt drink of it again no more.
But I will put it into the hand of them who oppress thee;
Who said to thee, Bow down thy body, that we may go over:
And thou layedst down thy back, as the ground:
And as the street to them that pass along.

Bishop Lowth's Version.

(5.) *Consider History.*

A consideration of events recorded in history will very frequently show, how far and in what sense any expression is to be understood figuratively Thus many and various things are said relative to the coming of Christ,

Gramm. lib. iv. c. 2. in Schroeder's Syntax. Regula 38., Jahn's Grammatica Hebræa, § 92., Cellérier's Grammaire Hebraïque, p. 206., and in Glass's Philologia Sacra, tom. i. pp. 149, 150. (edit. Dathii.) That the same construction exists in the *Syriac Language* is evident from the examples given by Bishop Beveridge in his Grammatica Syriaca, p. 30., by Jahn in his Elementa Aramaicæ seu Chaldæo-Syriacæ Linguæ, pp. 24, 25., by Michaelis in his Grammatica Syriaca, §§ 79. 132., and by Hoffman in his Grammatica Syriaca, pp. 314. 377. Finally, the same idiom of using the pronoun in place of the verb substantive prevails in the *Arabic Language;* and examples of it are given by Richardson in his Arabic Grammar, chap. viii. and by Rosenmüller in his Institutiones Linguæ Arabicæ, lib. v. § 83.

[1] See the "Forms of Prayer for the Festivals of Passover and Pentecost, according to the custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, in Hebrew and English." By David Levi, p. 20.

[2] Archbishop Tillotson in his Discourse on Transubstantiation (pp. 14—23. 12mo. edit.) and Bishop Burnet (on art. xxviii.) have given numerous passages from the fathers and other ecclesiastical writers, from the second to the sixth century, in which the Protestant—or true—interpretation of Matt. xxvi. 26. is maintained. But the fullest view of Christian antiquity on this subject will be found in a collection of testimonies from the second to the thirteenth century inclusive, translated and published by Archbishop Wake, entitled "An Historical Treatise written by an Author of the Communion of the Church of Rome, touching Transubstantiation. Wherein is made appear, that, according to the Principles of that Church, this Doctrine cannot be an Article of Faith. London, 1688." 4to. The reader, who is desirous of investigating further this very important subject, is referred to the Rev. J. H. Todd's edition of Archbishop Cranmer's "Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament," &c. (London, 1825, 8vo.); to Mr. Meek's "Church of England a Faithful Witness against the Errors of the Church of Rome," pp. 156—191. (London, 1834, 8vo.); to Mr. Faber's "Difficulties of Romanism," pp. 89—156. 313—446. (second edition); and to Du Moulin's unanswered and unanswerable "Anatomy of the Mass," translated from the very rare French original by the Rev. Robert Shanks, A. M. who has prefixed a concise and valuable History of the Eucharist. Edinburgh, 1833, 12mo.

[3] The preceding rule and illustration are designedly taken from Augustine, bishop of Hippo in Africa, an ecclesiastical writer, in the fifth century, of the greatest celebrity in the Romish church, in the catalogue of whose supposed *saints* he is enrolled; because John vi. 53. is one of the passages urged by that church in support of her novel dogma of transubstantiation. The attentive reader will not fail to observe, how completely Augustine refutes and condemns that dogma. See his treatise de Doctrina Christiana, lib. iii. c. 16. Op. [illegible] tom. i. p. 82. Paris, 1680.

[4] Travels in the Interior of Africa, p. 310. London, 1807. 8vo. or in Pinkerton's Collection of Voyages, vol. xvi. p. 848.

[5] Or wild bull.

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his kingdom, government, and adversaries. Now history informs us, that he came, at the destruction of Jerusalem, to rule and govern far and wide by the spreading of the Gospel. In Matt. x. 34. Christ says that he came not to send peace on earth, but a *sword*. In the parallel passage, Luke xii. 51., he says that he came to cause *division*. The general import of these two passages is, that he would cause discord, and as it were sow dissensions. But in what sense could the blessed Saviour mean that he would cause discord? We learn from history, that in consequence of the diffusion of the Christian religion, nations and families became divided, so that some embraced it while others rejected it, and the former were persecuted by the latter on account of their Christian profession. A further exposition of this passage is given in p. 457. *infra*.

(6.) *Consider the connection of doctrine, as well as the context of the figurative passage.*

A consideration of the connection of doctrine, as well as of the context, will often lead to the origin of the figurative expressions employed by the sacred writers, and consequently enable us to ascertain their meaning: for very frequently some word precedes or follows, or some synonyme is annexed, that plainly indicates whether the expression is to be taken properly or figuratively. For instance, the words *sin* and *iniquity*, which are of such frequent occurrence in the law of Moses, are tropically put for punishment; and that the phrase, *to bear one's sin* or *iniquity*, is equivalent to the suffering of the punishment due to sin, appears from the synonymous expressions of *being cut off from the people*, and *dying* being very often annexed. As in Levit. xix. 8. Exodus xxviii. 43. Num. xiv. 34. and xviii. 22. 32, &c. Thus also diseases and infirmities are called sins, because they are considered as the punishment of sin (as in Isa. liii. 4. with Matt. viii. 17.), the figure in which passage is subsequently explained in verse 5. Compare also verse 12. and Psalm xxxviii. 3—5. Ezek. xxxiii. 10. and John ix. 2, 3. So likewise in Gen. xxxi. 42. 53. the context manifestly shows that *the fear of Isaac*, and *the fear of his father*, are put for Jehovah, the object of fear and reverence. Once more; when in 1 Pet. ii. 5. 9. believers are said to be living stones, a spiritual house, and a royal priesthood, as these expressions are derived from the Old Testament, we must recur to Exodus xix. 5, 6. in order to ascertain the full extent of their privileges. The general tenor of the Apostle's address then will be, "Consider yourselves as forming part of a nobler temple than that of the Jews, and in which a much more spiritual sacrifice is offered to God through Christ.—You, who have embraced the Gospel, are considered by God as inheritors of all those holy blessings which were promised to the Jews."

(7.) *In fixing the sense exhibited by a metaphor, the comparison ought never to be extended too far, or into any thing which cannot be properly applied to the person or thing represented.*

In other words, a comparison which ordinarily has but *one particular view* ought not to be strained, in order to make it agree in other respects, where it is evident that there is not a similitude of ideas. For instance, in Isa. xl. 6. we read *all flesh is grass*; that is, all mankind are liable to wither and decay, and will wither and decay like grass. But this metaphor would be tortured to a meaning, which, as it is foolish and absurd, we may be sure was never intended by the inspired writer, if we were to say that mankind were like grass, or were grass in colour or shape. What wild, and indeed what wicked, abuse, would be made of the Scripture expression concerning our Lord that *he will come as a thief in the night* (Rev. xvi. 15.), if we were not to confine the sense to the suddenness and surprisal of the thief, but should extend it to the temper and designs of the villain who breaks open houses in the night?[1] Hence, though one metaphor may be brought to signify *many* things with respect to some *different* qualities, and *diverse* attributes, it nevertheless is very evident that *that* sense ought chiefly to be attended to, which appears to be designed by the Spirit of God, and which is obviously figured out to us in the nature, form, or use of the thing, from which the metaphor is taken. Thus, Christ is called a *lion* (Rev. v. 5.) because he is noble, heroic, and invincible; Satan, the grand adversary of souls, is called a lion in 1 Pet. v. 8. because he is rapacious, roaring, and devouring. And wicked men are termed *lions* in Job iv. 10, 11. and 2 Tim. iv. 17. because they are fierce, outrageous, and cruel to weaker men.

(8.) *In the interpretation of figurative expressions generally, and those which particularly occur in the moral parts of Scripture, the meaning of such expressions ought to be regulated by those which are plain and clear.*

All mere maxims, whether plain or figurative, must be understood in a manner consistent with possibility and the rules of humanity. The rule just stated is especially applicable to the right interpretation of Matt. v. 38—42., which enjoins us not to retaliate, but to bear small injuries, and Matt. vi. 19. 31. 34., which prohibits thoughtfulness about worldly concerns; which injunctions have been objected to, as being *impracticable* general duties, inconsistent with natural instinct and law, and altogether destructive of society. If, however, the present rule be kept in view, and if we attend to the auditors and occasion of this discourse and to the context, the true sense of the precepts before us will be evident.

The *auditors* were the multitude and the disciples of Christ, as appears from the context both preceding and following the sermon, and also from the conclusion of it.[2] The multitude and the disciples were likewise the auditors of the same, or a similar, discourse recorded by Luke.[3] They were both, therefore, intended for general instruction to all Christians. Particular appropriate instructions to his apostles, and to the seventy during his ministry, Christ gave to them when he sent them forth to preach and work miracles;[4] and upon other occasions when they were in private.[5] After Jesus had been delivering some similar instructions to those in the sermon on the mount, he tells Peter that they were designed for general use.[6] Our Lord, therefore, probably delivered the precepts we are considering in such language as was intelligible to the multitude. Now they, instead of viewing them as "impracticable, inconsistent with natural law, and destructive of society," expressed their great admiration of the wisdom and dignity with which he taught.[7]

The *occasion* of this sermon was, towards the beginning of his ministry, to teach the true nature of the Messiah's kingdom, to give laws suitable to it, and to correct the false and worldly notions of it, which the Jews in general entertained. They were filled with ideas of conquest, and revenge against the Romans, and of enriching themselves by plunder. But Christ, instead of countenancing a vindictive temper, enjoins lenity, forbearance, and kindness to those who injure us. These directions accord with the dispositions which, in the introduction to the sermon, he pronounces to be requisite to true happiness; with his plain injunctions to forgive injuries; with the general strain of his discourses, with the condition of humanity; and with the context, both in Matthew and Luke.[8] In connection with the precepts we are considering, in both evangelists, "doing to others as we would have them do to us,"[9] and, "doing good to our enemies, in imitation of our heavenly Father," are enjoined. These plain comprehensive rules are introduced as including the figurative ones here specified, which point out small injuries. And *trivial* instances are here specified, probably to point out the necessity of extending a lenient and forbearing disposition to small circumstances, in order to pervade every social sentiment and action with the temper of kindness, and to prevent a vindictive spirit from insinuating itself by the smallest avenues into our hearts. That these commands are not to be taken *literally*, as enjoining the particular actions here specified, but the *disposition* of forgiveness and benevolence, is apparent, not only from its being usual in the East to put the action for the disposition,[10] and from the manner in which the precepts are introduced, but also from our Lord's own conduct. For he mildly reproved the officer who struck him at his trial.[10] Though he had before voluntarily given himself up to the persons who were sent to take him, bade Peter sheathe the sword with which he had maimed one of them, and himself miraculously cured him, yet even here he gently reproved them for the *manner* in which they came to apprehend him.[11] These instances of Christ's different behaviour under a variation of circumstances, show that he meant these precepts to be interpreted, according to the nature and reason of the case. He might express them the more strongly in order to contradict Ecclus. xii. 4, 5. 7., and similar improper sentiments and practices which at that time prevailed in Judea. Neither did Paul act agreeably to the literal sense of the commands in question.[12]

The injunction *not to lay up your treasures upon earth, but in heaven*,[13] according to the Hebrew idiom, means, to prefer heavenly to earthly treasures. The reason given for it is, because, making earthly treasures the chief object, beclouds the moral eye, the guide of life, and is inconsistent with the love and service of God. Christ adds, "therefore take no thought;" or, as it should be translated, "be not anxious about food, drink or clothing," but with moderate care only about them, trust the providence of your heavenly Father. Let your first and chief care be to do your duty. Do not anxiously anticipate the cares of the morrow. All this accords with our best natural sentiments, and with the other instructions of our Lord. The auditors and occasion of the discourse, together with the language and connection in which the directions are given, show these to be the ideas which Jesus meant to convey.[14]

4. Lastly, *in explaining the figurative language of Scripture, care must be taken that we do not judge of the application of characters from modern usage; because the inhabitants of the East have very frequently attached a character to the idea expressed, widely different from that which usually presents itself to our views.*

The inhabitants of the East, from their lively imaginations, very often make use of far-fetched comparisons, and bring together things which, in our judgments, are the most dissimilar. Besides, since the Hebrew mode of living differed greatly from ours, and many things were in use and commended by the Israelites which to us are unknown, we ought not to be surprised, if there be a very wide difference subsisting between the metaphorical expressions of the Hebrews, and those which are familiar to us, and if they should sometimes appear harsh, and seem to convey a different meaning from that which we are accustomed to receive. Thus, in Deut. xxxiii. 17. the glory of the *tribe* of Joseph is compared to the firstling of a bullock; in like manner Amos (iv. 1.) compares the noble women of Israel to the kine of Bashan, and Hosea compares the Israelites to refractory kine that shake off the yoke. The patriarch Jacob in his prophetic and valedictory address to his children (Gen. xlix. 14.), in which he foretells their own and their descendants' future condition, terms Issachar a *strong ass*, literally a *strong-boned* or *strong-limbed ass*. Now, if we take these metaphors according to their present sense we shall greatly err. The ox tribe of animals, whose greatest beauty and strength lie in its horns, was held in very honour among the ancient nations, and was much esteemed on account of its aptitude for agricultural labour: hence Moses especially enacts, that the ox should not be muzzled while treading out the corn. The ass tribe, in the East, is robust and more handsome, as well as much quicker in its pace, than those animals are in our country; and therefore princes and persons of noble birth thought it no degradation to ride on asses. Hence, in the opinion of the inhabitants of the East, it is not reckoned disgraceful to be compared with oxen and asses; nor, if a metaphor be derived from those animals, do they intend to convey the same meaning which we should express by a figure drawn from them. In the comparison of the tribe of Joseph to the firstling of a bullock, the point of resemblance is *strength and power*.[15] In the comparison of the matrons of Samaria to the kine of Bashan, the point of resemblance is *luxury and wantonness flowing from their abundance*:[16] in the comparison of Issachar to an ass, the point of resemblance is bodily *strength and vigour*; for in that animal the Hebrews were accustomed to regard strength, though we usually associate with it the idea of slowness and stupidity.[17]

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[1] Numerous similar instances are given by Glassius, Philologia Sacra, (edit. Dathii,) lib. ii. pp. 918—921.

[2] Matt. v. 1.; vii. 24. 28; viii. 1. [3] Luke vi. 17. 47—49.; vii. 1.

[4] Matt. x. Mark vi. 7—11. Luke ix. 1—6.; x. 1. 24.

[5] Matt. xiii. 10—23. 36—43. 51. John xiv.—xvii.

[6] Luke xii. 41—48 [7] Matt. vii. 28, 29.

[8] Matt. v. 43—48. Luke vi. 27—36.

[9] Matt. v. 38. Luke xxii. 36.; xix. 13, 14. John xiii. 14, 15. 17.

[10] John xviii. 22, 23.

[11] Mark xiv. 48. Matt. xxvi. 55. Luke xxii. 50—53. John xviii. 10.

[12] Acts xxiii. 3.; xvi. 37.

[13] Matt. vi. 19—34. John vi. 27.

[14] Blair on Christ's Sermon on the Mount. Newcome's Observations on Christ, p. 30. part i. chap. 1. sect. 9.

[15] Mr. Brown has recorded a similar figure, which is in use at the present time at the court of the sultan of Dar Fûr, in Africa; where, during public audiences, a kind of hired encomiast stands at the monarch's right hand, crying out, "See the buffalo, the *offspring of a buffalo*, the bull of bulls, the elephant of a superior strength, the powerful Sultan Ab-delrachmân-al-rashid!" Journey to Dar Fûr, chap. 1. *in fine*, or Pinkerton's Voyages, vol. xv. p. 122.

[16] The propriety of this comparison will appear when it is recollected that Bashan was celebrated for the richness of its pastures, and its breed of cattle. (See Num. xxxii. 4. Deut. xxxii. 14. and Ezek. xxxix. 18.) This region still retains its ancient fertility; and its robust, handsome, and independent inhabitants are such as we may conceive its ancient possessors to have been. See Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, pp. 325—329.

[17] Bauer, Herm. Sacra, pp. 206. 210—213. 216—221. Ernesti, Instit. Interp Nov. Test. pp. 99—110. Morus in Ernesti, tom. i. pp. 260—300. Jahn Enchirid. Hermeneut. pp. 100—119.

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SECTION II.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE METONYMIES OCCURRING IN THE SCRIPTURES.

Nature of a Metonymy.—1. *Metonymy of the cause.*—2. *Metonymy of the effect.*—3. *Metonymy of the subject.*—4. *Metonymy of the adjunct, in which the adjunct is put for the subject.*

A METONYMY is a trope, by which we substitute one appellation for another,[1] as the *cause* for the *effect*, the *effect* for the *cause*, the *subject* for the *adjunct*, or the *adjunct* for the *subject*.

A *Metonymy of the cause* is used in Scripture, when the person acting is put for the thing done, or the instrument by which a thing is done is put for the thing effected, or when a thing or action is put for the effect produced by that action.

A *Metonymy of the effect* occurs, when the effect is put for the efficient cause.

A *Metonymy of the subject* is, when the subject is put for the adjunct; that is, for some circumstance or appendage belonging to the subject: when the thing or place *containing* is put for the thing *contained* or placed; when the *possessor* is put for the thing *possessed*; when the *object* is put for the thing conversant about it; or when the thing signified is put for its sign.

A *Metonymy of the adjunct* is, when that which belongs to any thing serves to represent the thing itself.

I. *METONYMY OF THE CAUSE.*

I. *Frequently the person acting is put for the thing done.*

1. Thus, *Christ* is put for his *Doctrine* in Rom. xvi. 9.

Salute Urbanus our helper in Christ, that is, in preaching the doctrines of the Gospel, he having been a fellow-labourer with the apostles. Similar instances occur in 1 Cor. iv. 15. and Epist. iv. 20.

2. The *Holy Spirit* is put for His *Effects*, as in 2 Cor. iii. 6.

Who hath made us able ministers of the new covenant, not of the letter but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life. Here, by the word *letter* we are to understand the *law* written on tables of stone, which required perfect obedience, and which no man can perform because of the corruption of his nature; therefore the law or *letter killeth*, that is, can pronounce nothing but a sentence of condemnation and eternal death against man. But by the *spirit* is intended the saving doctrine of the Gospel, which derives its origin from the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, who teaches or instructs, and prepares man for eternal life. In the same sense, Jesus Christ says, John vi. 63. *The words that I speak they are spirit and life*, that is, they are from the Spirit of God, and, if received with true faith, will lead to eternal life. A similar mode of expression occurs in Rom. viii. 2. Here, by *the law of the spirit of life* is meant the doctrine of the Gospel, because it is a peculiar instrument of the operation of the Holy Spirit; who, by a divine efficacy, changes the heart, and writes his law there, which now is not only inscribed on tablets or parchments, but also penetrates the very heart of man, and quickens the soul to spiritual motions and actions.[2]

3. The Holy Spirit is put for His *Operations*:

For renewing, Psal. li. 10. Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27. compared with Eph. iv. 23. Rom. xii. 2. which passages imply nothing less than a radical change, both external or moral, and internal or spiritual, wrought in the soul by the influence of divine grace.

4. The Holy Spirit is put for *the Influences or Gifts of the Spirit*, as in 1 Thess. v. 19. *Quench not the Spirit.*

The similitude is borrowed from the ancient altar of burnt-offering, in which the fire was to be kept continually burning. The Holy Spirit is here represented as a *fire*, because it is His province to enlighten, quicken, purify, and refine the soul, and to excite and maintain every pious and devout affection. The Christian, therefore, must not quench the sacred flame of the Holy Spirit in any of his *influences* by committing any act, uttering any word, or indulging any sensual or malevolent disposition, which may provoke Him to withdraw both His gifts and graces. Neither must the Christian extinguish the *gifts of the Spirit*, but keep them in constant exercise, as love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, fidelity, meekness, &c. So, in 2 Tim. i. 6. Saint Paul's advice, *Stir up the gift of God which is in thee*, means *the gift of the Holy Spirit*. See also 1 Tim. iv. 14.

Again, when our Saviour "exhorts us to ask with confidence for spiritual aid, appealing to the conduct of men, he adds, '*If ye, then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?*' (Luke xi. 13.) By which he would have us distinctly understand that if man, with all his imperfections and all his unkindness, can yet be tender-hearted to his children, and seasonably bestow on them beneficial gifts, much more will God, who is perfection and benignity itself, most assuredly impart the blessing of his Holy Spirit to those who earnestly and anxiously implore divine help,—that help which can illumine what is dark; can strengthen what is irresolute; can restrain what is violent; can comfort what is afflicted; in such a manner, and to such a degree, as may be requisite for the soul when struggling under different but difficult temptations; that help, without which man, unassisted, cannot persevere in rectitude of thought and action."[3]

5. *Spirit* also denotes a *Divine Power* or energy, reigning in the soul of a renewed man.

Compare Luke i. 46, 47. with 1 Thess. v. 23.; and for other places, where the word *spirit* is put for the *new man* and *spiritual strength*, see Isa. xxvi. 9. Ezek. xviii. 31. Matt. xxvi. 41. Rom. i. 9. 1 Cor. v. 3—6. and vi. 20. Gal. iii. 3, &c.

6. More especially the Holy Spirit is put for those *peculiar and extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit*, which, for various uses, whether public or private, spiritual or temporal, are bestowed on man.

Thus, in 2 Kings ii. 9. Elisha earnestly requests of Elijah, *Let a double portion of thy spirit rest upon me*; that is, an extraordinary measure of the gifts of prophecy, and of power in working miracles, which are here called the *portion of the spirit*. See also Num. xi. 17. 25. Dan. v. 12. The prophet Daniel *had a more excellent spirit*, that is a more eminent gift of the spirit, more knowledge, and more understanding.

7. The *Spirit* is also put for revelations, visions, or ecstacies, whether really from the Holy Spirit, or pretended to be so.

Ezek. xxxvii. 1. *The hand of the Lord carried me out in the Spirit of the Lord*, that is, by a vision or rapture of spirit. 2 Thess. ii. 2. *That ye be not shaken in mind,—neither by spirit*, &c. that is, by revelations pretending to come from the spirit. Rev. i. 10. *I was in the spirit*, that is, in an ecstacy and peculiar revelation of the Holy Spirit, as is described in Rev. iv. 2. xvii. 3. xxi. 10. and 2 Cor. xii. 2. To this head may also be referred those passages where spirit is put for doctrines, whether really revealed or pretended to be so; as in 1 Tim. iv. 1. where by *seducing spirits* are intended false teachers who pretend to receive their doctrine from the Spirit of God; and 1 John iv. 1. where spirit is put for doctrine pretended to be received by the false teachers from God.

8. *Parents* or *Ancestors* are put for their *Posterity*: this mode of speaking is of very frequent occurrence in the Sacred Writings.

Thus *Shem*, *Japhet*, and *Canaan*, are put for their *posterity*, in Gen. ix. 27. *Jacob* and *Israel* for the *Israelites*, in Exod. v. 2. Num. xxiii. 21. xxiv. 5. 17. Deut. xxxiii. 28. 1 Kings xviii. 17, 18. Psal. xiv. 7. and cxxxv. 4 Amos vii. 9. in which verse *Isaac*, as in verse 16. the *House of Isaac*, means the same people. The *seed of Abraham*, Isaac, and Jacob, (*of whom, according to the flesh, Christ came*, Rom. ix. 5.) is put for *Christ* himself, in Gen. xii. 3. xviii. 18. xxii. 18. xxvi. 4. xxviii. 14. and Gal. iii. 8., as is evident by comparing Acts iii. 25. and Gal. iii. 14. 16. In 2 Chron. xxv. 24. *Obed-edom* is put for his *descendants*, who, it appears from 1 Chron. xxv. 15., were porters and keepers of the sacred treasures. In Ezek. xxxiv. 23. *David* is put for *David's Lord*, the illustrious Messiah.

9. The *Writer* or *Author* is put for his *Book* or *Work*:

As in Luke xvi. 29. xxiv. 27. Acts xv. 21., xxi. 21. and 2 Cor. iii. 15.; in which passages *Moses* and the *Prophets* respectively mean the *Mosaic and Prophetic Writings*, composed by them under divine inspiration, and transmitted to posterity as the rule of faith.

To this first species of metonymy may be appropriately referred, FIRST, all those passages where the *soul of man* is put for his *life*, which is its effect, as in Gen. ix. 5. (Heb.) Exod. iv. 19. (Heb.) Lev. xvii. 11. Judg. ix. 17. (Heb.) 1 Sam. xxvi. 21. 1 Kings ii. 23. (Heb.) 2 Kings vii. 7. (Heb.) Psal. xxxiii. 19. xxxviii. 12. (Heb.) lvi. 13. Jer. xlv. 5. (Heb.) Lam. v. 9. (Heb.) Jonah ii. 6. (Heb.) Matt. ii. 20. (Gr.) x. 39. (Gr.) xvi. 25. (Gr.) xx. 28. (Gr.) John x. 17. (Gr.) xiii. 37, 38. (Gr.) xv. 13. (Gr.) &c. SECONDLY, those passages also, where the *soul* is put for the *will, affections, and desires*, which are its operations, as in the original of the following passages, where the metonymy is correctly rendered in our authorized version; viz. Gen. xxiii. 8. Exod. xxiii. 9. Deut. xxiii. 24. Psalm xvii. 10. xxvii. 12. xli. 2. cv. 22. Prov. xxiii. 2. and John x. 24. (literally, *hold our soul in suspense*.) And, THIRDLY, all such passages where the *spirit* (which is frequently synonymous with the soul of man) is used to express the motions or affections of the soul, whether good or evil. Examples of this kind occur in Gen. xlv. 27. Num. xiv. 24. Judg viii. 3., where, in the Hebrew, *anger* is *soul*, as is *heart* in Exod. xxiii. 9. 2 Chron. xxi. 16. xxxvi. 22. Psal. lxxvi. 12. lxxvii. 3. Prov. i. 23. xviii. 14. xxix. 1. Eccles. vii. 9. Isa. xxix. 10. xxxvii. 7. Jer. li. 11. Ezek. xiii. 3. Dan. v. 20. Hag. i. 14. Hab. i. 11. Rom. xi. 8. (Gr.) 1 Cor. i. 12. (Gr.) &c.

II. *Sometimes the cause or instrument is put for the thing effected by it.* Thus,

1. The *Mouth*, the *Lips*, and the *Tongue*, are respectively put for the *Speech*.

Thus, Deut. xvii. 6. *by the mouth of two or three witnesses* (that is, their speech or testimony) *shall he that is worthy of death be put to death*. So Deut. xix. 15. Matt. xviii. 16. Prov. xxv. 15. *A soft tongue breaketh the bone*; that is, a mild and courteous way of speaking softens the hardest heart and most obstinate resolutions. Similar instances occur in Psal. v. 9. Prov. x. 20. Jer. xviii. 18. Acts ii. 4. 11. *Tongue* is also put for the *gift of foreign languages*, in Mark xvi. 17. and 1 Cor. xiv. 19. Gen. xi. 1. *The whole earth was of one language* (Heb. *lip*), *and of one speech* (Heb. *word*). In the book of Proverbs, the *lip* is very frequently put for *speech*. See Prov. xii. 19. 22. xiv. 7. xvii. 7. xviii. 7. 20. Job xii. 20. (Marginal renderings.)

[1] Quintilian, lib. viii. c. vi. tom. ii. p 108. ed. Bipont.
[2] Flaccus Illyricus, in Clav. Script pars 1 col. 1162.
[3] Bishop Huntingford's Charge, entitled "Preparations for the Holy Order of Deacons," p. 14.

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2. The *Mouth* is also put for *Commandment* in Gen. xlv. 21. (marginal rendering) (Heb. *mouth*). Num. iii. 16. 39. xx. 24. xxvii. 14. Deut. i. 26. 43. and in Prov. v. 3. the *Palate* (marginal rendering) is also put for *Speech*.

3. The *Throat* is also put for *Loud Speaking*, in Isa. lviii. 1. *Cry aloud* (Heb. with the throat).

4. The *Hand* is ordinarily put for its *Writing*, 1 Cor. xvi. 21. Col. iv. 18.

By the same form of speech also *Labour* is put for *Wages*, or the fruit of labour, Ezek. xxiii. 29.; and *things that are sold* for the *price* at which they are sold. Thus, in Matt. xxvi. 9. it is said the ointment might have been sold for so much and given to the poor. See likewise Exod. xxi. 21. The *sword* is put for *war* or slaughter. Exod. v. 3. Lev. xxvi. 6. Psal. cxliv. 0. Isa. i. 20. Jer. xliii. 11. Rom. viii. 35.

5. The *Sword, Famine*, and *Pestilence* likewise respectively denote the effects of those scourges.

Ezek. vii. 15. *The sword is without, and the pestilence and the famine within;* that is, death and ruin are every where scattered by those terrible agents. So in Matt. x. 34. *I came not to send peace (or temporal prosperity) but a sword;* that is, variance, death, and persecution. Our Saviour's meaning is, not that his coming was the *necessary* and proper cause of such unhappiness, but that so it should eventually happen on his appearance in our nature; because his kingdom was of another world, and consequently, opposed to all the designs and interests of the present world. This remark will satisfactorily explain Luke xii. 51—53., where Jesus foretells the effects that would follow from preaching the Gospel.

2. METONYMY OF THE EFFECT.

III. *Sometimes, on the contrary, the effect is put for the cause.*

Thus, *God* is called *Salvation*, that is, the author of it, Exod. xv. 2., our *life* and the length of our days, Deut. xxx. 20., our *strength*, Psal. xviii. 1. So, *Christ* is termed *Salvation*, Isa. xlix. 6. Luke ii. 30.—*Life*, John xi. 25. and the *resurrection* in the same place. See also Col. iii. 4. *Peace*, Eph. ii. 14. So he is said to be *made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption*, that is the *author* of all these, in 1 Cor. i. 30. So, in Luke xi. 14. compared with Matt. ix. 32., a *dumb devil* or demon is one that made the person whom he possessed dumb. In like manner the Gospel is called the *power of God unto salvation*, in Rom. i. 16., that is, the instrument of his power. *Faith* is called our *Victory*, because by it we overcome the world, 1 John v. 4. That which is the means of sustaining or preserving life is called our *life*, Deut. xxiv. 6., or our *living*, Mark xii. 44. Luke viii. 43. and xv. 12. So, *glad tidings*, are such as make glad, Rom. x. 15. A *lively hope* is that which revives or enlightens, 1 Pet. i. 3.—*Wine is a mocker and strong drink is raging*, Prov. xx. 1., that is, they make men such. There is the same form of speech likewise in Heb. vi. 1. and ix. 14. where *dead works* are deadly works, that is such as make men obnoxious to death. Deut. xxx. 15. *I have set before thee this day life and death*, that is, have clearly showed thee what is the cause and original of each. John iii. 19. *This is the condemnation*, that is, the cause of it. Rom. vii. 7. *Is the law sin?* that is the cause of sin, in itself. Rom. viii. 6. *To be carnally minded is death*, that is, its cause, but to be *spiritually minded is life and peace*, or the cause of those blessings. A like expression occurs in Rom. vi. 23. *Bread* is put for the *seed* of which bread is made, Eccl. xi. 1. *Shame* is put for that which is the cause of it, or the idols worshipped by the Israelites, which proved their shame. Jer. iii. 24. Hos. ix. 10.

3. METONYMY OF THE SUBJECT.

IV. *Sometimes the subject is put for the adjunct; that is, for some circumstance or appendage belonging to or depending upon the subject.*

Thus, the HEART is frequently used for the *will and affections*, as in

Deut. iv. 29. vi. 5. x. 12. Psal. ix. 1. xxiv. 4. ii. 10. lxii. 10. cv. 25. cxix. 10. 32. 112. Prov. xxi. 1. xxiii. 26. Acts iv. 32. For the *understanding, mind, thoughts*, and *memory*, Deut. iv. 39. vi. 6. xi. 16. 18. xxix. 4. 1 Sam. i. 13. 2 Chron. vi. 8. Job xxii. 22. Psal. iv. 4. lxiv. 6. Prov. xix. 21. xxviii. 26. and Luke ii. 51. For the *conscience*, 2 Sam. xxiv. 10. 2 Kings xxii. 19. Eccles. vii. 22. and 1 John iii. 20., and for the *desires of the soul* expressed in prayer, in Psal. lxii. 8. Lam. ii. 19. The *reins* are also frequently put for the *thoughts*, as in Psal. vii. 9. xxvi. 2. ii. 6. lxiii. 21. Prov. xxiii. 16. Jer. xi. 20. xvii. 10. and xx. 12. So, the *new* or *inward* man is put for the condition or state of a regenerated soul, to which the *old* or *outward* man is opposed. See Rom. vi. 6. and xii. 2. Eph. iv. 22. 24. 2 Cor. v. 17.

V. *Sometimes the place or thing containing denotes that which is contained in such place or thing.*

Thus, the EARTH and the WORLD are frequently put for the *men that* dwell therein, as in Gen. vi. 11. Psal. xcvi. 13. Heb. ii. 14. John i. 29. iii. 16, 17. xv. 18. and xvii. 21. 1 Cor. vi. 2. as also in very many passages. In like manner, *countries, islands, cities*, and *houses*, are respectively put for their inhabitants, Gen. xli. 57. Psal. c. 1. cv. 38. Isa. xli. 1. 5. xliii. 4. xliii. 3. ii. 5. Matt. iii. 5. viii. 34. xi. 21, 22, 23. Gen. vii. 1. Exod. i. 21. 2 Sam. vii. 11. 1 Chron. x. 6. Acts x. 2. 1 Tim. iii. 4. Heb. xi. 7. So the *houses* of Levi and *Israel* denote their several families. Exod. ii. 1. Ezek. iii. 1. The *basket*, Deut. xxvii. 5. 17. is the fruit of the basket; a *table*, Psal. xxiii. 5. lxix. 22. and lxxviii. 19. denotes the meat placed on it; the *cup*, the wine or other liquor in it, Jer. xlix. 12. Ezek. xxiii. 32. Matt. xxvi. 27, 28. Mark xiv. 23. Luke xxii. 17. 20. 1 Cor. x. 16. 21. and xi. 26, 27.; *ships*, Isa. xxiii. 1. 14. the men in them; the *grave*, those who are buried in it, as in Isa. xxxvii. 18. compared with verse 19. and in Psal. vi. 5. In like manner *heaven* is put for God himself, in Psal. lxxiii. 9. Matt. xxi. 25. Luke xx. 4. and xv. 18.

VI. *Sometimes the possessor of a thing is put for the thing possessed.*

Thus, Deut. ix. 1. *To possess nations greater and mightier than thyself*, means to possess the countries of the Gentiles. See also Psal. lxxix. 7. where *Jacob* means the land of the Israelites. In like manner, the name of God is put for the oblations made to him. Josh. xiii. 33. with verse 14. Josh. xviii. 7. and Deut. x. 9. *Christ* is put for his church (or believers, who are termed his peculiar people, Tit. ii. 14. 1 Pet. ii. 9.) in Matt. xxv. 40. explained in verse 40. 1 Cor. xii. 12.; and the afflictions of Christ are put for the afflictions of the faithful, in Col. i. 24.

VII. *Frequently the object is put for that which is conversant about it.*

Thus *glory* and *strength* are put for the celebration of the divine glory and strength, in Psal. viii. 2. explained by Matt. xxi. 16.; see also Psal. xcvi. 7, 8. A *burthen* is a prediction of divine judgments or punishments about to be inflicted on sinners. Isa. xiii. 1. xv. 1. xvii. 1. xix. 1. xxi. 1. xxii. 1. and xxiii. 1. *Promise* is put for faith which receives the gracious promise of God, in Rom. ix. 8. and Gal. iv. 28. *Sin* denotes a sacrifice for sin or sin-offering, Gen. iv. 7. Exod. xxix. 14. (Heb. *sin*) Lev. x. 17. (Heb. *sin*) Hos. iv. 8. in liii. 10. (Heb. *sin*) and 2 Cor. v. 21.[1]

VIII. *Sometimes the thing signified is put for the sign.*

So, the *strength of God*, in 1 Chron. xvi. 11. and Psal. cv. 4. is the ark, which was a sign and symbol of the divine presence and strength, whence it is expressly called the *ark of the strength of God* in Psal. cxxxii. 8. Thus, in Ezek. vii. 27. *desolation* denotes a mourning garment as a token of it.

IX. *When an action is said to be done, the meaning frequently is, that it is declared or permitted, or foretold that it shall be done.*

Thus, in the original of Lev. xiii. 3. the priests shall look on him and *pollute* him; in our version, *shall pronounce him unclean* or polluted. The original of Ezek. xiii. 22. is, by quickening or enlivening him; in our translation it is rendered by *promising him life*. So Gen. xli. 13. and he *restored*, means, foretold or declared that I should be restored. Jer. iv. 10. *Ah, Lord God! thou hast greatly deceived this people*, that is, hast permitted them to be deceived by their false prophets. Ezek. xiii. 19. *to slay the souls which should not die*, denotes the prophesying falsely that they should die. So Jer. i. 10. *I have set thee over the nations to root out and to pull down*, that is, to prophesy or declare them pulled down. Ezek. xx. 25, 26. *I gave them statutes which were not good, and polluted them in their own gifts*, that is, I gave them up to themselves, and permitted them to receive such statutes of the heathen, and suffered them to pollute themselves in those very gifts, which, by the law, they were to dedicate to my service, and dealt with them accordingly. Hos. vi. 5. *I have hewn them by the prophets*, or foretold that they should be hewn or slain. So in Acts x. 15. the original rendering is, *what God hath cleansed, that do not thou pollute* (compare Matt. xv. 11.), that is, as in our version, *call not thou common or defiled*. Hence in Matt. xvi. 19. *whatsoever thou shalt bind or loose on earth, &c.* means, whatsoever thou shalt declare to be my will on earth shall be confirmed in heaven. And in like manner the meaning of John xx. 23. is, whose sins ye shall declare to be remitted or retained by the word of God.[2] Matt. vi. 13. *lead us not into temptation*, that is, suffer us not to be overcome by temptation.

X. *Further, an action is said to be done, when the giving of an occasion for it is only intended.*

Thus, the literal rendering of Jer. xxxviii. 23. is, *thou shalt burn this city*, that is (as translated in our version), shalt *cause it to be burnt*. Hence Jeroboam is recorded in 1 Kings xiv. 16. *to have made Israel to sin*, that is, to have occasioned it, by his example and command. In Acts i. 18. Judas is said to have *purchased a field*, that is, occasioned it to be purchased by the money which he cast down in the temple. Rom. xiv. 15. *destroy not him*, that is, be not the cause or occasion of his destruction. And in 1 Cor. vii. 16. *whether thou shalt save thy husband*, means, whether thou shalt be the cause of his conversion, and, consequently, of his salvation.

4. METONYMY OF THE ADJUNCT, IN WHICH THE ADJUNCT IS PUT FOR THE SUBJECT.

XI. *Sometimes the accident, or that which is additional to a thing, is put for its subject in kind.*

The abstract is put for the concrete. So *grey hairs* (Heb. *hoariness*, or *grey-headedness*), in Gen. xlii. 38. denote me, who am now an old man, grey and decrepit with age. So also, *days*, and *multitude of years*, in Job xxxii. 7. are old men. The *strength of Israel*, 1 Sam. xv. 29. is the strong God of Israel. *Circumcision* and *uncircumcision*, in Rom. iii. 30. signify the *circumcised* and *uncircumcised*. The *election*, Rom. xi. 7. is the elect. *Abomination*, in Gen. xlvi. 34. and Luke xvi. 15. is an *abominable thing*. A *curse*, Gal. iii. 13. is accursed. *Light* and *darkness*, Eph. v. 8. denote the enlightened and the ignorant.

XII. *Sometimes the thing contained is put for the thing containing it, and a thing deposited in a place for the place itself.*

Thus, Gen. xxviii. 22. means this place, where I have erected a pillar of stone, shall be God's house. Josh. xv. 19. Springs of water denote some portion of land, where there may be springs. Matt. ii. 11. *Treasures* are the cabinets or other vessels containing them. A similar expression occurs in Psal. cxxxv. 7. *Outer darkness*, in Matt. xxii. 13. means *hell*, the place of outer darkness. Matt. xxv. 10. *Marriage* denotes the place where the nuptial feast was to be celebrated. Mark iii. 11. *Unclean spirits* are men

[1] Dr. A. Clarke, in his commentary on this verse, has adduced *one hundred and eight* instances from the Old and New Testaments, in which the word *sin* is put for a *sin-offering*; Dr. Whitby (in loc.) has specified only twenty-two examples.

[2] On a forced interpretation of these two clauses (among others) has the papal church erected the dangerous notion that priests may grant particular absolution to individuals. See it briefly but ably confuted in Bishop Porteus's Confutation of the Errors of the Church of Rome, pp. 44, 45.

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possessed by them. In Luke vi. 12. and Acts xvi. 13. 16. *Prayer* evidently means the place of prayer.[1] Rev. viii. 3. *Golden incense*, λιβανωτοῦ, means golden censer, and so it is rendered in our authorized English version.

XIII. *Time is likewise put for the things which are done or happen in time.*

This is to be understood both of the word *time* itself, and of names, expressing portions of time, whether divided naturally or by human institution. Thus, in 1 Chron. xii. 32. xxix. 30. Esth. i. 13. 2 Tim. iii. 1. Deut. iv. 32. Mark xiv. 35. and John xii. 27. *times*, *day*, and *hour* respectively denote the transactions that took place in them. Again, *days* are said to be *good* or *evil*, according to the events which happen in them, as in Gen. xlvii. 9. Eccles. vii. 10. and Eph. v. 16.; and that is called a person's day, in which any thing notorious or remarkable befalls him, whether it be good, as in Hos. i. 11. and Luke xix. 42. 44., or evil, as in Job xviii. 20. Psal. cxxxvii. 7. Ezek. xxii. 4. Obad. 12. Micah vii. 4. Psal. xxxvii. 13. *The days of the Lord*, in Job xxiv. 1. Isa. xiii. 6. Joel i. 15. and ii. 1, 2. Amos v. 20. Zeph. i. 14—16. 18. and ii. 2. respectively denote the days when divine punishments were to be inflicted; and hence, by way of eminence, the *day of the Lord* is appropriated to the *day of judgment*, in Joel ii. 31. Acts ii. 20. 1 Cor. i. 8. 2 Thess. ii. 2, &c. In the same manner, the *harvest* and *summer* are put for the fruits gathered at those seasons. Deut. xxiv. 19. Isa. xvi. 9. [Jer. xl. 10. Amos viii. 1, 2. 2 Sam. xvi. 2. in which three passages, as also in Isa. xvi. 9. the Hebrew is only *summer*]. And also the *passover* is put for the lamb which was slain and eaten on that solemn festival. Exod. xii. 21. 2 Chron. xxx. 17. Mark xiv. 12. 14. Matt. xxvi. 17—19. Luke xxii. 8. 11. 13. 15.

XIV. *In the Scriptures, things are sometimes named or described according to appearances, or to the opinion formed of them by men, and not as they are in their own nature.*

Thus, Hananiah, the opponent of Jeremiah, is called a prophet, not because he was truly one, but was *reputed* to be one, Jer. xxviii. 1. 5. 10. In Ezek. xxi. 3. the *righteous* mean those who had the semblance of piety, but really were not righteous. So in Matt. ix. 13. Christ says, *I am not come to call the righteous* (that is, such as are so in their own estimation), *but sinners to repentance*. See further Luke xviii. 9. and Rom. x. 2, 3, &c. In Luke ii. 48. Joseph is called the *father* of Christ, and in v. 41. is mentioned as one of his parents, because he was *reputed* to be his father, as the same evangelist states in ch. iii. 23.[2] Compare John vi. 42, &c. The preaching of the Gospel is in 1 Cor. i. 21. termed *foolishness*; not that it was really such, but was accounted to be so by its opponents. In like manner false teaching is called *another Gospel* in Gal. i. 6. and Epimenides, the Cretan philosopher, is termed a prophet in Tit. i. 12. because his countrymen regarded him as such, and after his death offered sacrifices to him.[3]

His enemies shall lick the dust, Psal. lxxii. 9. means that they shall prostrate themselves so low towards the earth, that they shall seem to lick the dust. Similar expressions occur in Isa. xlix. 23. Micah vii. 17, &c. The phrase, *coming from a far country and from the end of heaven*, in Isa. xiii. 5., is taken from the opinion which anciently obtained, and was founded on the appearance to the eye, viz. that the *heavens* are not spherical but hemispherical, ending at the extremities of the earth, upon which the extremities of heaven appear to rest. Hence the *ends of the earth* denote the remotest places. The same phrase occurs in Deut. iv. 32. and xxx. 4. Neh. i. 9. Matt. xxiv. 31.

XV. *Sometimes the action or affection, which is conversant about any object, or placed upon it, is put for the object itself.*

Thus, the *Senses* are put for the *objects* perceived by them, as *hearing* for doctrine or speech, in Isa. xxviii. 9. (marg. rend.) and liii. 1. (Heb.) In John xii. 38. and Rom. x. 16. the Greek word ακοη, translated *report*, literally means hearing, and so it is rendered in Gal. iii. 2. 5. Hearing is also put for fame or rumour in Psal. cxii. 7. (Heb.) Ezek. vii. 26. Obad. 1. Hab. iii. 2. (Heb.) Matt. iv. 24. xiv. 1. and xxiv. 6. Mark i. 28. and xiii. 7, &c. The *Eye* in the original of Num. xi. 7. Lev. xiii. 55. Prov. xxiii. 31. Ezek. i. 4. viii. 2. and x. 9. is put for colours which are seen by the eye. *Faith* denotes the doctrine, received and believed by faith, in Acts vi. 7. Gal. i. 23. and iii. 23. 25. Eph. iv. 5. 1 Tim. iv. 1. Tit. i. 13. Jude 3. Rev. ii. 13.—*Hope*, in Psal. lxv. 5. and lxxi. 5. Jer. xiv. 8. and xvii. 7. 13. is God, in whom we have hope, or place our confidence. *Hope* also denotes Christ, or the benefits which we receive by him, in Acts xxvi. 6—8. xxviii. 20. Col. i. 27. 1 Tim. i. 1. *Hope* is sometimes also put for *men*, in whom we confide, or from whom we expect some good, as in Isa. xx. 5, 6. and for the thing hoped for, as in Prov. xiii. 12. Rom. viii. 24. and Gal. v. 5. in which last place *the hope of righteousness by faith* means eternal life, which is promised to the just by faith, and also in Tit. ii. 13.—*Love* is put for the object of affection, Jer. ii. 33. and xii. 7. (marginal rendering.)—*Desire*, Ezek. xxiv. 16. 21. is the thing desired. In like manner, the *lust* or desire of the eyes, 1 John ii. 16. is the object of the eyes which we eagerly desire.—So, *Fear* is put for the object that is feared, in Psal. liii. 5. Prov. i. 26. Isa. viii. 13.

XVI. *Sometimes the sign is put for the thing signified.*

Thus, *Sovereign Power* and authority are expressed by a *Sceptre*, *Crown*, *Diadem*, *Throne*, and *Shutting and opening without resistance*, in Gen. xlix. 10. Isa. xxii. 22. Ezek. xxi. 26. Zech. x. 11. and Rev. iii. 7. War is denoted by bows, spears, chariots, and swords, Psal. xlvi. 9. Lam. v. 9. Ezek. xxi. 3, 4. Matt. x. 34. So, to lift up the hand is sometimes to swear, Gen. xiv. 22. Deut. xxxii. 40., and sometimes to pray, Lam. iii. 41. 1 Tim. ii. 8. In like manner, to stretch forth the hand is to call for audience, Psal. xliv. 20. Prov. i. 24.

To *kiss* the hand, or to kiss another, is to yield reverence, Job xxxi. 27. 1 Sam. x. 1. Psal. ii. 12. 1 Kings xix. 18. Hos. xiii. 2. To *bow the knee*, is to *worship*, Isa. xlv. 23. Phil. ii. 10. Eph. iii. 14. *To give the hand*, or to *strike hands*, is to *swear*, *join in fellowship*, *engage*, or *become surety for another*, Ezek. xvii. 18. Gal. ii. 9. Job xvii. 3. Prov. vi. 1. *To put on sackcloth*, is *to mourn*, Psal. lxix. 11. *To beat swords into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks*, is *to live in peace and security*, Isa. ii. 4.

XVII. *Lastly, the names of things are often put for the things themselves.*

Thus, the *Name* of God denotes the *Almighty* himself, Psal. xx. 1. cxv. 1. Prov. xviii. 10. Isa. xxx. 27. Jer. x. 25. So, in Joel ii. 32. Acts ii. 21. and Rom. x. 13. the *name of the Lord* denotes Jesus Christ. Names are likewise put for persons, Acts i. 15. Rev. iii. 4. and xi. 13. (Gr.) In like manner we find, that names are given to persons to express their state or condition, although they are not ordinarily called by such names, as in Isa. i. 26. *Thou shalt be called the city of righteousness* or justice, that is, thou shalt be so. Similar expressions occur in Isa. lxii. 4. and Jer. iii. 17.

SECTION III.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE METAPHORS.

Nature of a Metaphor.—Sources of Scripture Metaphors.— I. *The works of nature.*—II. *The occupations, customs, and arts of life.*—III. *Sacred topics, or religion and things connected with it.*—IV. *Sacred history.*

A METAPHOR is a trope, by which a word is diverted from its proper and genuine signification to another meaning for the sake of comparison, or because there is some analogy between the similitude and the thing signified. Of all the figures of rhetoric, the metaphor is that which is most frequently employed, not only in the Scriptures, but likewise in every language; for, independently of the pleasure which it affords, it enriches the mind with *two* ideas at the *same* time, the *truth* and the *similitude*. Two passages will suffice to illustrate this definition. In Deut. xxxii. 42. we read, *I will make mine arrows drunk with blood, and my sword shall devour flesh.* Here, the *first* metaphor is borrowed from excessive and intemperate drinking, to intimate the very great effusion of blood, and the exceeding greatness of the ruin and destruction which would befall the disobedient Israelites: the *second* metaphor is drawn from the voracious appetite of a hungry beast, which in a lively manner presents to the mind the impossibility of their escaping the edge of the sword, when the wrath of God should be provoked. Again, in Psal. cxxxix. 2. we read, *Thou understandest my thoughts afar off.* In this verse the metaphor is taken from the prospect of a distant object: but in a proper sense the phrase assures us, that Jehovah, by his prescience, knows our thoughts, before they spring up in our souls.

In order to understand metaphors aright, it should be observed that the foundation of them consists in a likeness or similitude between the thing from which the metaphor is drawn, and that to which it is applied. When this resemblance is exhibited in one or in a few expressions, it is termed a single metaphor. When it is pursued with a variety of expressions, or there is a continued assemblage of metaphors, it is called an *allegory*. When it is couched in a short sentence, obscure and ambiguous, it is called a *riddle*. If it be conveyed in a short saying only, it is a *proverb*, and if the metaphorical representation be delivered in the form of a history, it is a *parable*. When the resemblance is far-fetched, as *to see a voice* (Rev. i. 12.), it is termed a *catachresis*. This last-mentioned species of figure, however, is of less frequent occurrence in the Scriptures than any of the preceding.

The metaphor is of indispensable necessity in the Scriptures; for the sacred writers, having occasion to impart divine and spiritual things to man, could only do it by means of terms borrowed from sensible and material objects, as all our knowledge begins at our senses. Hence it is, especially in the poetical and prophetical parts of the Old Testament, that the sentiments, actions, and corporeal parts, not only of man, but also of inferior creatures, are ascribed to God himself; it being otherwise impossible for us to form any conception of his pure essence and incommunicable attributes. The various sources, whence the sacred writers have drawn their metaphors, have been discussed at great length by Bishop Lowth,[4] and his annotator Michaelis, and also by Glassius;[5] from whose elaborate works the following observations are abridged. The sources of Scripture metaphors may be classed under the four following heads, viz. natural, artificial, sacred, and historical.

I. *The works of nature furnish the first and most copious, as well as the most pleasing, source of images in the Sacred Writings.*

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[1] Προσευχη. From 1 Macc. vii. 37. it appears that the Jews had a similar place of prayer at Mizpah. See Wolfius, Rosenmüller, Schindler, and others, on Luke vi. 12.

[2] A similar mode of speech occurs in the Iliad, where Homer repeatedly calls Menelaus and Agamemnon the sons of Atreus, though they were in reality the children of his son Plisthenes, and, consequently, the grandchildren of Atreus. In consequence of their father's death, while they were very young, they were educated by their grandfather; who, from his attention to them, was universally acknowledged their protector and father. Hence arose their appellation of Atridæ, or sons of Atreus.

[3] Diog. Laert. lib. i. c. 10. § 11. tom. i. p. 123. ed. Longolii.

[4] In his Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, Lect. vi.—ix.

[5] Philologia Sacra, lib. ii. pp. 916—1243. ed. Dathii.

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Thus the images of *light* and *darkness* are commonly made use of, in all languages, to denote prosperity and adversity; and an uncommon degree of light implies a proportionate degree of joy and prosperity, and *vice versâ*. Isa. xiii. 10. lix. 19, 20. xxx. 26. Jer. xv. 9. Amos viii. 9. Micah iii. 6. Joel ii. 10. The same metaphors are also used to denote knowledge and ignorance. Isa. viii. 20. ix. 2. Matt. iv. 16. Eph. v. 8. The sun, moon, and stars, figuratively represent kings, queens, and princes or rulers, as in Isa. xxiv. 23. Ezek. xxxii. 7.

"The lights of heaven," says a late pious and learned writer,[1] "in their order are all applied to give us conceptions of God's power and the glory of his kingdom. In the lxxxivth Psalm (verse 11.) the Lord is said to be a sun and shield; a *sun* to give *light* to his people, and a *shield* to protect them from the power of darkness. Christ, in the language of the prophet, is the *sun* of righteousness; who, as the natural sun revives the grass and renews the year, brings on the acceptable year of the Lord, and is the great restorer of all things in the kingdom of grace; shining with the new light of life and immortality to those who once sat in darkness and in the shadow of death. And the church has warning to receive him under this glorious character. *Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee!* (Isa. lx. 1.) When he was manifested to the eyes of men he called himself the *light* of the world, and promised to give the same light to those that follow him. In the absence of Christ as the personal light of the world, his place is supplied by the light of the Scripture, which is still a lamp unto our feet, and a light unto our paths. The word of prophecy is *as a light shining in a dark place;* and as we study by the light of a lamp, so we must give heed to this light, as if we would see things to come.

"The moon is used as an emblem of the church, which receives its light from Christ, as the moon from the sun: therefore the renovation of the moon signifies the renovation of the church. The angels or presiding ministers in the seven churches of Asia (Rev. ii. and iii.) are signified by the *seven stars*, because his ministers hold forth the word of life, and their light shines before men in this mortal state, as the stars give light to the world in the night season; of which light Christians in general partake, and are therefore called children of the light."

Nothing is more grateful to the inhabitants of the East than springs, rivers, and rain; for, as showers rarely fall in their countries, the grass and flowers of the field become consumed by the intolerable heat, unless watered by showers or canals. Hence, flowing springs, copious showers, and nightly dews, which fertilize the fields, furnish them with a variety of pleasing images. Isa. xli. 18. and xxxv. 1. 6, 7. The blessings of the Gospel are delineated under the metaphors of dew, Isa. xxvi. 19., moderate rains, Hos. vi. 3., gentle streams and running waters, Isa. xxvii. 3. and xliv. 3. On the other hand, no metaphor is more frequent than that by which sudden and great calamities are expressed under the figure of a deluge of waters. With this metaphor the Hebrews appear to have been extremely familiar, as if it were directly taken from the nature and state of their country. Immediately before their eyes was the river Jordan,[2] which annually overflowed its banks; for the snows of Lebanon and the neighbouring mountains, being melted in the beginning of summer, the waters of the river were often suddenly augmented by the descending torrents. The whole country, also, being mountainous, was exposed to frequent floods after the great periodical tempests of rain. To this David alludes, Psal. xlii. 7. Immoderate rains, hail, floods, inundations, and torrents, denote judgments and destructions, Isa. viii. 7. Jer. xlvii. 2. Ezek. xxxviii. 22.

To the class of metaphors derived from natural objects we may refer the *anthropopathy*, a metaphor by which things belonging to creatures, and especially to man, are ascribed to God, and the *prosopopœia* or personification, that is, the change of things to persons. Both these figures are nearly allied to the metaphor, and still more to the metonymy; but they are noticed in this place, as being upon the whole the most convenient arrangement.

1. In the consideration of *anthropopathies*, the two following important rules must be constantly kept in mind; viz.

[i.] *That we understand them in a way and manner suitable to the nature and majesty of the Almighty, refining them from all that imperfection with which they are debased in the creatures, and so attribute them to the Deity.*

Thus when the members of a human body are ascribed to God, we are not to conceive of him as a venerable old man, sitting gravely in heaven to observe and censure the things done on earth; but must understand those perfections, of which such members in us are the instruments. The *eye*, for instance, being that member by which we discern or observe any thing, is employed to denote God's *perfect and exact knowledge of all things*, Job xxxiv. 21. Psal. xi. 4. and Heb. iv. 13.; as also *his watchful providence*, Deut. xi. 12. 1 Kings ix. 3. Psal. xxxiv. 15. In like manner, *ears* are attributed to him, to signify his *gracious acceptance* of his people's prayers, Psal. xxxi. 2. or the *exact notice* which he takes of the sins of others, James v. 4. By his *arm* we are to understand his *power* and *strength*, Exod. xv. 16. which is also expressed by his *right hand*, Exod. xv. 6. and Psal. cxviii. 15, 16. So, his *work* is expressed by his fingers, Exod. viii. 19. and Psal. viii. 3. and his *love* and compassion by his *bowels*, Isa. lxiii. 15. Jer. xxxi. 20. Luke i. 78., *through the* bowels *of the mercy of our God* (δια σπλαγχνα), *whereby the day-spring* from on high hath visited us. There are a thousand similar instances in the Scriptures.

[ii.] Further, when human affections are attributed to Jehovah, we must be careful not to interpret them in a manner that shall imply the least imperfection in Him; but must thereby conceive, (1.) Either *a pure act of his will, free from all perturbation to which men are liable*, or else, (2.) The effect of such human affections, the antecedent being put for the consequent, that is, one thing being expressed while another thing is understood, which is usually its effect, or at least follows it—a figure of very frequent occurrence in the Sacred Writings.

Thus, when God is said to *repent*, we are not to imagine any change of mind in Him with whom there is no variableness or shadow of turning, or any sorrow or trouble that is inconsistent with his perfect happiness; but, either his purpose to undo what he has done, or desist from what he is doing, which are the ordinary effects of repentance in man: so that the change is not in the disposition of the Supreme Mind, but in the dispensations of his providence; as in Gen. vi. 6. 1 Sam. xv. 11. 35. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16. Psal. cvi. 45. Again, God is said in very many passages to be *angry*, to have *fury*, &c. in order to make us apprehend how much he hates sin, and will punish sinners. The same remark will apply to other affections which are attributed to Him.

In a similar manner are we to understand all those passages in which *human actions* are ascribed to God, as in Gen. xviii. 21. To *go down* and see what is done in Sodom, is to regard well, and proceed justly, orderly, and leisurely, to their punishment; though in the divine promise to *be with* Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 15. it means that the divine favour and protection should accompany him all the way. To *search the heart* and *try the reins*, is to discern exactly, as in Psal. vii. 9. and Jer. xvii. 10.—Lastly, *human relations* are likewise ascribed to God, to express the *properties* of such relations: thus, he is called a *King*, Psal xcv. 3., a *Father*, Psal. ciii. 13. Rom. viii. 15., a *Husband*, Isa. liv. 5. Hosea ii. 19., a *Shepherd*, Psal. xxiii. 1. to express his power and authority, his love, pity, tender care, and watchful providence.

2. Of the *prosopopœia* or personification, there are two kinds; one, when actions and character are attributed to fictitious, irrational, or even inanimate objects; the other, when a probable but fictitious speech is assigned to a real character:

[i.] The former, Bishop Lowth remarks, evidently partakes of the nature of the metaphor, and is by far the boldest of that class of figures: it is most frequently and successfully introduced by the sacred writers.

In Psalm lxxxv. 10. how admirable is the personification of the divine attributes!

> Mercy and truth are met together;
> Righteousness and peace have kissed each other.

How just, elegant, and splendid does it appear, if applied only (according to the literal sense) to the restoration of the Jewish nation from the Babylonish captivity! But if we consider it in a most sacred and mystical sense, which is not obscurely shadowed under the ostensible image, viz. that of the method of redemption by the sacrifice and mediation of Jesus Christ, in which the divine perfections were so harmoniously displayed, it is beyond measure grand and elevated. Again, what can be more sublime or graceful than the personification of wisdom, so frequently introduced in the Proverbs of Solomon, particularly in chapter viii. verses 22—31.? She is not only exhibited as the directress of human life and morals, as the inventress of arts, as the dispenser of honours and riches, as the source of true felicity, but also as the eternal daughter of the omnipotent Creator, and as the eternal associate in the divine counsels. Similar passages, exquisitely imagined, and from the boldness of the fiction extremely forcible, occur in Job xviii. 13. xxviii. 22. Isa. v. 14. xlvii. 1. 5. Lam. i. 1. 6. 17. Jer. xlvii. 6, 7. Hos. xiii. 14. and 1 Cor. xv. 54.[3]

[ii.] The second kind of prosopopœia, by which a probable but fictitious speech is assigned to a real person,—though less calculated to excite admiration and approbation by its novelty, boldness, and variety, than the former,—is nevertheless possessed of great force, evidence, and authority. It would, as Bishop Lowth remarks, be an infinite task to specify every instance in the sacred poems, which on this occasion might be referred to as worthy of notice; or to observe the easy, natural, bold, and sudden personifications; the dignity, importance, and impassioned severity of the characters. It would be difficult to describe the energy of that eloquence which is attributed to Jehovah himself, and which appears so suitable in all respects to the Divine Majesty; or to display the force and beauty of the language which is so admirably and peculiarly adapted to each character; the probability of the fiction; and the excellence of the imitation.

[1] The Rev. W. Jones, Lectures on the Figurative Language of Scripture, Lect. ii. Works, vol. iii. p. 25.

[2] Josh. iii. 15. 1 Chron. xii. 15. Ecclus. xxiv. 26.

[3] The late benevolent and learned Mr. Gilpin has pointed out many very striking personifications and other metaphorical allusions used by St. Paul. See his Sermons, vol. iv. p. 405. *et seq.*

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One example, therefore, must suffice for the present; one more perfect it is not possible to produce. It is expressive of the eager expectation of the mother of Sisera, from the inimitable ode of the prophetess Deborah. (Judg. v. 28—30.)

The first sentences exhibit a striking picture of maternal solicitude, both in words and actions; and of a mind suspended and agitated between hope and fear.

> Through the window she looked and cried out,
> The mother of Sisera, through the lattice:
> Wherefore is his chariot so long in coming?
> Wherefore linger the wheels of his chariot?

Immediately, impatient of his delay, she anticipates the consolations of her friends; and her mind being somewhat elevated, she boasts with all the levity of a fond female:—

> (Vast in her hopes, and giddy with success;)
> Her wise ladies answer her;
> Yea, she returns answer to herself:
> Have they not found?—Have they not divided the spoil?

Let us now observe how well adapted every sentiment, every word, is to the character of the speaker. She takes no account of the slaughter of the enemy, of the valour and conduct of the conqueror, of the multitude of the captives, but

> Burns with a female thirst of prey and spoils.

Nothing is omitted which is calculated to attract and engage the passions of a vain and trifling woman—slaves, gold, and rich apparel. Nor is she satisfied with the bare enumeration of them; she repeats, she amplifies, she heightens every circumstance; she seems to have the very plunder in her immediate possession; she pauses and contemplates every particular:—

> Have they not found?—Have they not divided the spoil?
> To every man a damsel, yea, a damsel or two?
> To Sisera a spoil of divers colours?
> A spoil of needlework of divers colours,
> A spoil for the neck of divers colours of needlework on either side.

To add to the beauty of this passage, there is also an uncommon neatness in the versification, great force, accuracy, and perspicuity in the diction, the utmost elegance in the repetitions, which, notwithstanding their apparent redundancy, are conducted with the most perfect brevity. In the end, the fatal disappointment of female hope and credulity tacitly insinuated by the sudden and unexpected apostrophe,

> So let all thine enemies perish, O JEHOVAH!

is expressed more forcibly by this very silence of the person who was last speaking, than it could possibly have been by all the powers of language.

But whoever wishes to understand the full force and excellence of this figure, as well as the elegant use of it in the Hebrew ode, must apply to Isaiah, whom we may justly pronounce to be the sublimest of poets. Bishop Lowth considers his fourteenth chapter as the grandest specimen of that prophet's poetry, and as exemplifying almost every form of the prosopopœia, and indeed of all that constitutes the sublime in composition.

II. *The Hebrews derived many of their figures from the ordinary occupations and customs of life, as well as from such arts as were practised at that time.*

This source, indeed, is common to all nations; and in proportion as they are more polished, and cultivate more numerous arts, they are supplied with a greater variety of images. The whole course and method of common and domestic life among the ancient Hebrews was simple in the highest degree. There did not exist that variety of studies and pursuits, of arts, conditions, and employments, which afterwards obtained among other nations. The Hebrews were a nation of husbandmen and shepherds; the patriarchs were possessed of great flocks and herds which they tended, though their descendants afterwards applied themselves to agriculture. Every Israelite, on the conquest of Canaan, received his allotted portion of land, which he cultivated, and which, as it could not be alienated by sale, descended without diminution to his posterity, who enjoyed unmolested the produce of his land and labour. Hence, very numerous metaphors in the Sacred Writings are derived from pastoral and rural occupations. Thus, kings are said to feed their people, who again are compared to a flock of sheep, which the shepherd conducts to pasture, and guards from danger. It would extend the limits of this section too far, to instance particularly with what embellishments of diction, derived from one low and trivial object (as it may appear to some)—the barn of or threshing-floor—the sacred writers have added a lustre to the most sublime, and a force to the most important subjects. Yet the following passages we cannot omit to notice, on account of their uncommon force and beauty:—

Thus, Jehovah threshes out the heathen, and tramples them beneath his feet. (Hab. iii. 12.) He delivers the nations to Israel to be beaten in pieces by an indented flail, or to be crushed by their brazen hoofs. (Joel iii. 14. (Heb.) Jer. li. 33. Isa. xxi. 10. Mic. iv. 13.) He scatters his enemies like chaff upon the mountains, and disperses them with the whirlwind of his indignation. (Psal. lxxxiii. 13—15. Isa. xvii. 13.) But nothing can surpass the magnificent delineation of the Messiah coming to take vengeance on his adversaries expressed by imagery taken from the wine-press, which is of frequent occurrence with the sacred poets, and which no other poet has presumed to introduce. See Isa. lxiii. 1—3.

The pastoral and rural allusions in the New Testament are almost equally numerous with those of the Old Testament. Thus the world is compared to a *field*, the children of the kingdom to the *wheat*, and the children of the wicked to *tares*. (Matt. xiii. 38.) The end of the world is the *harvest*, and the angels are *reapers*. (Matt. xiii. 39.) A preacher of the word is the *sower*. (Matt. xiii. 3.) The word of God is the *seed*. The heart of man is the *ground*. (Luke viii. 15. Heb. vi. 7.) The cares, riches, and pleasures of life are the *thorns*. (Luke viii. 14. Heb. vi. 8.) The preparation of the heart by repentance is *ploughing and breaking up the fallow ground*. (Hos. x. 12.) Death, which cuts down the fairest flower of the field, is a *mower*. (Psal. xc. 6.) The minister, who serves under God in his husbandry is the *labourer*. (Matt. ix. 37, 38. 1 Cor. iii. 9.) The wicked are *stubble*. (Isa. xlvii. 14.) And the temptations and trials of the godly are the *sifting of the wheat*. (Luke xxii. 31.)[1]

III. *Sacred Topics, that is to say, Religion, and Things connected with it, furnished many images to the sacred writers.*

Numerous and diversified sacred rites were enjoined to the Israelites by Moses, and their religious worship was conducted with great pomp and splendour.

Thus the images derived from the temple and its magnificent service chiefly serve to denote the glory of the Christian church, the excellency of its worship, God's favour towards it, and his constant presence with it: the prophets speaking to the Jews in terms accommodated to their own ideas, as in Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26. compared with Heb. viii. 10. Further, much of the Jewish law is employed in discriminating between things clean and unclean; in removing and making atonement for things polluted or proscribed; and under these ceremonies, as under a veil or covering, a meaning the most important and sacred is concealed, as would appear from the nature of them, even if we had not other clear and explicit authority for this opinion. Among the rest are certain diseases and infirmities of the body, and some customs in themselves evidently indifferent: these, on a cursory view, seem light and trivial; but, when the reasons of them are properly investigated, they are found to be of considerable importance. We are not to wonder, then, if the sacred poets have recourse to these topics for imagery, even on the most momentous occasions; as when they display the universal depravity of the human heart (Isa. lxiv. 6.), or upbraid their own people for the corruptness of their manners (Isa. i. 5, 6. 16. Ezek. xxxvi. 17.), or when they deplore the abject state of the virgin, the daughter of Sion, polluted and exposed. (Lam. i. 8, 9. 17. and ii.) If we consider these metaphors, without any reference to the religion of their authors, they will doubtless appear in some degree disgusting and inelegant; but if we refer them to their genuine source, the peculiar rites of the Hebrews, they will not be found wanting either in force or dignity.

The pontifical vestments, which were extremely splendid, suggested a variety of images expressive of the glory both of the Jewish and Christian church. We have an instance of this in Ezek. xvi. 10. 13. 18. and particularly in the following passage of the evangelical prophet:—

> I will greatly rejoice in JEHOVAH:
> My soul shall exult in my God,
> For he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation,
> He hath covered me with the mantle of righteousness:
> As the bridegroom decketh himself with a priestly crown;
> And as the bride adorneth herself with her costly jewels.
> Isa. lxi. 10.

In this verse, the elegant Isaiah is describing, in his peculiar and magnificent manner, the exultation and glory of the church, after her triumphal restoration. Pursuing the allusion, he decorates her with the vestments of salvation, and clothes her in the robe of righteousness: he afterwards compares the church to a bridegroom dressed for the marriage, to which comparison incredible dignity is added by the word *Ikohen*, a metaphor plainly taken from the priest's apparel, the force of which, therefore, no modern language can express. No imagery, Bishop Lowth further remarks, which the Hebrew writers could employ, was equally adapted with this to the display (as far as human powers can conceive or depict the subject) of the infinite majesty of God. JEHOVAH is, therefore, introduced by the Psalmist as *clothed with glory and with strength* (Psal. xciii. 1.), and he is *girded with power* (Psal. lxv. 6.), which are the very terms appropriated to the description of the dress and ornaments of the priests. The epistle to the Hebrews is an admirable comment on many parts of the Mosaic ritual.

IV. *The Hebrews derived many of their Metaphors from Sacred History.*

Thus, as the devastation of the land of Israel is frequently represented by the restoration of ancient chaos (as in Jer. iv. 23—26. Isa. xxxiv. 4. 11. and Joel iii. 15, 16), so the same event is sometimes expressed in metaphors suggested by the universal deluge (as in Isa. xxiv. 1. 18—20.), and also from the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. (Isa. xxxiv. 9.) See also Psal. xi. 6.

The departure of the Israelites from Egypt, while it affords materials for many magnificent descriptions, is commonly applied, in a metaphorical manner, to represent other great deliverances: as in Isa. xi. 15, 16. xliii. 16—19. xlviii. 21. and li. 10. But the figurative application of the history of the exodus is much plainer in the New Testament. There we see Zacharias, in his prophetical hymn, on occasion of the birth of John the Baptist, celebrating the blessings of the Christian redemption in terms borrowed from the past redemption of Israel out of Egypt.[2]

Lastly, when Jehovah is described as coming to execute judgment, to deliver the pious, and to destroy his enemies, or in any manner to display his divine power upon earth, the description is embellished from that tremendous scene which was exhibited on

[1] A Key to the Language of Prophecy, by the Rev. W. Jones. (Works, vol. v. p. 282.) See also a Concise Dictionary of the Symbolical Language of Prophecy in the Index to Vol. II.

[2] This interesting and important topic is well illustrated in the "Lectures on the Figurative Language of Scripture," Lect. vi.—Jones's Works, vol iii. pp. 92—100.

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Mount Sinai[1] at the delivery of the law. Two sublime examples of this sort, to mention no more, occur in Psal. xviii. 7—15. and Mic. i. 3, 4.[2]

SECTION IV.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE ALLEGORIES.

The Allegory defined.—Different species of Allegory.—II. Rules for the interpretation of Scripture Allegories.

ANOTHER branch of the figurative language of Scripture is the allegory; which, under the literal sense of the words, conceals a foreign or distant meaning. Of this species of figure Bishop Lowth[3] has three kinds, viz.

1. The ALLEGORY[4] properly so called, and which he terms a *continued metaphor*;—

2. The PARABLE, or similitude, which is discussed in the following section;—and,

3. The MYSTICAL ALLEGORY, in which a double meaning is couched under the same words, or when the same prediction, according as it is differently interpreted, relates to different events, distant in time, and distinct in their nature.

The *Mystical Allegory* differs from the two first-mentioned species in the nature of its materials; it being allowable in the former to make use of imagery from different objects, while the mystical allegory is exclusively derived from things sacred. There is likewise this further distinction, that in those other forms of allegory, the exterior or ostensible imagery is fiction only; the truth lies altogether in the interior or remote sense, which is veiled as it were under this thin and pellucid covering. But, in the mystical allegory, each idea is equally agreeable to truth. The exterior or ostensible image is not a shadowy colouring of the interior sense, but is in itself a reality; and, although it sustains another character, it does not wholly lay aside its own. As, however, the interpretation of the mystical and typical parts of Scripture is treated of in a subsequent part of this volume,[5] we shall, in the present section, direct our attention to the allegory, properly and strictly so called.

As every such allegory is a representation of real matters of fact under feigned names and feigned characters, it must be subjected to a two-fold examination. "We must first examine the immediate representation, and then consider what other representation it was intended to excite. Now, in most allegories the immediate representation is made in the form of a narrative; and since it is the object of an allegory to convey a moral, not an historical truth, the narrative itself is commonly fictitious. The immediate representation is of no further value, than as it leads to the ultimate representation. It is the application or moral of the allegory which constitutes its worth."[6] In the investigation, then, of an allegory, the following rules may assist us to determine its ultimate meaning:—

I. *Allegorical Senses of Scripture are not to be sought for, where the literal sense is plain and obvious.*

This rule is of the greatest importance; from not attending to it, the ancient Jews, as the Therapeuta, the author of the book of Wisdom, Josephus, and Philo, and, in imitation of them, Origen[7] and many of the fathers (whose example has also been followed by some modern expositors), have respectively turned even historical passages of Scripture into allegories, together with such other passages as already had a proper and literal sense. Hence many ridiculous interpretations have been imposed on passages of Scripture, the proper moral sense of which has been either greatly enervated, or entirely frittered away, by such misnamed spiritual expositions.

II. *The proper or literal meaning of the Words must be ascertained, before we attempt to explain an Allegory.*

For this purpose the primary word itself must first be ascertained, and its force expressed, by an appropriate literal word; and to this sense all the other figurative words of the passage should be referred, and explained agreeably to it. The *primary* word in an allegory is that which contains the foundation and reason why the passage under consideration is expressed by that particular image; and such primary word is to be ascertained both from the *scope* as well as from the *explanation* which may be subjoined, and also from the *subject* or *thing* itself which is treated of. Thus in 1 Cor. v. 6—8. the apostle speaks of leaven in such a manner, that the whole of that passage contains an earnest exhortation to a holy life; for the context shows that the design of the allegorical admonition was, that the Corinthians should not be tainted with wickedness and depravity of life. The occasion of the allegory was their admittance of an incestuous person into the church at Corinth. Now, as the apostle says, *Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump?* and accommodates the remaining sentence of the passage to the same image, the consideration of the primary word will readily lead us to this sense: one man may be injurious to the whole congregation by his corrupt example. St. Paul further adds an explanation of his meaning, when he says, *Let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, &c.* Here the meaning of εορταζειν (keep the feast) is not to celebrate the festival of the passover as it literally means, but to serve and worship God in Christ: in other words, to be a sincere Christian, and in such a manner that, being cleansed from all former sins, we should serve and worship God in true holiness.[8] In like manner we are to understand the expression, *Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.* (John ii. 19.) The primary word *temple* must be changed into a proper or literal one, namely, the *body of Christ*, as the evangelical history suggests; and to this the rest of the passage must be referred.

III. *The Design of the whole Allegory must be investigated.*

The consideration of this rule will embrace a variety of particulars.

1. *In investigating the Design of an Allegory, the* CONTEXT *is first to be examined and considered,*[9] *by comparing the preceding and subsequent parts of the discourse.*

In 2 Tim. ii. 20. we read thus:—*In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some to honour and some to dishonour.* Now, since the apostle did not intend to say what these words literally mean of themselves, it is evident that he employed an allegory, the design of which is to be ascertained by the aid of the context. In the preceding verses, 15. and 16., he had exhorted Timothy to *study to show himself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth,* and *to shun vain and profane babblings.* Hence it appears that Saint Paul was speaking of the qualifications of a teacher. The *great house* then, in which are vessels of several kinds, will signify the Christian church, in which are various teachers, and of different value. In the *following* verses, 21. and 22., Timothy is exhorted to avoid novel doctrines, to separate himself from false teachers, and to make himself a vessel fitted for the master's use, prepared for every good work. Here, again, the apostle is not speaking literally of household goods, but of teachers. The design of the allegory, therefore, in the passage above cited, is to intimate, that, as in a great house there is a variety of utensils, some of a more precious and others of a coarser material, so in the church of God, which is the house of God, there are teachers of different characters and capacities. Some of them, being faithful, are employed in the honourable work of leading men in the paths of truth and piety; while others, being unfaithful, are permitted to follow the dishonourable occupation of seducing those who love error, that the approved may be made manifest.

2. *The* OCCASION *which gave rise to the Allegory, and which is indicated by the context, is also to be considered.*

Thus, in the Gospels, we meet with numerous instances of persons who asked questions of our Saviour, or who entertained erroneous notions; an allegory is delivered by way of reply, to correct the error, and at the same time to instruct the inquirer. In John vi. 25—65. many things are announced relative to the eating of bread: these are to be understood of spiritual food, the doctrines of Christ, which are to be received for the same purpose as we take food, namely, that we may be nourished and supported. The *occasion* of this allegorical mode of speaking is related in verse 31. *Our fathers,* said the Jews, *did eat manna in the desert, as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat.* I, says Christ, am the *living bread, which cometh down from heaven.* The meaning of the whole evidently is, that by eating the flesh of Christ we are to understand the same idea as is implied in eating bread, namely, to derive support from

[1] See Exod. xix. 16. 18. Deut. iv. 11, 12.

[2] The learned Professor Michaelis, in his additions to Bishop Lowth's ninth lecture, has endeavoured to prove that the sacred writers drew largely from poetic fable, which they derived from the Egyptians, in common with the Greeks and Romans. As it respects the latter, his argument is convincing and satisfactory; but with regard to the Hebrews, as it depends chiefly on his *own* Latin versions, which (the excellent English translator of the bishop's lectures remarks) are by no means so faithful to the original as our common version, his point does not appear to be demonstrated. On this account the present brief notice of Michaelis's hypothesis may be deemed sufficient: it is, however, adopted by Bauer in his Hermeneutica Sacra, pp. 209, 210.

[3] Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, vol. i. lect. x. and xxi.

[4] Αλληγορια or *Allegory* is derived from αλλο αγορευει: i. e. *a different thing is said* from that which is *meant*. It differs from a metaphor, in that it is not confined to a word, but extends to a whole thought, or it may be, to several thoughts. An allegory may be expressed moreover by pictures, by actions, as in Ezek. iii. iv. v. and Luke xxii. 36. or, by any significant thing.

[5] See Chapter III. *infra*, on the Mystical and Typical Interpretations of Scripture; and Chapter IV. Section III. on the Double Sense of Prophecy.

[6] Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part iii. p. 80. The seventeenth and eighteenth lectures, in which the subject of figurative interpretation is ably discussed at considerable length, are particularly worthy of perusal.

[7] Dr. A. Clarke (note on Exod. i. 22.) has given a curious specimen of Origen's mode of allegorizing, to which the reader is referred on account of its length.

[8] Mr. Gilpin has given the following lucid exposition of this, in some respects, difficult passage:—"I hear," says the apostle to the Corinthians, "that there hath been practised among you a very enormous kind of wickedness, which is not heard of even among Gentiles—that one of you hath had connection with his father's wife; and that others, instead of making it a cause of general mourning, and separating themselves from so vile a person, seem rather to defend him in his wickedness.—Though absent, I take upon me, through the authority of the Holy Ghost, to decide in this matter. I command, therefore, that, on receipt of this epistle, you gather the congregation together, and in the name of Jesus Christ solemnly expel this person from your communion; that he may see the heinousness of his sin, and after a sincere repentance be restored to God's favour.—Your defending him in his wickedness is an immediate step towards being corrupted yourselves. You are under a necessity, therefore, on your own account, to remove this pernicious example. Consider your blessed Saviour's death, and preserve yourselves as free as possible from sin, which was the cause of it." See the New Testament, vol. ii. p. 188.

[9] On the investigation of the context, see pp. 237, 238. *supra*.

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it. The argument of our Lord, then, may be thus expressed:—"The manna which our fathers did eat in the wilderness could only preserve a mortal life. That is the true bread of life which qualifies every one who eats it for everlasting happiness. I call myself this bread, not only on account of my *doctrine*, which purifies the soul, and fits it for a state of happiness, but also because I shall give my own life to procure the life of the world."

3. *As the context frequently indicates the meaning of an Allegory, so likewise its* SCOPE *and* INTERPRETATION *are frequently pointed out by some explanation that is subjoined.*

In Luke v. 29. it is related that our Lord sat down to eat with publicans and sinners. When questioned by the Pharisees for this conduct, he replied, *They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick;* and added the following explanation—I am not come to call the *righteous*, those who arrogantly presume themselves to be such, *but sinners to repentance.* The scope, occasion, and explanation being severally known, the meaning of the allegory becomes evident. Sometimes, however, this explanation of an allegory is conveyed in a single word, as in 1 Thess. v. 8. Here we are commanded to put on a breast-plate and helmet; it is added, by way of exposition, the breast-plate of faith and love, and the helmet of hope. The sense of the figure is—Prepare yourself for your spiritual warfare with faith, love, and hope, lest you suffer loss.

4. *Sometimes the Allegory proposed is explained in its several parts by the person speaking.*

Thus, in Eph. vi. 11—19. many things are said of the Christian's armour; and the girdle, breast-plate, greaves, shield, and sword, are distinctly specified. That these terms are allegorical is evident. In the tenth verse the exhortation, *to be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might*, precedes: in the eleventh and following verses the apostle explains what he intended to be understood in its several parts: thus, the sword is the word of God, the girdle is integrity, the shield is faith, &c. In such passages as this, an explanation is desirable, otherwise the allegory it contains could not be interpreted upon any certain principle.

5. *Sometimes also the* CONTEXT *incidentally presents some proper word, by which the meaning of the whole allegory may be discerned.*

In John xii. 35. our Lord says—*Yet a little while is the light with you.* A single proper word is almost immediately subjoined—*believe* in the light. (Ver. 36.) Hence it appears that by light is meant himself, the divine teacher: it is equally plain that to continue in darkness means to continue in ignorance. Another instance occurs in Matt. v. 14. *Ye are the light of the world: a city that is set on a hill cannot be hid, &c.* It is afterwards subjoined, *that men may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.* From this expression, *good works*, which is the key to the whole passage, we perceive that our Lord's discourse treats of that example of a holy life and conversation, which it is the duty of Christians to set before others.

IV. *In the explanation of an Allegorical Passage,* HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES *should be consulted.*

For it sometimes happens that history alone can throw any light on the passage.

1. Thus, in John xxi. 18. the evangelist evidently refers us to history for an explanation. Our Lord is there represented as saying to Peter—*When thou wast young thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest: but, when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not. This*, adds the historian, *spake he signifying by what death he should glorify God.* Now there is nothing related in the New Testament which can afford any clue to this passage: but, if we consult ecclesiastical history, we shall find that Peter suffered a violent death; and thus every sentence becomes clear.

2. So, in Matt. xiii. 31—34. the kingdom of God is likened unto a *grain of mustard seed* which gradually springs up and becomes a large plant; and also to *leaven*, which gradually ferments the whole mass, into which it is put. History shows that the church of Christ has arisen from small beginnings, and is spreading itself through the earth.

3. In Prov. v. 15—18. we have the following beautiful allegory:—*Drink waters out of thine own cistern, and running waters out of thine own well. Let thy fountains be dispersed abroad, and rivers of waters in the streets. Let them be only thine own, and not strangers with thee. Let thy fountain be blessed, and rejoice with the wife of thy youth.* That this passage is allegorical, is evident from the same figure being continued through several sentences and verses. Its sense is to be investigated both according to *the oriental mode of speaking* (for the inhabitants of the East, who draw most of their metaphors from natural objects, are accustomed to compare their wives to a cistern or pool, whence rivers flow), and also from the proper words subjoined towards the close, *rejoice with the wife of thy youth;* as likewise from the series of the discourse, since the author of the Book of Proverbs, in the beginning of this chapter, is dissuading from illicit intercourse. From these circumstances collectively considered, the sense of the allegory plainly is that no man should follow strange women, but live content with the wife whom he hath espoused; lest, influenced by his example, she should deviate from the path of virtue.

V. *The Nature of the Thing spoken of is also to be considered in the Exposition of an Allegory.*

It is necessary that the nature of the thing should be considered, in order that the *tendency* of every comparison may appear, and also the literal meaning which is concealed under the figurative expressions.

1. Thus in Matt. v. 13. we read, *Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.* Now, what is the meaning of this admonition? What is the primary word? *Salt.* But with what proper word can it be interpreted? Here the nature of the thing is to be consulted, which shows that it is the property of salt to render food savoury, as well as to correct the taste: hence it is clear in what sense the disciples are said to be the *salt of the earth;* for they were teachers by whom some were corrected and made better. The general meaning of the passage is,—Ye who embrace my religion, like salt shall purify the world but ye must first be pure yourselves.

2. In Luke v. 36. the following passage occurs:—*No man putteth a piece of a new garment upon an old; if otherwise, then both the new maketh a rent, and the piece that was taken out of the new agreeth not with the old.* Nothing is adduced by way of explanation: in a preceding verse the Pharisees had asked Christ why his disciples did not fast, but lived more cheerfully than those of John. Our Saviour replied in the words above cited; nothing, then, can lead us to understand the passage but the nature of the subject. Now, in common life we know that no one voluntarily and readily acts indiscreetly, or in an unbecoming manner. Therefore, says Christ, since no one in common life acts thus indiscreetly, neither do I require my disciples to do so, since there is no need for them to undergo such austerities. The time will come (ver. 35.) when they will fare hardly enough; then they will have sufficient trials. At present, neither circumstances, time, nor place require it; things must be accommodated to circumstances. The passage being thus considered, the meaning of the allegory becomes very evident.

VI. *Comparison is not to be extended to all the Circumstances of the Allegory.*

"Thus, in the parable of the good Samaritan, the point to be illustrated is, *the extent of the duty of beneficence.* Most of the circumstances in the parable go to make up merely the verisimilitude of the narration, so that it may give pleasure to him who hears or reads it. But how differently does the whole appear, when it comes to be interpreted by an allegorizer of the *mystic* schools! The man going down from Jerusalem to Jericho is Adam wandering in the wilderness of this world; the thieves, who robbed and wounded him, are evil spirits; the priest, who passed by without relieving him, is the Levitical Law; the Levite is good works; the good Samaritan is Christ; the oil and wine are grace, &c. What may not a parable be made to mean, if imagination is to supply the place of reason and philology? And what riddle or oracle of Delphos could be more equivocal, or of more multifarious significancy, than the Bible, if such exegesis be admissible? It is a miserable excuse, which interpreters make for themselves, that they render the Scriptures more edifying and significant by interpreting them in this manner. And are the Scriptures then to be made more significant than God has made them? Or to be mended by the skill of the interpreter so as to become *more edifying* than the Holy Spirit has made them? If there be a *semblance* of piety in such interpretations, a *semblance* is all. Real piety and humility appear to advantage in receiving the Scriptures as they are, and expounding them as simply and skilfully as the rules of language will render practicable, rather than by attempting to *amend and improve* the revelation which God has made."[1]

VII. *We must not explain one Part literally, and another Part figuratively.*

Thus, the whole of 1 Cor. iii. 9—13. is allegorical: a comparison is there instituted between the office of a teacher of religion and that of a builder. Hence a Christian congregation is termed a building; its ministers are the architects, some of whom lay the foundation on which others build; some erect a superstructure of gold and silver; others of wood, hay, and stubble. The sense concealed under the allegory is apparent: a Christian congregation is instructed by teachers, some of whom communicate the first principles, others impart further knowledge; some deliver good and useful things (*the truth*), while others deliver useless things (*erroneous doctrines*, such as at that time prevailed in the Corinthian church). That day (the great day of judgment) will declare what superstructure a man has raised; that is, whether what he has taught be good or bad. And as fire is the test of gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble, so the great day will be the test of every man's work. Though the whole of this passage is obviously allegorical, yet it is understood literally by the church of Rome, who has erected upon it her doctrine of the fire of purgatory. How contrary this doctrine is to every rule of right interpretation is too plain to require any exposition.[2]

It falls not within the plan of this work to enumerate all the allegories occurring in the Sacred Writings: some have been incidentally mentioned in the present section; yet, before we proceed to other topics, we cannot but notice the admirable allegorical delineation of old age by Solomon, Eccl. xii. 2—6. It is, perhaps, one of the finest allegories in the Old Testament: the inconveniencies of increasing years, the debility of mind and body, the torpor of the senses, are expressed most learnedly and elegantly indeed, but with

[1] Professor Stuart's Elements of Interpretation, translated from the Latin of Ernesti, p. 80. Andover (North America), 1822, 12mo.

[2] Beuer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 221—226. Ernesti, Inst. Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 110, 111. Mori Acroases in Ernesti, tom. i. pp. 201—313. Glassii Phil. Sac. lib. ii. pp. 1294—1304. Ramiresii de Prado, Pentecontarchus, c. 28. apud Fabricii Observationes Selectæ, pp. 173—179. J. E. Pfeiffer, Institutiones Herm. Sacr. pp. 740—753.

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some degree of obscurity, by different images derived from nature and common life; for by this enigmatical composition, Solomon, after the manner of the oriental sages, intended to put to trial the acuteness of his readers. It has on this account afforded much exercise to the ingenuity of the learned; many of whom have differently, it is true, but with much learning and penetration, explained the passage.

There is also in Isaiah (xxviii. 23—29.) an allegory, which, with no less elegance of imagery, is perhaps more simple and regular, as well as more just and complete in the colouring, than any of those above cited. In the passage referred to, the prophet is examining the design and manner of the divine judgments, and is inculcating the principle, that God adopts different modes of acting in the chastisement of the wicked, but that the most perfect wisdom is conspicuous in all; that he will, as before urged, "exact judgment by the line, and righteousness by the plummet;" that he ponders, with the most minute attention, the distinctions of times, characters, and circumstances, as well as every motive to lenity or severity. All this is expressed in a continued allegory, the imagery of which is taken from the employments of agriculture and threshing, and is admirably adapted to the purpose.[1]

SECTION V.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE PARABLES.

I. Nature of a Parable.—II. Antiquity of this mode of instruction.—III. Rules for the interpretation of Parables.—IV. Parables, why used by Jesus Christ.—V. Remarks on the distinguishing excellencies of Christ's Parables, compared with the most celebrated fables of antiquity.

A PARABLE (Παραβολη, from παραβαλλω, to collate, compare together, assimilate)[2] is a similitude taken from natural things in order to instruct us in things spiritual. The word, however, is variously used in the Scriptures, to denote a *proverb* or short saying (Luke iv. 23.); a *famous* or received *saying* (1 Sam. x. 12.[3] Ezek. xviii. 2.); a thing gravely spoken, and comprehending important matters in a few words (Job xxvii. 1. Num. xxiii. 7. 18. xxiv. 3. 15. Psal. xlix. 4. and lxxviii. 2.); a *thing darkly* or figuratively *expressed* (Ezek. xx. 49. Matt. xv. 15.); a *visible type* or *emblem*, representing something different from and beyond itself (Heb. ix. 9. and xi. 19. Gr.); a *special instruction* (Luke xiv. 7.); and a *similitude* or *comparison*. (Matt. xxiv. 32. Mark iii. 23.)[4]

According to Bishop Lowth, a parable is that kind of allegory which consists of a continued narration of a fictitious event, applied by way of simile to the illustration of some important truth. By the Greeks, allegories were called αινοι or *apologues*, and by the Romans *fabulæ* or *fables*;[5] and the writings of the Phrygian sage, or those composed in imitation of him, have acquired the greatest celebrity. Nor did our Saviour himself disdain to adopt the same method of instruction; of whose parables it is doubtful whether they excel most in wisdom and utility, or in sweetness, elegance, and perspicuity. As the appellation of PARABLE has been applied to his discourses of this kind, the term is now restricted from its former extensive signification to a more confined sense. This species of composition also occurs very frequently in the prophetic poetry, and particularly in that of Ezekiel.

II. The use of parables is of very great antiquity. In the early ages of the world, when the art of reasoning was little known, and the minds of men were not accustomed to nice and curious speculations, we find that the most ancient mode of instruction was by parable and fable: its advantages, indeed, are many and obvious. It has been remarked by an acute observer of men and morals, that "little reaches the understanding of the mass but through the medium of the senses. Their minds are not fitted for the reception of abstract truth. Dry argumentative instruction, therefore, is not proportioned to their capacity: the faculty, by which a right conclusion is drawn, is in them the most defective; they rather feel strongly than judge accurately: and their feelings are awakened by the impression made on their senses."[6] Hence, instruction by way of parable is naturally adapted to engage attention; it is easily comprehended, and suited to the meanest capacity; and while it opens the doctrine which it professes to conceal, it gives no alarm to our prejudices nor passions; it communicates unwelcome truths in the least disagreeable manner; points out mistakes, and insinuates reproof with less offence and with greater efficacy than undisguised contradiction and open rebuke. Of this description, we may remark, are the parables related by Nathan to David (2 Sam. xii. 1—9.), and by the woman of Tekoah to the same monarch. (2 Sam. xiv. 1—13.) The New Testament abounds with similar examples. "By laying hold on the imagination, parable insinuates itself into the affections; and by the intercommunication of the faculties, the understanding is made to apprehend the truth which was proposed to the fancy."[7] In a word, this kind of instruction seizes us by surprise, and carries with it a force and conviction which are almost irresistible. It is no wonder, therefore, that parables were made the vehicle of national instruction in the most early times; that the prophets, especially Ezekiel, availed themselves of the same impressive mode of conveying instruction or reproof; and that our Lord, following the same example, also adopted it for the same important purposes.

III. Although a parable has some things in common with an allegory, so that the same rules which apply to the latter are in some degree applicable to the former, yet, from its peculiar nature, it becomes necessary to consider the parable by itself, in order that we may understand and interpret it aright.

1. *The first excellence of a parable is, that it turns upon an image well known and applicable to the subject, the meaning of which is clear and definite; for this circumstance will give it that perspicuity which is essential to every species of allegory.*

How clearly this rule applies to the parables of our Lord is obvious to every reader of the New Testament. It may suffice to mention his parable of the *Ten Virgins* (Matt. xxv. 1—13.), which is a plain allusion to those things which were common at the Jewish marriages in those days: the whole parable, indeed, is made up of the rites used by the Orientals, as well as by the Roman people, at their nuptials; and all the particulars related in it were such as were commonly known to the Jews, because they were every day practised by some of them. In like manner the parables of the *lamp* (Luke viii. 16.), of the *sower* and the seed, of the *tares*, of the *mustard seed*, of the *leaven*, of the *net cast into the sea*, all of which are related in Matt. xiii. as well as of the *householder* that planted a vineyard, and let it out to husbandmen (Matt. xxi. 33—41.), are all representations of usual and common occurrences, and such as the generality of our Saviour's hearers were daily conversant with, and they were, therefore, selected by him as being the most interesting and affecting.

If the parables of the sacred prophets be examined by this rule, they will not appear deficient; being in general founded upon such imagery as is frequently used; and similarly applied by way of metaphor and comparison in Hebrew poetry. Examples of this kind occur in the deceitful vineyard (Isa. v. 1—7.), and in the useless vine which is given to the fire (Ezek. xv. and xix. 10—14.); for, under this imagery, the ungrateful people of God are more than once described. Similar instances of apposite comparison present themselves in the parable of the lion's whelps falling into the pit (Ezek. xix. 1—9.), in which is displayed the captivity of the Jewish princes; and also in that of the fair, lofty, and flourishing cedar of Lebanon (Ezek. xxxi. 3—17.), which once raised its head to the clouds, at length cut down and neglected:—thus exhibiting, as in a picture, the prosperity and the fall of the king of Assyria. To these may be added one more example, namely, that in which the love of God towards his people, and their piety and fidelity to him, are expressed by an allusion to the solemn covenant of marriage. Ezekiel has pursued this image with uncommon freedom in two parables (Ezek. xvi. and xxiii.); and it has been alluded to by almost all the sacred poets.

2. *The image, however, must not only be apt and familiar, but must also be elegant and beautiful in itself, and all its parts must be perspicuous and pertinent; since it is the purpose of a parable, and especially of a poetic parable, not only to explain more perfectly some proposition, but frequently to give it animation and splendour.*

Of all these excellences there cannot be more perfect examples than the parables which have just been specified: to which we may add the well-known parables of Jotham (Judges ix. 7—15.), of Nathan (2 Sam. xii. 1—14.)

[1] Lowth's Prælectiones, No. 10. or vol. i. p. 220. of Dr. Gregory's translation.

[2] A verbo παραβαλλειν, quod significat *conferre, comparare, assimilare*, (cf. Marc. iv. 30.) ductum est nomen παραβολη; quod *similitudinem, collationem* Quintilianus (Inst. Or. l. v. c. 11.; l. viii. c. 3. pp. 298. 302. 470.) interpretatur, Seneca (Ep. lix.) imaginem. Itaque *collatio*, sive, ut Ciceronis (l. 1. de Invent. c. 30.) definitione, utamur, *oratio, rem cum re ex similitudine conferens* Græco nomine parabola appellatur. Eo sensu Christus (Marc. iii. 23.) εν παραβολαις locutus dicitur, quando per varias *similitudines* (v. 24—27.) probavit se non Satanæ ope, sed altiore virtute dæmonia ejicere. G. C. Storr. De Parabolis Christi, in Opusc. Academic. vol. i. p. 89. The whole disquisition, to which this section is largely indebted, is well worthy of perusal. See also Rambach, Institutiones Hermeneut. p. 187. *et seq.*; J. E. Pfeiffer's Instit. Hermeneut. Sacr. pp. 753—773.; and Chladenius's Institutiones Exegeticæ, p. 190. *et seq.*

[3] In this and the other references to the Old Testament in the above paragraph, the original is מָשָׁל (MASHAL), a parable.

[4] Glassii Phil. Sacr. lib. ii. pp. 1304—1306. ed. Dathii. Parkhurst and Schleusner in voce παραβολη.

[5] Storr, Opusc. Acad. vol. i. p. 89. *et seq.*

[6] Mrs. More's Christian Morals, vol. i. p. 106.

[7] Ibid. p. 107.

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and of the woman of Tekoah. (2 Sam. xiv. 4—7.) The admirably devised parable of Nathan is perhaps one of the finest specimens of the genuine pathetic style that can be found in the Old Testament; and David's eager condemnation of the unsuspected offender at the same time displays a striking instance of the delusion of sin and the blindness of self-love. "He, who had lived a whole year in the unrepented commission of one of the blackest crimes in the decalogue—and who, to secure to himself the object for which he had committed it, perpetrated another almost more heinous, and that with an hypocrisy suited to his character—he could in an instant denounce death on the imaginary offender for a fault comparatively trifling."—"*Seeing, he saw not, and hearing, he heard not;*" he immediately saw the iniquity and barbarity of the rich man's proceedings; his heart was in a moment fired with indignation at the thought of it; "the vehemence of his resentment even overstepped the limits of his natural justice, in decreeing a punishment disproportioned to the crime, while he remained dead to his own delinquency. A pointed parable instantly surprised him into the most bitter self-reproach. A direct accusation might have inflamed him before he was thus prepared; and in the one case he might have punished the accuser, by whom, in the other, he was brought into the deepest self-abasement. The prudent prophet did not rashly reproach the king with the crime which he wished him to condemn; but placed the fault at such a distance, and in such a point of view, that he first procured his impartial judgment, and afterwards his self-condemnation:—an important lesson, not only to the offender, but also to the reprover."[1]

3. Every parable is composed of three parts; 1. The *sensible similitude*, which has variously been termed the *bark* and the *protasis*, and consists in its literal sense;—2. The *explanation* or *mystical sense*, also termed the *apodosis* and the *sap* or fruit, or the thing signified by the similitude proposed. This is frequently not expressed; for though our Saviour sometimes condescended to unveil the hidden sense, by disclosing the moral meaning of his parables (as in Matt. xiii. 3—8. 18—23. compared with Luke viii. 4—15. and Matt. xiii. 24—30. 36—43.), yet he usually left the application to those whom he designed to instruct by his doctrine. Of this description are the parables of the grain of mustard seed, of leaven, of the hidden treasure, and the pearl of great price (Matt. xiii. 31—33. 44—46.), between which and the kingdom of heaven a comparison is instituted, the mystical sense of which is to be sought in the similitudes themselves;—3. The third constituent part of a parable is the *root* or *scope* to which it tends.[2]

4. *For the right explanation and application of parables, their general* SCOPE *and design must be ascertained.*

Where our Saviour has not himself interpreted a parable, its immediate scope and design are to be sought with great attention: this, indeed, will generally appear from the context, being either expressed at its commencement or at its conclusion; or it is sufficiently evident from the occasion on which it was delivered. More particularly the scope of a parable may be ascertained,

(1.) *From the clear declaration* prefixed *to it;*

As in the parable of the rich glutton (Luke xii. 16—20.), which is prefaced by the following caution in verse 15.:—*Take heed and beware of covetousness, for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.* Thus, in Luke xviii. 2—8. the parable of the unjust judge is preceded by this declaration, which plainly points out one of its senses:—*He spake a parable unto them, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint.* And again, in verse 9. *He spake this parable* (of the Pharisee and publican, verses 10—14.) *unto certain which trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others.*

(2.) *From the declaration* subjoined *to a parable;*

Thus our Saviour concludes the parable of the unmerciful creditor, who would not forgive his debtor the minutest portion of his debt, though much had been forgiven him (Matt. xviii. 23—35.), by the following explanation:—*So likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye forgive not every one his brother their trespasses.* Similar declarations are annexed to the parables of the wedding feast (Matt. xxv. 13. Luke xiv. 11.), of the rich glutton (Luke xii. 21.), and of the unjust steward. (Luke xvi. 9.) The prophetic writings will furnish similar instances: thus Isaiah (v. 1—7.) having delivered the parable of a vineyard—planted with the choicest vines, and cultivated with the utmost care, yet which produced only wild fruit—announces at its close, that by the vineyard were intended the Jews, and by the wild fruit their enormous wickedness, for which they deserved the severest judgments. Nathan, also, in the beautiful parable already cited, subjoined a declaration of its scope to the criminal sovereign. In the short parable, or apologue, communicated from Jehoash king of Israel to Amaziah king of Judah (2 Kings xiv. 9, 10.), the application of it to the latter is explicitly stated at its conclusion.

(3.) *Where no declaration is prefixed or subjoined to a parable, its scope must be collected from a consideration of the subject-matter, context, or the occasion on account of which the parable was delivered.*

Thus, in the parable of the barren fig tree (Luke xiii. 6—9.), Jesus Christ has indicated nothing concerning its scope. But from the consideration of the context of his discourse, and of the occasion of the parable, we learn that it was designed to teach the Jews, that unless they repented within the space of time allotted to them by Infinite Mercy, severe punishments would await them, and their civil and religious polity be destroyed. The immediate occasion of the parable was, his disciples telling him of certain Galileans, who had come up to the temple at Jerusalem, to worship, and whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices. On hearing this circumstance, Christ said, *Suppose ye, that these Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans, because they suffered these things? I tell you, nay: but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.* Having repeated the last sentence a second time, he delivered the parable of the barren fig tree.

In like manner, to the parable of the prodigal son nothing is prefixed or subjoined; but the relation occurs immediately after two others, in which it was declared that the return of penitent sinners affords joy in heaven. This, however, is an important topic, and will require to be more particularly considered. From the observations already made on the general nature of parables, it will be easily perceived that the objects of our Lord's parables were various; such as the conveying either of instruction or reproof, the correcting or preventing of errors; the instructing of men in the knowledge of some truths which could be viewed with advantage only at a distance, or of others, which would have startled them when plainly proposed. Further, there were truths which were necessary to be conveyed, respecting the establishment of his religion, and the conduct of his disciples on *occasion* of that event. These subjects required to be touched with a delicate hand; and a few instances will show that each of them was conducted with the highest grace and propriety.

Thus, the *worldly spirit* of the Pharisees is delicately yet strikingly reproved in the parables of the rich man whose grounds brought forth plentifully (Luke xii. 15—21.); which was spoken to show the folly of covetousness,—of the unjust steward (Luke xvi. 1.), to show the proper use of wealth,—and of the rich man and the beggar (Luke xvi. 19—31.), to show the danger of abusing it.—The *selfishness* and bigotry of the same sect, which characteristic in some degree applied to the whole Jewish nation, who "trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others," are convicted in the parables of the Pharisee and the publican praying in the temple, of the two sons commanded to work in the vineyard, of the guest who chose the highest seat at the table, of the lost sheep and money, of the prodigal son, and of the good Samaritan. In several of these parables the comparative merit of the Jew and Gentile world is justly though faintly stated, on purpose to abase the pride of the one and to exalt the humble hopes of the other.

Another class of parables is designed to deliver some general lessons of wisdom and piety: such are the parables of the ten virgins and the talents. The parables of the sower and of the tares, and many of the lesser parables, are designed to show the nature and progress of the Gospel dispensation, together with the opposition which would be made to it from the malice of Satan, and the folly and perverseness of mankind. With these are closely connected such parables as have for their object the rejection of the Jews, and the calling of the Gentiles: under this head are comprised the parables of the murmuring labourers, of the cruel and unjust husbandmen, the barren fig tree, and the marriage-feast. By considering the occasions upon which these and other parables were delivered by the Redeemer of the world, we shall be enabled, not only to ascertain their scope and design, but also to perceive their wisdom, beauty, and propriety.

5. *Wherever the words of Jesus seem to be capable of different senses, we may with certainty conclude that to be the true one which lies most level to the apprehension of his auditors.*

Allowing for those figurative expressions which were so very frequent and familiar with them, and which, therefore, are no exceptions to this general rule, this necessary canon of interpretation, of all others, demands the most attention.

6. *As every parable has two senses, the* LITERAL *or external, and the* MYSTICAL *or internal sense, the literal sense must be first explained, in order that the correspondence between it and the mystical sense may be the more readily perceived.*

For instance, "the parable of the unforgiving servant represents, *literally*, that his lord forgave him a debt of ten thousand talents;—*mystically*, or spiritually, that God remits to the penitent the punishment of innumerable offences. *Literally*, it states that this servant, on his refusal to exercise forbearance towards his fellow-servant, was delivered over to the tormentors: *mystically*, that God will inflict the severest judgments on all who do not forgive others their trespasses. The unity of sense in both interpretations is easily perceptible:"[3] whence it follows that every parable must be consistent throughout, and that the literal sense must not be confounded with the mystical sense. Hence also it follows, that, since the scope and application of parables are the chief points to be regarded,

7. *It is not necessary, in the interpretation of parables, that we should anxiously insist upon every single word; nor ought we to expect too curious an adaptation or accommodation of it in every part to the spiritual meaning inculcated by it; for many circumstances are introduced into parables which are merely ornamental, and designed to make the similitude more pleasing and interesting.*

Inattention to this obvious rule has led many expositors into the most fanciful explanations; resemblances have been accumulated, which are for the most part futile, or at best of little use, and manifestly not included in the scope of the parable. Where, indeed, circumstantial resemblances (though merely ornamental) will admit of an easy and natural application, they are by no means to be overlooked: and it is worthy of remark, that in those parables which our Lord himself explained to his disciples, there are few, if any, of the circumstantial points left unapplied; but here great judgment is necessary neither to do too little, nor to attempt too much.[4] In the application, then, of this rule, there are two points to be considered:—

(1.) *Persons are not to be compared with persons, but things with things; part is not to be compared with part, but the whole of the parable with itself.*

Thus, we read in Matt. xiii. 24. *The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field;* and in verse 45. *The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a merchant man seeking goodly pearls.* The similitude here is not with the men, but with the *seed* and the *pearl;* and the construction is to be the same as in verses 31. and 33., where the progress of the Gospel is compared to the grain of mustard-seed, and to leaven.

(2.) *In parables it is not necessary that all the actions of men, mentioned in them, should be just actions, that is to say, morally just and honest.*

For instance, the unjust steward (Luke xvi. 1—8.) is not proposed either to justify his dishonesty, or as an example to us in cheating his lord (for

[1] Mrs. More's Christian Morals, vol. i. p. 108.

[2] In parabolis, si integre accipiantur, tria sunt; *radix, cortex* et *medulla* sive *fructus*. *Radix* est scopus, in quem tendit parabola. *Cortex* est similitudo sensibilis, quæ adhibetur, et *suo sensu literali* constat. *Medulla* seu fructus est *sensus parabolæ mysticus*, seu ipsa res ad quam parabolæ fit accommodatio, seu quæ per similitudinem propositam significatur. Glassii *Philologia Sacra*, lib. ii. pars i. tr. 2. sect. 5. canon 3. col. 488. (Lipsiæ, 1725.) It is not a little remarkable that the nine very useful canons for the interpretation of parables, by Glassius, should be altogether omitted in Professor Dathe's valuable edition of his work.

[3] Bishop Vanmildert's Bampton Lectures, p. 216.

[4] Ibid.

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that is merely ornamental, and introduced to fill up the story), but as an example of his care and prudence, in providing for the future. From the conduct of this man, our Lord took occasion to point out the management of worldly men, as an example of attention to his followers in their spiritual affairs; and at the same time added an impressive exhortation to make the things of this life subservient to their everlasting happiness; assuring them, that if they did not use temporal blessings as they ought, they could never be qualified to receive spiritual blessings. So again, in Luke xii. 39. and Rev. iii. 3. the coming of Christ is compared to the coming of a thief, not in respect of theft, but of the sudden surprise. "It is not necessary," says a great master of eloquence, "that there should be a perfect resemblance of one thing in all respects to another; but it is necessary that a thing should bear a likeness to that with which it is compared."[1]

8. *Attention to* HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES, *as well as an acquaintance with the nature and properties of the things whence the similitudes are taken, will essentially contribute to the interpretation of parables.*

(1.) Some of the parables related in the New Testament are supposed to be true histories: in the incidental circumstances of others, our Saviour evidently had a regard to historical propriety. Thus, the scene of that most beautiful and instructive parable of the good Samaritan (Luke x. 30—37.) is very appositely placed in that dangerous road which lay between Jerusalem and Jericho; no way being more frequented than this, both on account of its leading to Perræa, and especially because the classes or stations of the Priests and Levites were fixed at Jericho as well as at Jerusalem: and hence it is that a Priest and a Levite are mentioned as travelling this way.[2] It further appears, that at this very time Judæa in general was overrun by robbers, and that the road between Jericho and Jerusalem (in which our Lord represents this robbery to have been committed) was particularly infested by banditti, whose depredations it favoured, as it lay through a dreary solitude. On account of these frequent robberies, we are informed by Jerome that it was called the *Bloody Way*.[3]

(2.) Again, in the parable of *a nobleman who went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return* (Luke xix. 12.), our Lord alludes to a case, which, no long time before, had actually occurred in Judæa. Those who, by hereditary succession, or by interest, had pretensions to the Jewish throne, travelled to Rome, in order to have it confirmed to them. Herod the Great first went that long journey to obtain the kingdom of Judæa from Antony, in which he succeeded; and having *received the kingdom*,[4] he afterwards travelled from Judæa to Rhodes in order to obtain a confirmation of it from Cæsar, in which he was equally successful.[5] Archelaus, the son and successor of Herod, did the same; and to him our Lord most probably alluded. Every historical circumstance is beautifully interwoven by our Saviour in this instructive parable.

(3.) Of the further benefit to be derived from history in the interpretation of parables, the similes in Matt. xiii. 31, 32. will afford a striking illustration: in these parables the progress of the Gospel is compared to a grain of mustard-seed, and to leaven: nothing is subjoined to these verses by way of explanation. What then is their scope? Jesus Christ was desirous of accustoming his disciples to parabolic instruction: from this design, however, we cannot collect the sense of the parables; we have therefore, no other resource but *history*. Since, then, Jesus Christ is speaking of the progress of the Christian church, we must consult ecclesiastical history, which informs us that, from small beginnings, the church of Christ has grown into a vast congregation, that is, spread over the whole world. In order, however, that we may enter fully into the meaning of this parable of our Lord, it may not be irrelevant to observe that in eastern countries the mustard-plant (or, at least, a species of the σινάπι, which the Orientals comprehended under that name) attains a greater size than with us. It appears that the Orientals were accustomed to give the denomination of *trees* to plants, growing to the height of ten or twelve feet, and having branches in proportion.[6] To such a height the mustard-plant grows in Judæa; and its branches are so strong and well covered with leaves, as to afford shelter to the feathered tribe. Such is the image by which Jesus Christ represents the progress of his Gospel. *The kingdom of heaven*, said he, *is like to a grain of mustard-seed*—small and contemptible in its beginning; *which is indeed the least of all seeds*, that is, of all those seeds, with which the Jews were then acquainted (for our Lord's words are to be interpreted by popular use; and we learn from Matt. xvii. 20. that *like a grain of mustard-seed* was a proverbial expression to denote a small quantity): *but when it is grown, it becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof*. Under this simple and beautiful figure does Jesus Christ describe the admirable development of his Gospel from its origin to its final consummation.

(4.) We have said that the understanding of parables is facilitated by an *acquaintance with the properties of the things whence the similitudes are derived*. Besides the diffusive effects of *leaven* already adverted to, which sufficiently indicate the certain spread of the Gospel, we may adduce an example from the prophet Jeremiah; who, parabolically describing a furious invader (xlix. 19.), says, *He shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan against the habitation of the strong*. The propriety of this will appear, when it is known that in ancient times the river Jordan was particularly infested with lions, which concealed themselves among the thick reeds upon its banks.[7] Let us then imagine one of these monarchs of the desert asleep among the thickets upon the banks of that river: let us further suppose him to be suddenly awakened by the roaring, or dislodged by the overflowing, of the rapid tumultuous torrent, and in his fury rushing into the upland country; and we shall perceive the admirable propriety and force of the prophet's allusion.

9. *Lastly, although in many of his parables Jesus Christ has delineated the future state of the church, yet he intended that they should convey some important moral precepts, of which we should never lose sight in interpreting parables.*

Thus, the parable of the sower (Matt. xiii. 3—24. Mark iv. 3—20. and Luke viii. 4—16.) has a moral doctrine, for our Lord himself soon after subjoins the following important caution:—*Take heed how ye hear*. Again, the parable of the tares (Matt. xiii. 24. *et seq.*) refers to the mixture of the wicked with the good in this world; when, therefore, our Lord intimated (in verses 27—29.) that it is not our province to judge those whom he has reserved for his own tribunal, and in the 30th verse added, *let both grow together*, he evidently implied that, since God tolerates incorrigible sinners, it is the duty of men to bear with them: the propagation of false doctrines is an offence against God, who alone is the judge and punisher of them:—man has no right to punish his brethren for their sentiments.[8] The parables which are delivered in the same chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel, and also in Luke xiii. 19. 21. delineate the excellence of the religion of Jesus, and are admirably adapted to inspire us with love and admiration for its Divine Author. Further, the parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Matt. xx. 1—17.), besides predicting the future reception of the Gospel, teaches us that no one should despair of the divine mercy so long as he lives, and that God will bestow upon the faithful a larger measure of blessedness than they can venture to expect, and also that we should not be moved with envy, if others enjoy a greater portion of gifts or talents than are bestowed upon ourselves. In fact, as an able expositor[9] has remarked, since our Saviour's parables frequently have a double view, this parable seems not only to illustrate the case of the Jews and Gentiles, but also the case of all individuals of every nation, whom God accepts according to their improvement of the opportunities they have enjoyed. In like manner, the parable of the royal nuptials, related in Matt. xxii. verses 1—15. was designed chiefly to show the Jews, that the offers of grace which they rejected would be made to the Gentiles. But the latter part of it also seems intended to check the presumption of such as pretend to the divine favour without complying with the conditions on which it is promised. It was customary for the bridegroom to prepare vestments for his guests; and the man mentioned in verses 11—13. is said to have intruded without the requisite garment.[10]

IV. From the preceding remarks it will have been seen that parables are of more frequent occurrence in the New than in the Old Testament; and although some hints have been already offered,[11] to account for the adoption of this mode of instruction, yet as some persons have taken occasion, from the prophecy of Isaiah (vi. 9, 10.), as cited by Matthew (xiii. 13—15.), to insinuate that our Lord spake in parables in order that the perverse Jews might *not* understand, it may not be irrelevant if we conclude the present strictures on parabolic instruction, with a few remarks on the reasons why it was adopted by our Lord.

1. The practice was familiar to the Jews in common with the other inhabitants of the East, as already stated; and some of our Lord's parables were probably taken from Jewish customs, as the royal nuptials (Matt. xxii. 1—15.), the rich glutton (Luke xvi. 19—31.), and the wise and foolish virgins. (Matt. xxv. 1—13.)[12] This method of teaching, therefore, was intelligible to an attentive and inquiring auditory. See Matt. xv. 10. and Mark iv. 13.

2. It was customary for the disciples of the Jewish doctors, when they did not understand the meaning of their parables, to request an explanation from their teachers; in like manner, Christ's hearers might have applied to him, if they had not been *indisposed* to receive the doctrines he taught, and had they not preferred to be held in error by the Scribes and Pharisees, rather than to receive instruction from his lips.

3. Parabolic instruction was peculiarly well calculated to veil offensive truths or *hard sayings*, until, in due season, they should be disclosed with greater evidence and lustre, when they were able to hear and to bear them, lest they should revolt at the premature disclosure of the mystery. Compare Mark iv. 33. with John xvi. 12. 25.

4. It was a necessary screen from the malice of his inveterate enemies, the chief priests, Scribes and Pharisees: who would not have failed to take advantage of any *express* declaration which they might turn to his destruction (John

[1] Non enim res tota toti rei necesse est similes sit; sed ad ipsum, ad quod conferetur, similitudinem habeat, oportet. CICERO ad Herennium, lib. iv. c. 48. tom. i. p. 122. edit. Bipont.

[2] Lightfoot, Hor. Heb. in loc. [3] Jerome, cited by Calmet, in loc.

[4] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xiv. c. xiv. §§ 4, 5.

[5] Ibid. lib. xv. c. vi. §§ 6, 7.

[6] See Lightfoot's and Schoettgenius's Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ, in Matt. xiii. 31, 32.

[7] "After having descended," says Maundrell, "the outermost bank of Jordan, you go about a furlong upon a level strand, before you come to the immediate bank of the river. This second bank is so beset with bushes and trees, such as tamarisks, willows, oleanders, &c. that you can see no water, till you have made your way through them. In this thicket anciently, and the same is reported of it at this day, several sorts of wild beasts were wont to harbour themselves; whose being washed out of the covert by the overflowings of the river gave occasion to that allusion, *He shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan*," &c. Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 110. (London, 1810.) Agreeably to this account, Ammianus Marcellinus states, that "innumerable lions wander about among the reeds and copses on the borders of the rivers in Mesopotamia." Lib. xviii. c. 7. (tom. i. p. 177. edit. Bipont.)

[8] It is with pleasure the author transcribes the following explicit declaration of the learned Romanist, Vlser. Having cited the passages above adduced, he says, *Facile apparet eos huic precepto nequaquam satisfecerunt qui* VI, METU, AC MINIS, HOMINES STUDENT A SUA RELIGIONE ABDUCERE. Hermeneutica Sacra Nov. Test. pars iii. p. 131.

[9] Gilpin's Exposition of the New Test. vol. i. p 78. note †.

[10] The authorities consulted for this section, independently of those already cited incidentally, are Ernesti, Instit. Interp. Nov. Test. p. 112.; Morus, in Ernesti, tom. i. pp. 314—320.; Bauer, Hermeneutica Sacra, pp. 226—229.; Glassii Philologia Sacra, lib. ii. part i. tract 2. sect. 5. canons 3—9. col. 473—492; Turretin, de Interpret. Script. pp. 214, 215.; Pfeiffer, Herm. Sacr. c. iii. § 13. (Op. tom. ii. pp. 635, 636.); Chladenius, Inst. Exeget. pp. 190, 191.; J. E. Pfeiffer, Inst. Herm. Sacr. pp. 753—773.; Alber. Hermeneut. Sacr. Nov. Test. vol. i. pp. 50—56. Brouwer, de Parabolis Christi (Lug. Bat. 1825); Scholten, Diatribe de Parabolis Christi (Lug. Bat. 1827.); Schultze, De Parabolarum Jesu Christi Indole Poeticâ Commentatio (Gottingæ, 1827); and Unger, De Parabolarum Jesu Natura (Lipsiæ, 1838).

[11] See, p. 366. *supra*.

[12] Sheringham, in Pref. ad Joma, cited by Whitby on Matt. xiii. 10.

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x. 24.); but yet they could not lay hold of the most pointed parables, which, they were clear-sighted enough to perceive, were levelled against themselves. See Matt. xxi. 45. Mark xi. 12. and Luke xx. 19.[1]

5. The parables did not contain the fundamental precepts and doctrines of the Gospel, which were delivered in the audience of the people with sufficient perspicuity in Matt. v.—vii. and elsewhere, but only the mysteries relative to its progress among both Jews and Gentiles.

6. Lastly, the Jews were addressed in parables, because as their wickedness and perverseness *indisposed* them to receive profit from his more plain discourses, Jesus Christ would not vouchsafe to them a clearer knowledge of these events. To "have ears and hear not," is a proverbial expression, to describe men who are so wicked, and slothful, that they either do not attend to, or *will not* follow the clearest intimations and convictions of their duty. See instances of this expression in Jer. v. 21. and Ezek. xii. 2.[2] To this remark we may add, with reference to the quotations from Isaiah vi. 9, 10. that it is common for God to speak, by his prophets, of events that would happen, in a manner as if he had enjoined them.[3]

V. Whoever attentively considers the character of our Saviour merely as a moral teacher and instructor of mankind, will clearly perceive his superiority to the most distinguished teachers of antiquity. Through the whole of his Gospel, he discovers a deep and thorough insight into human nature, and seems intimately acquainted with all the subtle malignities and latent corruptions of the human heart, as well as with all the illusions and refinements of self-idolatry, and the windings and intricacies of self-deceit. How admirably the manner, in which he conveyed his instructions, was adapted to answer the end and design of them, we have already seen; we might, indeed, almost venture to appeal to his parables alone for the authenticity of our Lord's mission as a divine teacher: all of them, indeed, are distinguished by a dignity of sentiment, and a simplicity of expression, perfectly becoming the purity and excellence of that religion which he came to establish. The whole system of heathen mythology was the invention of the poets; a mere farrago of childish and romantic stories, chiefly calculated to amuse the vulgar. As the far greater part of their fables and allegories are founded on this fictitious history of the gods, so they were plainly subservient to the support of that system of idolatry and polytheism which the Gospel was designed to overthrow. If any secret meaning was conveyed under these allegorical representations (which seems, however, to be very doubtful), it was too refined and philosophical to be understood by the common people, whose religious knowledge and belief extended no farther than the literal sense of the words. The moral instruction, if any was intended, must be dug out of the rubbish of poetical images and superstitious conceits. And, as these were founded on a false system of the universe, and on unworthy sentiments of God, and his moral government, they could never contribute to the religious improvement of mankind either in knowledge or in practice. Let any man of true taste and judgment compare the abstruse allegories of Plato, or the monstrous fables of the Jewish Talmuds, with the parables of our Saviour, and he will be at no loss which to prefer; while, tired and disgusted with the one, he will be struck with admiration at the beauty, elegance, and propriety of the other.

Further, the parables of Jesus far excel the fables of antiquity in clearness and perspicuity, which made them remarkably fit for the instruction of the ignorant and prejudiced, for whom they were originally designed. Our Saviour's images and allusions are not only taken from nature, but especially from those objects and occurrences which are most familiar to our observation and experience. It requires no laborious search, no stretch of imagination, to discover his meaning, in all cases where he intended instruction or reproof, as appears evident from the impressions immediately produced on the minds of his hearers, according to their different tempers and dispositions. Such of his parables, indeed, as predicted the nature and progress of the Gospel dispensation, and the opposition which it would meet from the malice of Satan and the folly of mankind,[4] were purposely left to be explained by the events to which they refer, and with which they so exactly correspond, that their meaning soon became plain and obvious to all. It is, moreover, particularly worthy of observation, that the moral instructions conveyed by the parables of the Gospel are of the most important nature, and essential to our duty and best interests. They do not serve merely to amuse the imagination, but to enlighten the understanding, and to purify the heart. They aim at no less an object than the happiness of mankind in a future and eternal state. The doctrines of the soul's immortality and a future judgment are the ground-work of our Lord's parables; and to illustrate and confirm these fundamental principles is their main and leading design. They all terminate in this point, and describe the awful scenes of eternity, and the interesting consequences of that decisive trial, in a language, though simple and unadorned, yet amazingly striking and impressive. But the fabulous representations of the heathen poets on this subject were more fitted to amuse than to instruct: they served rather to extinguish than revive the genuine sentiments of nature, and, consequently, to weaken the influence of this doctrine as a principle of virtuous conduct.

There is, also, a pleasing variety in the parables of Jesus. Some of them comprehend no dialogue, and scarcely any action, and are little more than a simple comparison between the subject to be investigated and something very well known. In others may be traced the outlines of a complete drama. The obscurity which may be thought to lie in some of them wholly arises from our not clearly understanding *his character*, or that of his audience, or the occasion on which he spoke; except where the subject itself rendered some obscurity unavoidable.

Conciseness is another excellence of the parables of Christ. Scarce a single circumstance or expression can be taken away from any of them, without injuring the whole. They also comprehend the most extensive and important meaning in the shortest compass of narration; and afford at the same time the largest scope to the judgment and reflection of the reader. An extraordinary candour and charity likewise pervade all the parables of Jesus. He gives the most favourable representations of things. In the parable of the lost sheep, he supposes but one of a hundred to go astray; yet the good shepherd leaves the rest, to go in quest of this. In the parable of the ten virgins, he supposes the number of the wise to be equal to that of the foolish. In that of the prodigal, for one son that takes a riotous course, there is another that continued in his duty. In that of the ten talents, two are supposed to improve what is committed to them, for one that does not improve it. In the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, Abraham uses the term *Son* to the former, though in the place of punishment; and he is represented as still retaining kind regards to his brethren. A name is delicately withheld from the character that is blamable, while one is given to the good.

An exact propriety and decorum is observed in all the parables of Christ, and every thing that is spoken is suited to the character of the person who speaks it. His parables surpass all others, in being so natural and probable, that they have the air of truth rather than of fiction.[5] Generosity and decorum are so strongly manifested in the character of the compassionate Samaritan, that the Jewish lawyer, whose prejudices and passions would be all excited by the very name, could not withhold his approbation of it. There is also great candour and propriety in the selection and adjustment of the two characters. Had a Jew or a Samaritan been represented as assisting a fellow-countryman, or a Jew assisting a Samaritan, the story would have been less convincing and impressive. "In the parable of the murmuring labourers, the proprietor of the vineyard assembles the labourers in the evening *all together* to receive their wages, begins to pay those who were called at the latest hour, and proceeds gradually to the first invited. This circumstance with the greatest propriety introduces their complaint. It also discovers candour and integrity in the judge, in allowing them to be witnesses of his distribution, in attentively hearing their objections, and calmly pointing out how groundless and unreasonable they were. In the parable of the barren fig tree, the keeper of the vineyard is with great propriety and candour introduced as interceding earnestly for a further respite and trial to the tree, and enforcing his plea from weighty considerations." In what an amiable and proper light is the generous creditor in the parable represented, and with what natural simplicity! "Then the lord of that servan

[1] Dr. Hales's New Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. p. 773.

[2] Grotius and Whitby on Matt. xiii. 10. Dr. Whitby has collected passages showing the proverbial use of *having ears and hearing not*, from Philo (Alleg. lib. ii. p. 72. D. and lib. iii. p. 860. E.), and from Demosthenes. (Orat. in Aristogeton, sect. 127.)

[3] See Bishop Lowth's note on Isa. vi. 10.

[4] Of this description, for instance, are the parables of the sower, of the tares, and of the labourers in the vineyard.

[5] Law's Life of Christ, p. 325. note.

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was moved with compassion, and loosed him, and forgave him the debt." What ingenuous sorrow appears in the character of the prodigal! What natural affection, generosity, and forwardness to forgive, in the parent!

Besides the regard paid by Jesus Christ to historical propriety in the incidental circumstances (which has been already noticed in p. 368.), it is a peculiar excellence of the parables of Christ, that the *actors* in them are not the inferior creatures, but *men*. He leads us sometimes to draw instruction from the inferior animals, and the process of things in the vegetable world, as well as nature in general. But men are the more proper *actors* in a scene, and *speakers* in a dialogue, formed for the instruction of mankind. Men add to the significance without diminishing the ease and familiarity of the narration. In the fables of Æsop, and of the Hindoos,[1] as well as of the Jewish prophets, inferior creatures, and even vegetables, are introduced as actors.

Another distinguishing character of our Lord's parables is, the frequent introduction of *his own character* into them, as the principal figure, and in views so various, important, and significant: for instance, the sower; the vine-dresser; the proprietor of an estate; the careful shepherd; the just master; the kind father; the splendid bridegroom; the potent nobleman; the heir of a kingdom; and the king upon his throne of glory judging the whole world of mankind. A striking contrast hence arises between the simplicity of the descriptions and dignity of the speaker.

A further material circumstance which characterizes the parables of Christ is, that he spake them just as occasions were offered; in the ordinary course of his conversation and instruction; privately as well as publicly; to his own disciples; to the multitude; and to the Pharisees and chief rulers. An accidental question or unexpected event appears to have been the occasion of some of them. For instance, that of the good Samaritan, when he was asked, "Who is my neighbour?" that of the rich man, whose ground brought forth plentifully, when he was desired to determine a suit concerning an estate; that of the barren fig tree, when he was told of the Galilæans whom Pilate had massacred; that of a certain man who made a great supper, when he was present at a splendid entertainment; and those of the careful shepherd, the prodigal son, the unjust steward, and the inhuman rich Jew, when a great number of publicans and sinners, and of Pharisees and Scribes, happened to be present, and the latter murmured against him, and insulted him. No man, except Jesus, ever did speak in parables, unpremeditated, and on various occasions. No man is now capable of conveying instruction in like manner. No instructor can ever presume to be equal to him, nor so much as to imitate or resemble him.

Again: the parables of our Lord were admirably adapted to the time when, the place in which, and the persons to whom, they were delivered; while they were also fitted for the general instruction of mankind in all ages. These compositions of Christ were likewise all original. Dr. Lightfoot and others have shown that Jesus often borrowed proverbs and phrases from the Jews. But an inspired teacher would not surely propose *whole parables*, that were in common use, for his own. Nor does it appear that any body used the parables of Christ before his time; for those which are alleged out of the Talmudical or other Jewish writers were all penned some ages after his birth. For instance, the parable of the householder and the labourers,[2] which is extant in the Jerusalem Gemara, was written an age and a half at least after the destruction of the temple. It is more probable, therefore, that it was written in imitation of Christ, than borrowed from any ancient tradition. The same may be said of many others; as Matt. xviii. 17. out of the book of Musar; and of another parable like that, Matt. xxv. 1. of the ten virgins.[3]

If Jesus had borrowed whole parables, or discourses, it would scarcely have been remarked so often, that he spake as one who had authority, and not as the Scribes; nor would the extraordinary wisdom of his instructions have so much astonished his auditors. Further; the Scribes and Pharisees would have been glad to have exposed him, by proclaiming to the people that he was indebted to the Rabbis for what gained him the reputation of superior sagacity. This, also, would have been a plausible argument to have retorted upon him, when he opposed their traditions.

[1] See Wilkins's, or Sir W. Jones's Translation of the Fables of Veshnoo-Sarma.

[2] Matt. xx. 1—16.

[3] Le Clerc on Matt. xx. 15.

To conclude, it is a singular excellency in the Gospel parables, that, though they were for the most part occasional and wisely adapted by our Saviour to the characters and circumstances of the persons to whom they were originally addressed, yet they contain most wholesome instructions and admonitions for all ages of the world, and for every future period of his church. They are at once excellently accommodated to the comprehensions of the vulgar, and capable of instructing and delighting the most learned and judicious. In short, *all* the parables of Christ "are beautiful; the truest delineation of human manners, embellished with all those graces which an unaffected lovely simplicity of diction is able to bestow,—graces beyond the reach of the most elaborate artifice of composition. But two of the number shine among the rest with unrivalled splendour; and we may safely challenge the genius of antiquity to produce, from all his stores of elegance and beauty, such specimens of pathetic unlaboured description, as the parables of the prodigal son and the good Samaritan."[4]

SECTION VI.

ON SCRIPTURE PROVERBS.

I. *Nature of Proverbs.—Prevalence of this mode of instruction.*—II. *Different kinds of Proverbs.*—III. *The Proverbs occurring in the New Testament, how to be interpreted.*

I. The inhabitants of Palestine, in common with other oriental nations, were much in the use of Proverbs, or detached aphorisms; that is, concise and sententious common sayings, founded on a close observance of men and manners. This method of instruction is of very remote antiquity, and was adopted by those who, by genius and reflection, exercised in the school of experience, had accumulated a stock of knowledge, which they were desirous of reducing into the most compendious form, and comprising, in a few maxims, such observations as they apprehended to be most essential to human happiness. Proverbial expressions were peculiarly adapted to a rude state of society, and more likely to produce effect than any other: for they professed not to dispute, but to command,—not to persuade, but to compel; they conducted men, not by circuitous argument, but led them immediately to the approbation and practice of integrity and virtue. That this kind of instruction, however, might not be altogether destitute of attraction, and lest it should disgust by an appearance of harshness and severity, the teachers of mankind added to their precepts the graces of harmony; and decorated them with metaphors, comparisons, allusions, and other embellishments of style.

Proverbial instruction was a favourite style of composition among the Jews, which continued to the latest ages of their literature; and obtained among them the appellation of *Meshalim*, or parables, partly because it consisted of parables strictly so called (the nature of which has been discussed in the preceding section), and partly because it possessed uncommon force and authority over the minds of the auditors. The proverbs of the Old Testament are classed by Bishop Lowth among the didactic poetry of the Hebrews, of which many specimens are extant, particularly the book of Proverbs, composed by Solomon, of which an account is given in the subsequent part of this work.[5] The royal sage has, in one of his proverbs, himself explained the principal excellences of this form of composition; exhibiting at once a complete definition of a proverb, and a very happy specimen of what he describes:

> Apples of gold in a net-work of silver
> Is a word seasonably spoken. Prov. xxv. 11.

Thus intimating, that grave and profound sentiments should be set off by a smooth and well-turned phraseology; as the appearance of the most beautiful and exquisitely-coloured fruit, or the imitation of it, perhaps, in the most precious materials, is improved by the circumstance of its shining (as through a veil) through the reticulations of a silver vessel exquisitely carved. In the above-cited passage he further insinuates, that it is not merely a neat turn and polished dic-

[4] Dr. Gray's Delineation of the Parables, pp. 19. 21. (Edinburgh, 1814. 8vo.) Monthly Review, O. S. vol. lvii. p. 196. Wakefield's Internal Evidences of Christianity, p. 36. Simpson's Internal and Presumptive Evidences of Christianity, pp. 403—422.

[5] See Vol. II. pp. 245—247.

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tion by which proverbs must be recommended; but that truth itself acquires additional beauty when partially discovered through the veil of elegant fiction and imagery.

1. The first excellence of a proverb is *Brevity*,[1] without which it can retain neither its name nor its nature. The discriminating sentiment should be expressed in a few words, not exceeding ten or at most twelve words, otherwise it is no longer a proverb, but a declamation; and it should force itself upon the mind by a single effort, not by a tedious process. Accordingly, the language must be strong and condensed, rather omitting some circumstances which may appear necessary, than admitting any thing superfluous. Horace himself insists on this as one of the express rules of didactic poetry, and has assigned the reason on which it is founded:

> Short be the precept, which with ease is gained
> By docile minds, and faithfully retained.[2]

Solomon expresses the same sentiment in his own parabolic manner:

> The words of the wise are like goads,
> And like nails that are firmly fixed. Eccles. xii. 11.

That is, they instantaneously stimulate or affect the mind; they penetrate deeply and are firmly retained. Even the obscurity, which is generally attendant on excessive brevity, has its use; as it sharpens the understanding, keeps alive the attention, and exercises the genius by the labour of investigation, while no small gratification results from the acquisition of knowledge by our own efforts.

2. Another excellence, essential to a proverb, is *Elegance*; which is neither inconsistent with brevity, nor with some degree of obscurity. Elegance in this connection respects the sentiment, the imagery, and the diction; and those proverbs, which are the plainest, most obvious, and simple, or which contain nothing remarkable either in sentiment or style, are not to be considered as destitute of their peculiar elegance, if they possess only brevity, and that neat, compact form, and roundness of period, which alone are sufficient to constitute a proverb. Examples of this kind occur in the maxim of David, recorded in 1 Sam. xxiv. 13. and in that of Solomon, Prov. x. 12.[3]

II. Proverbs are divided into two classes, viz. 1. Entire SENTENCES; and, 2. Proverbial PHRASES, which by common usage are admitted into a sentence.

1. Examples of *Entire* PROVERBIAL SENTENCES occur in Gen. x. 9. and xxii. 14. 1 Sam. x. 12. and xxiv. 13. 2 Sam. v. 8. and xx. 18. Ezek. xvi. 44. and xviii. 2. Luke iv. 23. John iv. 37. and 2 Peter ii. 22.; in which passages the inspired writers expressly state the sentences to have passed into proverbs.

2. Examples of PROVERBIAL PHRASES, which, indeed, cannot be correctly termed proverbs, but which have acquired their form and use, are to be found in Deut. xxv. 4. 1 Kings xx. 11. 2 Chron. xxv. 9. Job vi. 5. xiv. 19. and xxviii. 18. Psal. xlii. 7. and lxii. 9. Of this description also is that beautiful and memorable sentence, THE FEAR OF THE LORD IS THE BEGINNING OF WISDOM, Psal. cxi. 10., which is repeated in Prov. i. 7. ix. 10. and in Job xxviii. 28. The book of *Proverbs* likewise contains very many similar sentences; from among which it may suffice to refer to Prov. i. 17. 32. iii. 12. vi. 6. 27. x. 5. 13. 19. 25. xi. 15. 22. 27. xii. 11. 15. xv. 2. 33. xvii. 1. 10. 19. 28. xix. 2. 24. xx. 4. 11. 14. 21. 25. xxii. 6. 13. xxv. 11. 16. 27. xxvi. 4. 10, 11. 14. 17. 28. xxvii. 6, 7, 8. 10. 14. 17. 22. xxviii. 21. So in the book of *Ecclesiastes*, ch. i. 15. 18. iv. 5. 12. v. 2. 6. 8, 9, 10. vi. 9. vii. 17. ix. 4. 18. x. 1, 2. 8. 15. 19, 20. xi. 3, 4. 6, 7. xii. 12. And in the *Prophets*, Jer. xiii. 23. xxiii. 28. Ezek. vii. 5. Micah vii. 5, 6. Habak. ii. 6. Mal. ii. 10, &c. And likewise in the *New Testament*, as in Matt. v. 13—15. vi. 3. 21. 34. vii. 2. 5. 16. ix. 12. 16. x. 10. 22. 24. 26. xii. 34. xiii. 12. 57. xv. 14. xxiii. 24. xxiv. 28. Mark ix. 50. Luke ix. 62. xii. 48. xxiii. 31. Acts ix. 5. xx. 35. 1 Cor. v. 6. x. 12. xv. 33. 2 Cor. ix. 6, 7. 2 Thess. iii. 10. Tit. i. 15.

III. The Proverbs occurring in the New Testament are to be explained, partly by the aid of similar passages from the Old Testament, and partly from the ancient writings of the Jews, especially from the Talmud; whence it appears how much they were in use among that people, and that they were applied by Christ and his apostles, agreeably to common usage. The proverbs, contained in the Old and New Testaments, are collected and illustrated by Drusius, and Andreas Schottus; whose works are comprised in the ninth volume of the Critici Sacri, and also by Joachim Zehner, who has elucidated them by parallel passages from the fathers as well as from the heathen writers, in a treatise published at Leipsic in 1601. The proverbs which are found in the New Testament have been illustrated by Vorstius[4] and Viser,[5] as well as by Lightfoot and Schoetgenius in their *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*, and by Buxtorf in his *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*; from which last-mentioned works Rosenmüller, Kuinöel, Dr. Whitby, Dr. A. Clarke, and other commentators, both British and foreign, have derived their illustrations of the Jewish parables and proverbs.

SECTION VII.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON THE FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE OF SCRIPTURE.

I. *Synecdoche.*—II. *Irony.*—III. *Hyperbole.*—IV. *Paronomasia.*

BESIDES the figures already discussed, and the right understanding of which is of the greatest importance for ascertaining the sense of Scripture, Glassius, and other writers, who have treated expressly on the tropes and figures of the Sacred Writings, have enumerated a great variety of other figures which are to be found in them. As, however, many of these are merely rhetorical; and though they are admirably calculated to show how vastly superior the inspired volume is to all the productions of the human mind, for the beauty and sublimity of its compositions; yet as it would lead us into too wide a field of discussion, were we to introduce such figures at length, our attention must be directed to a few of those *principal figures* which have not been mentioned in the preceding pages.

The most important of these figures, which remain to be noticed, are, 1. Synecdoche; 2. Irony; 3. the Hyperbole; and, 4. the Paronomasia.

I. *Synecdoche.*

A SYNECDOCHE is a trope in which, 1. The *whole* is put for a *part*; 2. A *part* is put for the whole; 3. A certain number for an uncertain one; 4. A *general* name for a *particular* one; and, 4. *Special* words for *general* ones. A very few examples will suffice to illustrate this figure.

1. *The whole is sometimes put for a part.*

As, the *world* for the *Roman empire*, which is but a small though very remarkable part of the world, in Acts xxiv. 5. and Rev. iii. 10. The *world* for the *earth*, which is a part of it, 2 Pet. iii. 6. Rom. i. 8. 1 John v. 19. Thus the whole person is put for a part, as *man* for the *soul*, Luke xvi. 23. where the rich man Abraham, and Lazarus, are respectively put for their souls; *man*, for the *body*, John xix. 42. xx. 2. 13. with Luke xxiv. 3., in which passages Jesus is put for his dead body. *Time* for a *part* of time, as Dan. ii. 4. which simply means, we wish you a long life and reign. Gen. xvii. 19. where the words *everlasting covenant* denote while the Jewish polity subsists, that is, until Messiah come. (Gen. xlix. 10.)—See also Exod. xxi. 6. where the expression *for ever* means the year of jubilee.

To this class of Synecdoche may be referred those instances, in which the *plural* number is sometimes put for the *singular*: as the mountains of Ararat (Gen. viii. 4.), which term might refer to the bi-topped form of that mountainous range. The cities where Lot dwelt, Gen. xix. 29.; the sides of the house, Amos vi. 10.; the sides of the ship, Jonah i. 5.; the ass and foal, on which Jesus Christ was set, Matt. xxi. 7. compared with Zech. ix. 9.; the prophets, Mark i. 2. John vi. 45. Acts xiii. 40.; in all which places only one of those things or persons mentioned is to be understood. So, children is put for child, Gen. xxi. 7.; so daughters and sons' daughters, Gen. xlvi. 7., when Jacob had but one daughter (verse 15.) and one grand daughter. (verse 17.) So the sons of Dan (verse 23.), when he had but one. So the cities of Gilead are mentioned in Judg. xii. 7.; whereas Jephthah was buried in one city in that region. In like manner, by the sons of Jehoiada is intended only Zechariah, 2 Chron. xxiv. 25. compared with verses 20. and 21.; and our Saviour speaks of himself in the plural number, John iii. 11.

2. *Sometimes the part for the whole.*

Thus in Gen. i. 5. 8. 13. 19. 23. 31. the *evening and morning*, being the principal parts of the day, are put for the entire day. So the *soul* comprehends the entire man, Acts xxvii. 37. See similar expressions in Gen. xli. 5. xvii. 14. Exod. xii. 19. Lev. iv. 2. Psal. iii. 2. xi. 1. xxv. 13. Isa. lviii. 5. Ezek. xviii. 4. Acts ii. 41, &c.

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[1] "The brevity of this kind of composition," says an elegant critic of ancient times, "and the condensing of much thought into a small compass, renders it more sententious, more sage, and expressive: as in a small seed, the whole power of vegetation, which is to produce a tree, is contained. And if any writer should amplify the sentence, it would no longer be a proverb, but a declamation." DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS, Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, sect. ix.

[2] Art of Poetry, by Francis, verse 455.

[3] Lowth, Praelect. xxiv. pp. 312—318. (edit. 1763), or vol. ii. pp. 162—173. of Dr. Gregory's translation.

[4] Vorstius's Diatriba de Adagiis Novi Testamenti is printed in Crenius's Fasciculus Tertius Opusculorum quæ ad Historiam et Philologiam Sacram spectant. 18mo. Rotterdam, pp. 475—676.; and also in Fischer's second edition of Leusden, De Dilectis N. T. (8vo. Lipsiæ), pp. 168—252.

[5] Viser, Hermeneutica Sacra Novi Testamenti, part ii. sect. ix. cap. 2. pp. 132—150.

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So, the *singular* number is sometimes put for the *plural*.

This chiefly takes place when the Scriptures speak of the multitude collectively, or of an entire species. Thus in Gen. iii. 8. *tree* in the Hebrew is put for *trees*. Exod. xiv. 17. (Heb.) *I will get me honour upon Pharaoh and upon all his host, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen*, that is, the whole multitude of his chariots which are enumerated in verse 7. So in Exod. xv. 1. 21. *the horse and his rider* are put collectively for the horses and horsemen who were in the Egyptian army. So the *Hivite, Canaanite*, and *Hittite*, Exod. xxiii. 28., the *ox* and the *ass*, Isa. i. 3., the *stork*, the *turtle*, the *crane*, the *swallow*, Jer. viii. 7., the *palmer-worm*, Joel i. 4., *street*, Rev. xxi. 21., are respectively put for the Hivites, oxen, storks, &c. &c. It is proper to remark, that in very many instances the learned and pious translators of our authorized version have justly rendered the singular words in the plural number where the sense evidently required it.

3. *Very frequently a certain or definite number is put for an uncertain and indefinite number.*

Thus we find *double* for *much* or sufficient, in Isa. xl. 2. lxi. 7. Jer. xvi. 18. Zech. ix. 12. Rev. xviii. 6. *Twice* for several times, in Psal. lxii. 11. *Five* for a few, 1 Cor. xiv. 19., in which verse *ten thousand* are put for many. *Ten* for many, Gen. xxi. 7. and 1 Sam. i. 8. But most frequently we have *seven* for an indefinite number. See Gen. iv. 15. Lev. xxvi. 18 21. 24. 28. Ruth iv. 15. 1 Sam. ii. 5. Psal. cxix. 164. Prov. xxiv. 16. xxvi. 25. Isa. iv. 1. Jer. xv. 9. Ezek. xxxix. 9. 12. Zech. iii. 9. Matt. xii. 45. *One hundred* for many, indefinitely, in Eccl. vi. 3. viii. 12. Prov. xvii. 10. Matt. xix. 29. Luke viii. 8. A *thousand* for a great many, Exod. xx. 6. xxxiv. 7. Deut. i. 11. 1 Sam. xviii. 7. Psal. cxix. 72. *Ten thousand* for an immense number, 1 Sam. xviii. 7. Psal. iii. 6.; and *ten thousand thousand* for a countless host, in Num. x. 36. (Heb.) Dan. vii. 10. Rev. v. 11., &c.

4. A *general name* is put for a *particular* one,

As in Mark xvi. 15. where *every creature* means *all mankind*; as *flesh* also does in Gen. vi. 12. Psal. cxlv. 21. Isa. xl. 5, 6. lxvi. 23. Matt. xxiv. 22. Luke iii. 6. and Rom. iii. 20.

5. *Sometimes special words or particular names are put for such as are general:*

Thus Jehovah is, in Psal. xlvi. 9., said to *break the bow, and cut the spear in sunder, and to burn the chariot in the fire*: that is, God destroys all the weapons of war, and blesses the world with peace. Again, in Dan. xii. 2., we read, *Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake; some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.* Here *many* is put for *all*. So *man*, generally, is put for all mankind, both male and female, Psal. i. 1. Mark xvi. 16. Numerous similar passages might be adduced. So, *father* is put for *any ancestor*, Psal. xxii. 4. xliv. 1. cvi. 6. *Father* for *grandfather*, 2 Sam. ix. 7. Dan. v. 11. *Mother* for *grandmother*, 1 Kings xv. 10. 13. compared with verses 2. 8. *Brother* for *kinsman*, Gen. xiii. 8. and xiv. 14. with Gen. xii. 5. Matt. xii. 46. John vii. 3. 5. In the same manner, *son* is put for any of the posterity: thus Laban is said to be Nahor's son, in Gen. xxix. 5., when he was the son of Bethuel, and grandson or nephew of Nahor. Compare Gen. xxii. 20. 23. with xxiv. 29. So Rebekah is called Abraham's brother's daughter, Gen. xxiv. 48. *Father* and *mother* intend all superiors, Exod. xx. 12. In like manner the Greeks, who are the most eminent of the heathen nations, are put for the whole Gentile world, in Rom. i. 16. Gal. iii. 28. and Col. iii. 11. So *bread* denotes all the necessaries of life, in Matt. vi. 11. and numerous other places. The *fatherless* and *widows* are put for any who are in distress or affliction, Isa. i. 17. 23. James i. 27.. &c.

II. *Irony.*

An IRONY is a figure, in which we speak one thing and design another, in order to give the greater force and vehemence to our meaning. An irony is distinguished from the real sentiments of the speaker or writer, by the accent, the air, the extravagance of the praise, the character of the person, or the nature of the discourse.

Very numerous instances of irony are to be found in the Scripture, which might be produced; but the following will suffice to show the nature of this figure.

Thus, the prophet Elijah speaks in irony to the priests of Baal—*Cry aloud; for he is a God: either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked.* (1 Kings xviii. 27.) So the prophet Micah bids Ahab *go* to battle against Ramoth-Gilead *and prosper*. (1 Kings xxii. 15.) We meet with an irony in Job xii. 2. *No doubt but ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you.* That well-known passage in Eccles. xi. 9. may also be considered as an irony: *Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth; and let thine heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the way of thine heart and in the sight of thine eyes.* Nay, the Almighty himself appears to speak ironically in Gen. iii. 22.: *And the* LORD *God said, Behold the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil*; and also in Judges x. 14. *Go and cry unto the gods which ye have chosen; let them deliver you in the time of your tribulation.* And in the same manner we may apprehend Christ's rebuke to the Jewish doctors, when he says (Mark vii. 9.), *Full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition*; where, by the word καλως, which our translators render *full well*, it is evident that our Saviour intends quite the contrary of what his language seems to import. Saint Paul also has a fine example of irony in 1 Cor. iv. 8. *Now ye are full, now ye are rich, ye have reigned as kings without us; and I would to God ye did reign, that we also might reign with you.*

Under this figure we may include the SARCASM, which may be defined to be an irony in its superlative keenness and asperity. As an instance of this kind, we may consider the soldier's speech to our Lord; when, after they had arrayed him in mock majesty, they bowed the knee before him, and said, *Hail, King of the Jews.* (Matt. xxvii. 29.) So, again, while our Redeemer was suspended on the cross, there were some who thus derided him, *Let Christ, the King of Israel, descend now from the cross, that we may see and believe.* (Mark xv. 32.)

III. *Hyperbole.*

This figure, in its representation of things or objects, either magnifies or diminishes them beyond or below their proper limits: it is common in all languages, and is of frequent or currence in the Scripture.

Thus, things, which are very lofty, are said to reach up to heaven. Deut. i. 28. ix. 1. Psal. cvii. 26. So, things which are beyond the reach or capacity of man, are said to be in *heaven*, in the *deep*, or *beyond the sea*, Deut. xxx. 12. Rom. x. 6, 7. So, a great quantity or number is commonly expressed by the *sand of the sea, the dust of the earth*, and *the stars of heaven*, Gen. xiii. 16. xli. 49. Judges vii. 12. 1 Sam. xiii. 5. 1 Kings iv. 29. 2 Chron. i. 9. Jer. xv. 8. Heb. xi. 12. In like manner, we meet, in Num. xiii. 33. with *smaller than grasshoppers*, to denote extreme diminutiveness: 2 Sam. i. 23. *swifter than eagles*, to intimate extreme celerity. Judges v. 4. the *earth trembled*, verse 5. the mountains *melted*. 1 Kings i. 40. the earth *rent*. Psal. vi. 6. *I make my bed to swim*. Psal. cxix. 136. *rivers* of tears run down mine eyes. So we read of *angels' food*, Psal. lxxviii. 25. The *face of an angel*, in Acts vi. 15.; *the tongue of an angel*, in 1 Cor. xiii. 1. See also Gal. i. 8. and iv. 14 In Ezek. xxi. 6. we read, *Sigh with the breaking of thy loins*, that is, most deeply. So in Luke xix. 40. we read that *the stones would cry out*, and in verse 44. They shall not leave in thee *one stone upon another*; that is, there shall be a total desolation.[1]

IV. *Paronomasia.*

PARONOMASIA is the name given to an expression, which contains two words, that are purposely chosen, so that they may resemble each other in *sound*, while they may differ in sense. It is a very favourite figure of rhetoric among the Hebrews, and is common among the oriental languages in general. Paronomasia differs from our rhyme, inasmuch as the words which constitute it do not necessarily stand at the end of parallelisms or strophes, but may be placed together in any part of a sentence, and are found in prose as well as in poetry. Professor Stuart[2] has given numerous examples of this figure in the Old Testament, which the limits of this work do not permit us to insert. The paronomasia also occurs very frequently in the New Testament, especially in the writings of Saint Paul, where it seems to be sometimes unpremeditated, and sometimes to be the result of design on the part of the writer. Professor Winer, to whom we are indebted for this paragraph, divides the paronomasia into two kinds, viz.:—

1. *Where words of a like sound are employed in the same sentence, without regard to their sense.*

In Rom. i. 29. we have πορνεια, πονηρια—φθονου, φονου:—31. ασυνετους, ασυνθετους—1 Cor. ii. 13. εν διδακτοις πνευματος, πνευματικοις πνευματικα συγκρινοντες—Luke xxi. 11. Και λιμοι και λοιμοι εσονται. These instances of paronomasia cannot be equivalently expressed in English.

In order to form a paronomasia of this kind, unusual words or forms of words are sometimes employed: as in Gal. v. 7. πειθεσθαι—ἀ πειθομενν.

2. *Where the words are not only the same in sound, but there is also a resemblance or antithesis in the sense.* Thus:

Gal. iv. 17. Ζηλουσιν υμας....ινα αυτους ζηλουτε.—*They* ZEALOUSLY AFFECT *you....that ye might* [ZEALOUSLY] *affect them*; that is, they earnestly desire to draw you over to their party,—that you may be devoted to their interests.

Rom. v. 19. Ὥσπερ διὰ της παρακοης του ἑνος ἀνθρωπου ἁμαρτωλοι κατεσταθησαν οἱ πολλοι, οὕτω και διὰ της ὑπακοης:—*As by one man's* DISOBEDIENCE *many* [or multitudes] *were made sinners, so by the* OBEDIENCE *of one shall many* [or multitudes] *be* made righteous.

Other instances of this kind of paronomasia occur in Phil. iii. 2, 3. 2 Cor. iv. 8. 12 Cor. v. 4. 2 Thess. iii. 11. Philem. 10. 20. Acts viii. 29. 1 Cor. iii. 17. vi. 2. xi. 29. 31. 2 Cor. x. 2. (Gr.)

In this manner a paronomasia is sometimes formed by repeating the same word in a different sense: as in Matt. viii. 22. *Let the* DEAD *bury* their dead. See the proper import of this passage explained in page 356. *supra*

Similar instances of paronomasia occur in the Greek Apocryphal writings of the Old Testament. Compare particularly Dan. xiii. 54, 55.[3]

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[1] Glassii Phil. Sacr. tom. ii. pp. 55, 56. 897—916. 1243—1276. 1283—1294 Turretin. de Interp. S. S. p. 206.

[2] Stuart's Hebrew Grammar, pp. 336, 337. (first edit.)

[3] Winer's Greek Grammar of the New Testament, pp. 161, 162. (Andover 1825.)

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CHAPTER II.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE POETICAL PARTS OF SCRIPTURE.

I. *A large Portion of the Old Testament proved to be poetical;—Cultivation of Poetry by the Hebrews.*—II. *The Sententious Parallelism, the grand Characteristic of Hebrew Poetry.—Its Origin and Varieties.*—1. *Parallel Lines gradational;*—2. *Parallel Lines antithetic;*—3. *Parallel Lines constructive;*—4. *Parallel Lines introverted.*—III. *The poetical Dialect not confined to the Old Testament.—Reasons for expecting to find it in the New Testament.—Proofs of the Existence of the poetical Dialect there;*—1. *From simple and direct Quotations of single Passages from the poetical Parts of the Old Testament;*—2. *From Quotations of different Passages, combined into one connected Whole;*—3. *And from Quotations mingled with original Matter.*—IV. *Original Parallelisms occurring in the New Testament.*—1. *Parallel Couplets;*—2. *Parallel Triplets;*—3. *Quatrains;*—4, 5. *Stanzas of five and six Lines;*—6. *Stanzas of more than six parallel Lines.*—V. *Other Examples of the poetical Parallelism in the New Testament;*—1. *Parallel Lines gradational;*—2. *The Epanodos.*—VI. *Different Kinds of Hebrew Poetry.*—1. *Prophetic Poetry;*—2. *Elegiac Poetry;*—3. *Didactic Poetry;*—4. *Lyric Poetry;*—5. *The Idyl;*—6. *Dramatic Poetry;*—7. *Acrostic or Alphabetical Poetry.*—VII. *General Observations for better understanding the Compositions of the Sacred Poets.*

I. IT is obvious to the most cursory reader of the Holy Scriptures, that among the books of the Old Testament there is such an apparent diversity in style, as sufficiently discovers which of them are to be considered as poetical, and which are to be regarded as prose compositions. While the historical books and legislative writings of Moses are evidently prosaic in their composition, the book of Job, the Psalms of David, the Song of Solomon, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, a great part of the prophetic writings, and several passages occasionally scattered through the historical books, bear the most plain and distinguishing marks of poetical writing.[1] We can have no reason to doubt that these were originally written in verse, or in some kind of measured numbers; though, as the ancient pronunciation of the Hebrew language is now lost, we can only very imperfectly ascertain the nature of the Hebrew verse.

From the manner, however, in which Josephus, Origen, and Jerome have spoken of the Hebrew poetry, it should seem that in their time its beauty and rules were well known. Josephus repeatedly affirms[2] that the songs composed by Moses are in heroic verse, and that David composed several sorts of verses and songs, odes and hymns, in honour of God: some of which were in trimeters or verses of three metrical feet, and others in pentameters or verses of five metrical feet. Origen and Eusebius are said to have espoused the same notion: and Jerome, probably influenced by the manner in which he found the poetical parts of the Old Testament exhibited in the manuscripts of the Septuagint version, fancied that he perceived iambic, alcaic, and sapphic verses in the Psalms, similar to those occurring in the works of Pindar and Horace: hexameters and pentameters in the songs of Deuteronomy and Isaiah, the book of Job, and those of Solomon; and sapphic verses in the Lamentations of Jeremiah.[3] Among modern writers, the nature and genius of Hebrew poetry have been warmly contested;[4] but by no one have these subjects been illustrated with more elegance and ability than by the eminently learned Bishop of London, Dr. Robert Lowth. In the third of his justly admired Lectures on Hebrew Poetry,[5] he has collected much and very valuable information concerning the much litigated question, respecting the nature of Hebrew metre; but many of his arguments are successfully controverted by Bishop Jebb, in his Sacred Literature;[6] to which work, and to Bishop Lowth's Lectures, the reader is necessarily referred, as the discussion of this very difficult question would extend this chapter to an inordinate length. The construction, characteristics, and different kinds of Hebrew Poetry, including also the poetical style of the New Testament, are the subjects now to be considered: and our account of them is chiefly abridged from the Lectures of Bishop Lowth, and from his preliminary dissertation prefixed to his version of the prophet Isaiah, together with Bishop Jebb's elegant and instructive volume above cited.

The peculiar excellence of the HEBREW POETRY will appear when we consider that its origin and earliest application have been clearly traced to the service of religion. To celebrate in hymns and songs the praises of Jehovah—to decorate the worship of the Most High with all the charms and graces of harmony—to give force and energy to the devout affections—was the sublime employment of the sacred muses: and it is more than probable, that the very early use of sacred music in the public worship of the Hebrews, contributed not a little to the peculiar character of their poetry, and might impart to it that appropriate form, which, though chiefly adapted to this particular purpose, it nevertheless preserves on every other occasion. In the Old Testament we have ample evidence that music and poetry were cultivated from the earliest ages among the Hebrews. In the days of the Judges, mention is made of the schools or colleges of the prophets; in which the candidates for the prophetic office, under the direction of some superior prophet, being altogether removed from intercourse with the world, devoted themselves entirely to the exercises and study of religion: and though the sacred history affords us but little information concerning their institutes and discipline, yet it is manifest from 1 Sam. x. 5—10. and xix. 20—24., that a principal part of their occupation consisted in celebrating the praises of Jehovah in hymns and poetry, with choral chants accompanied with various musical instruments. But it was during the reign of David that music and poetry were carried to the greatest perfection. For the service of the tabernacle he appointed four thousand Levites, divided into twenty-four courses, and marshalled under several leaders, whose solo business it was to sing hymns, and to perform instrumental music in the public worship. Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun were the chief directors of the music, and, from the titles of some of the psalms, we may also infer that they were excellent composers of hymns

[1] In illustration of this remark, we may mention the song of Moses at the Red Sea (Exod. xv.); the prophecy of Balaam (Num. xxiv 18—24.); the song of Deborah and Barak. (Judg. v.) Nor is it improbable that the *Book of the Wars of the Lord* (Num. xxi. 14.), and the *Book of Jasher* (Josh. x. 13. 2 Sam. i. 18.), were written in poetic measure.

[2] Antiq. Jud. lib. ii. c. 16. § 4. lib. iv. c. 8. § 44. and lib. vii. c. 12. § 3.

[3] Hieronymi Præfat. in Chronic. Epist. 135. ad Paul. Urb. et Epist. ad Paulin. Comment. in Ezek. c. 30.

[4] Carpzov (Introd. ad Libros Canonicos Vet. Test. pars ii. pp. 28, 29.) has given a list of ancient and modern writers who have treated on Hebrew Poetry: and in pp. 2—27. he has noticed the various discordant opinions on this topic. The hypothesis of Bishop Hare on Hebrew metre was refuted by Bishop Lowth at the end of his lectures, and also in his "Larger Confutation," published in 1766, in 8vo. in answer to Dr. Edwards's Latin Letter in defence of Hare's system, published in the preceding year. The general opinion of the learned world has coincided with the arguments of Lowth.

[5] The first edition of these Lectures appeared in 1753, in 4to., under the title of "De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum Prælectiones Academicæ:" a second edition was printed by Bishop Lowth in 1763, in two volumes, octavo; the second volume, consisting of additions made by the celebrated Professor Michaelis, who had reprinted the Prælectiones at Göttingen. Several subsequent editions have issued from the Clarendon press; particularly a beautiful one in 1821, including (besides the additions of Michaelis) the further observations of Rosenmüller (whose edition appeared at Leipsic in 1815), Richter, and Weiss. In 1787, Dr. George Gregory printed his excellent English translation of Bishop Lowth's Lectures, in two octavo volumes, with some very important additional notes; which was reprinted in 1816. In 1787 M. Herder published at Leipsic two octavo volumes *On the Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, from which a selection was translated and published in 1801, under the title of *Oriental Dialogues*. Both these publications are distinguished by that bold criticism, which for the last fifty or sixty years has characterized too many of those German divines, to whose researches in other respects biblical literature is so largely indebted. Sir William Jones has a few observations on Hebrew metres in his Poeseos Asiaticæ Comment. cap. ii. (Works, vi. pp. 22—59.) See also "An Essay on Hebrew Poetry, Ancient and Modern. By Philip Sarchi, LL.D. London, 1824;" the latter portion of the volume, which treats on modern Hebrew poetry, is both curious and interesting. Professor Pareau has also given an abstract of the most material observations on Hebrew Poetry, in his Institutio Interpretis Veteris Testamenti, pp. 426—457.

[6] Pp. 4—22. The title at length of this beautifully and correctly printed work is as follows:—"Sacred Literature; comprising a Review of the Principles of Composition, laid down by the late Robert Lowth, D.D. Lord Bishop of London, in his Prælections and Isaiah, and an Application of the Principles so reviewed to the Illustration of the New Testament. By John Jebb, A.M. [afterwards D.D. and Bishop of Limerick.] London, 1820." 8vo.

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or sacred poems. In the first book of Chronicles (ch. xxv.) we have an account of the institutions of David: which were more costly, splendid, and magnificent than any that ever obtained in the public service of other nations.

II. According to Bishop Lowth, there are four principal CHARACTERISTICS OF HEBREW POETRY, viz.—1. The acrostical or alphabetical commencement of lines or stanzas;—2. The admission of foreign words and certain particles, which seldom occur in prose composition, and which thus form a distinct poetical dialect;—3. Its sententious, figurative, and sublime expressions; and, 4. Parallelism, the nature of which is fully illustrated in a subsequent page. But the existence of the first three of these characteristics has been disproved by Bishop Jebb; who observes, that the grand characteristic of Hebrew poetry does *not* appear to belong peculiarly to the original language of the Old Testament, as contradistinguished from that of the New. "It is not the acrostical, or regularly alphabetical, commencement of lines or stanzas; for this occurs but in twelve poems of the Old Testament: it is not the introduction of foreign words, and of what grammarians call the paragogic or redundant particles; for these licenses, though frequent, are by no means universal, in the poetical books of Scripture; and they are occasionally admitted in passages merely historical and prosaic: it is not the rhyming termination of lines; for no trace of this artifice is discoverable in the alphabetical poems, the lines or stanzas of which are defined with infallible precision; and every attempt to force it on the text, has been accompanied by the most licentious mutilation of Scripture: and finally, this grand characteristic is not the adoption of metre, properly so called, and analogous to the metre of the heathen classics; for the efforts of the learned, to discover such metre in any one poem of the Hebrews, have universally failed; and while we are morally certain, that even, though it were known and employed by the Jews, while their language was a living one, it is quite beyond recovery in the dead and unpronounceable state of that language; there are also strong reasons for believing, that, even in the most flourishing state of their literature, the Hebrew poets never used this declaration.

"Again, it is most certain, that the proper characteristic of Hebrew poetry is not elation, grandeur, or sublimity, either of thought or diction. In these qualities, indeed, a large portion of the poetical Scriptures is not only distinguished, but unrivalled: but there are also many compositions in the Old Testament, indisputably poetical, which, in thought and expression, do not rise above the ordinary tone of just and clear conceptions, calmly, yet pointedly delivered."[1]

The grand, and, indeed, the sole characteristic of Hebrew Poetry, is what Bishop Lowth entitles PARALLELISM, that is, a certain equality, resemblance, or relationship, between the members of each period; so that in two lines, or members of the same period, things shall answer to things, and words to words, as if fitted to each other by a kind of rule or measure. Such is the general strain of the Hebrew poetry; instances of which occur in almost every part of the Old Testament, particularly in the ninety-sixth psalm.

It is in a great measure owing to this form of composition that our admirable authorized version, though executed in prose, retains so much of a poetical cast; for, that version being strictly word for word after the original, the form and order of the original sentences are preserved; which, by this artificial structure, this regular alternation and correspondence of parts, makes the ear sensible of a departure from the common style and tone of prose.

The origin of this form of poetical composition among the Hebrews, Bishop Lowth has satisfactorily deduced from the manner in which they were accustomed to sing or chant their sacred hymns. They were accompanied with music, and were alternately sung by opposite choirs: sometimes one choir performed the hymn itself, while the other sang a particular distich, which was regularly interposed at stated intervals. In this manner we learn that Moses with the Israelites chanted the ode at the Red Sea (Exod. xv. 20, 21.); and the same order is observable in some of the psalms which are composed in this form. On some occasions, however, the musical performance was differently conducted, one of the choirs singing a single verse to the other, while the other constantly added a verse in some respect correspondent. Of this the following distich is an example:—

Sing praises to Jehovah, for he is good,
Because his mercy endureth for ever. Psal. cxxxvi. 1.

[1] Bp. Jebb's Sacred Literature, pp. 4, 5.

Which Ezra informs us (iii. 10, 11.) was sung by the priests and Levites in alternate choirs, "after the ordinance of David, king of Israel;" as indeed may be collected from the hundred and thirty-sixth psalm itself, in which the latter verse sung by the latter choir forms a perpetual epode. Of the same nature is the song of the women concerning Saul and David (1 Sam. xviii. 7.); and in the very same manner does Isaiah describe the seraphim as chanting the praises of Jehovah—"they cried one to another," that is, alternately,

Holy, holy, holy, Jehovah, God of hosts!
The whole earth is filled with his glory! Isa. vi. 3.

But the fullest example, perhaps, of this style of composition is to be found in the twenty-fourth psalm, composed on occasion of the induction of the ark to Mount Sion: the mode of performing which is particularly illustrated by Bishop Lowth,[2] and must have had a most noble and impressive effect.

In determining the length of his lines, Bishop Lowth considers only that relation and proportion of one verse to another which arises from the correspondence of terms, and from the form of construction, whence results a rhythmus of propositions, and a harmony of sentences. From this correspondence of the verses one with another, arises a certain relation also between the composition of the verses, and the composition of the sentences, so that generally periods coincide with stanzas, members with verses, and pauses of the one with pauses of the other. This correspondence is called parallelism, the corresponding lines are called parallel lines, and the words or phrases answering one to another in the corresponding lines, parallel terms.

A single example will illustrate the above definition of parallelism:—In Luke i. 52, 53. we read, *He* (God) *hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree. He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he hath sent empty away.* In this passage the same *thing* is expressed, viz. that God changes the conditions of men: and this same *thing* is also expressed in corresponding members that represent it in various points of view. Thus the Almighty changes adversity into prosperity, and prosperity into adversity. The *words answer to each other*, the mighty—those of low degree; put down—exalted; the hungry (or poor)—the rich; filled with good things—sent empty away. Lastly, the *things or subjects stated answer to each other* by a contrast sufficiently obvious; the former (the powerful and rich) are depressed; the latter (the humble and poor) are exalted.

The nature of parallelism, thus defined and illustrated, is sometimes so evident as to strike even a careless reader, and sometimes so subtle and obscure as to require considerable practice, and some familiarity with the system, in order to distribute the pauses and develope the different members of the sentences in probable order and connection. Thus, much doubt has arisen not only as to what books, but as to what parts of books, are to be accounted poetical. Sometimes, according to Bishop Jebb, it is continuous and unmixed, as in the Psalms, Proverbs, and Canticles; sometimes it characterizes the main body of a work with a prosaic introduction and conclusion, as in the book of Job; sometimes it predominates throughout a whole book with an occasional mixture of prose, as in most of the prophets; sometimes the general texture is prose, with an occasional mixture of verses, as in the historical books, and the book of Ecclesiastes.

This parallelism has hitherto been confined principally to the poetical books of the Old Testament; and to them chiefly, in the first edition of this work, the author had restricted it. Bishop Jebb, however, has demonstrated that this grand characteristic of Hebrew poetry pervades the New Testament as well as the Old.

The poetical parallelism has much variety and many gradations, being sometimes more accurate and manifest, sometimes more vague and obscure: it may, however, on the whole, be said to consist of four species, viz. Parallel Lines *Gradational*,[3] Parallel Lines *Antithetic*, Parallel Lines *Synthetic*, and Parallel Lines *Introverted*.

[2] Lecture xxvii. Bishop Horsley, in his translation of the book of Psalms, has divided them so as to exhibit the construction of those divine compositions to the best possible advantage.

[3] Bishop Lowth has ranged the different kinds of parallelism under *three* classes only, viz.: parallels synonymous, parallels antithetic, and parallels synthetic. The last two terms, it will be perceived, we have retained, and in lieu of parallels *synonymous* we have adopted the term *parallel lines gradational*. Bishop Jebb has assigned satisfactory reasons for changing the bishop's phraseology. According to Lowth, parallel lines synonymous are those which correspond one to another by expressing the same sent

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1. PARALLEL LINES GRADATIONAL are those in which the second or responsive clause so diversifies the preceding clause, as generally to rise above it, sometimes by a descending scale in the value of the related terms and periods, but in all cases with a marked distinction of meaning. This species of parallelism is the most frequent of all: it prevails chiefly in the shorter poems, in many of the psalms, and very frequently in the prophecies of Isaiah. Three or four instances will suffice to show the nature of parallel lines gradational. The first example shall be taken from the first psalm.

> O the happiness of that man
> Who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly;
> And hath not stood in the way of sinners:
> And hath not sat in the seat of the scornful. Psalm i. 1.

"The exclamation with which the psalm opens, belongs equally to each line of the succeeding triplet. In the triplet itself, each line consists of three members; and the lines gradually rise, one above the other, not merely in their general sense, but specially throughout their corresponding members. To *walk*, implies no more than casual intercourse; to *stand*, closer intimacy; to *sit*, fixed and permanent connection; the *counsel*, the ordinary place of meeting, or public resort; the *way*, the select and chosen footpath; the *seat*, the habitual and final resting place; the *ungodly*, negatively wicked; *sinners*, positively wicked; the *scornful*, scoffers at the very name or notion of piety and goodness."[1]

The following passages will supply additional examples:—

> Who shall ascend the mountain of Jehovah?
> And who shall stand within his holy place?
> The clean of hands, and the pure in heart.
> Psalm xxiv. 3, 4.

"To *ascend* marks progress; to *stand*, stability and confirmation: the *mountain of Jehovah*, the site of the divine sanctuary; *his holy place*, the sanctuary itself; and, in correspondence with the advance of the two lines which form the first couplet, there is an advance in the members of the third line: *the clean of hands; and the pure in heart: the clean of hands, shall ascend the mountain of Jehovah: the pure in heart, shall stand within his holy place.*"[2]

> O Jehovah, in thy strength the king shall rejoice;
> And in thy salvation, how greatly shall he exult!
> The desire of his heart thou hast granted him;
> And the request of his lips thou hast not denied.
> Psalm xxi. 1, 2.

"The gradation of member above member, and line above line, in each couplet of this stanza, is undeniable: 'salvation' is an advance upon 'strength;' and 'how greatly shall he exult,' an advance upon 'He shall rejoice:' again, 'the request of the lips,' is something beyond 'the desire of the heart,'—it is desire brought into act. The gradation in the last members of the last two lines may not be equally obvious; but it is by no means less certain: 'thou hast granted:—thou hast not denied:" the negative form is here much stronger than the positive; for it is a received canon of biblical philology, that verbs of negation, or what amounts to the same thing, adverbs of negation prefixed to verbs, have, in such cases, the force of expressing the opposite affirmative with peculiar emphasis:—for example, The Lord *will not hold him guiltless* who taketh his name in vain: that is, WILL ASSUREDLY HOLD HIM GUILTY. Exod. xx. 7."

The prophetic muse is no less elegant and correct. Isaiah especially abounds in beautiful instances of this mode of gradation. Thus he says,

> Seek ye Jehovah, while he may be found
> Call ye upon him, while he is near;
> Let the wicked forsake his way;
> And the unrighteous man his thoughts:
> And let him return to Jehovah, and he will compassionate him;
> And unto our God, for he abounded in forgiveness.
> Isa. lv. 6, 7.

"In the first line, men are invited to seek Jehovah, not knowing where he is, and on the bare intelligence that he *may be found;* in the second line, having found Jehovah, they are encouraged to call upon him by the assurance that he is NEAR. In the third line, the wicked, the positive, and presumptuous sinner is warned to forsake *his way*, his habitual course of iniquity; in the fourth line, the unrighteous, the negatively wicked, is called to renounce *the very thought of sinning*. While in the last line, the appropriative and encouraging title OUR GOD, is substituted for the awful name of JEHOVAH; and simple *compassion* is heightened into *overflowing mercy and forgiveness.*"[3]

In Isa. li. 1. 4. 7. there is another singularly fine example of moral gradation, which is admirably illustrated by Bishop Jebb,[4] to whose "Sacred Literature" the reader is referred. But excellent as Isaiah confessedly is, he is not unrivalled in this kind of composition: the other prophets contain abundant examples; we shall, however, only adduce two instances. The first, which is from Hosea, is exquisitely pathetic, and will speak for itself:—

> How shall I give thee up, O Ephraim?
> Abandon thee, O Israel?
> How shall I make thee as Admah,
> Place thee in the condition of Zeboim?
> My heart is turned upon me;
> My bowels yearn all together.
> I will not execute the fury of mine anger:
> I will not return to make destruction of Ephraim;
> For God I am, and not man;
> The Holy One in the midst of thee, although I am no frequenter of cities. Hosea xi. 8, 9. (Bp. Horsley's Translation.)

The other passage is from Joel, and is highly animated.

> Like mighty men shall they rush on;
> Like warriors shall they mount upon the wall;
> And, every one in his way, shall they march;
> And they shall not turn aside from their paths.
> Joel ii. 7.

The prophet is denouncing a terrible judgment on the land of Judah, by the devastation of locusts; and all naturalists and travellers, who have witnessed the desolation caused by those destructive insects, attest and confirm the fidelity of Joel's description of their progress and ravages.

2. PARALLEL LINES ANTITHETIC are those, in which two lines correspond one with another, by an opposition of terms and sentiments; when the second is contrasted with the first, sometimes in expressions, sometimes in sense only. This is not confined to any particular form. Accordingly the degrees of antithesis are various, from an exact contraposition of word to word, sentiment to sentiment, singulars to singulars, plurals to plurals, down to a general disparity, with something of a contrariety in the two propositions.

This species of parallelism is of less frequent occurrence in the prophetical poems of the Old Testament, especially those which are elevated in the style, and more connected in the parts; but it is admirably adapted to adages, aphorisms, proverbs, and detached sentences. Much, indeed, of the elegance, acuteness, and force, of a great number of the proverbs of Solomon, arises from the antithetic form, the opposition of diction, and sentiment, as in the following examples:—

> A wise son rejoiceth his father:
> But a foolish son is the grief of his mother.
> Prov. x. 1.

Here every word has its opposite, the terms *father* and *mother* being relatively opposite;

> The memory of the just is a blessing;
> But the name of the wicked shall rot.
> Prov. x. 7.

In this instance there are only two antithetic terms, for *memory* and *name* are synonymous. See also Prov. xi. 24. xvi. 33. and xxix. 26.

But, though the antithetic parallel be of comparatively rare occurrence in the superior kinds of Hebrew poetry, it is not inconsistent with them. Thus, we have a beautiful instance of it in the thanksgiving ode of Hannah, 1 Sam. ii. 4—7., and in some of the Psalms, as in Psalm xx. 7, 8. xxx. 5. and xxxvii. 10, 11. Isaiah, also, by means of it, without departing from his usual dignity, greatly increases the beauty of his composition.

> For the mountains shall be removed;
> And the hills shall be overthrown;
> But my kindness from thee shall not be removed;
> And the covenant of my peace shall not be overthrown.
> Isa. liv. 10.

See likewise Isa. liv. 7, 8. ix. 10. and lxv. 13, 14.

3. PARALLEL LINES SYNTHETIC or CONSTRUCTIVE are those in which the parallelism consists only in the similar form of construction: in which word does not answer to word, and sentence to sentence, as equivalent or opposite; but there is a correspondence and equality between the different propositions, in respect of the shape and turn of the whole sentence, and of the constructive parts; such as noun answering to noun, verb to verb, member to member, negative to negative, interrogative to interrogative. This species of parallel includes such as do not come within the two former classes. Accordingly, Bishop Lowth remarks, that the variety of this form is very great; the parallelism being sometimes more, sometimes less exact, and sometimes hardly at all apparent. The nineteenth psalm will furnish a beautiful instance of parallel lines constructive:—

> The law of JEHOVAH is perfect, restoring the soul;
> The testimony of JEHOVAH is sure, making wise the simple;
> The precepts of JEHOVAH are right, rejoicing the heart;
> The commandment of JEHOVAH is clear, enlightening the eyes:
> The fear of JEHOVAH is pure, enduring for ever;
> The judgments of JEHOVAH are truth, they are just altogether,
> More desirable than gold, or than much fine gold,
> And sweeter than honey, or the dropping of honey-combs.
> Psal. xix. 7—11.

Additional instances of the constructive parallelism occur in Psalm cxlviii. 7—13. Job xii. 13—16. Isa. xiv. 4—9. and lviii. 5—8.

Respecting the three preceding species of parallelism, Bishop Jebb remarks that, separately, "each kind admits many subordinate varieties, and that, in combinations of verses, the several kinds are perpetually intermingled; cir

ment in different but nearly equivalent terms. But Bp. Jebb proves, from an examination of the bishop's examples, that this definition does not hold good: he therefore proposes that of *cognate parallels* as preferably applicable to this kind of parallels. (Sacred Literature, pp. 34—50.) A learned critic, however, has suggested the term *gradational parallelism*, as being most expressive, and also most applicable to the examples adduced by these eminent prelates. (British Critic for 1820. vol. xiv. pp. 585, 586.) We have, therefore, adopted this term in the present chapter. Bp. Jebb had further considered the *introverted parallel* as a variety of the Hebrew parallelism; but as the same critic has assigned good reasons for constituting it a *distinct* class, we have availed ourselves of his authority, and have accordingly adopted it.

[1] Bp. Jebb's Sacred Literature, p. 41.
[2] Ibid. pp. 37, 38.
[3] Ibid. p. 40.
[4] Ibid. pp. 46—49.

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cumstances which at once enliven and beautify the composition, and frequently give peculiar distinctness and precision to the train of thought." He has illustrated this observation by some instances of such subordinate varieties. The six following are taken partly from his volume, and partly from the nineteenth of Bishop Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry. Thus:

(1.) Sometimes the lines are *bi-membral*; that is, they consis each of double members, or two propositions (or sentiments, as Lowth terms them).—For example,

> The nations raged; the kingdoms were moved;
> He uttered a voice; the earth was dissolved:
> Be still, and know that I am God;
> I will be exalted in the nations; I will be exalted in the earth.
> Psal. xlvi. 6. 10.

> Bow thy heavens, O JEHOVAH, and descend;
> Touch the mountains, and they shall smoke:
> Dart forth thy lightning, and scatter them;
> Shoot out thine arrows, and destroy them.
> Psal. cxliv. 5, 6.

Isaiah has two striking instances of these bi-membral lines.

> When thou passest through waters, I am with thee;
> And through rivers, they shall not overwhelm thee:
> When thou walkest in the fire, thou shalt not be scorched;
> And the flame shall not cleave to thee.
> Isa. xliii. 2.

> And they shall build houses, and shall inhabit them;
> And they shall plant vineyards, and shall eat the fruit thereof:
> They shall not build, and another inhabit;
> They shall not plant, and another eat.
> Isa. lxv. 21, 22.

(2.) "Parallels are sometimes formed by a repetition of part of the first sentence:

> My voice is unto God, and I cry aloud:
> My voice unto God, and he will hearken unto me:
> I will remember the works of Jehovah;
> Yea, I will remember thy works of old:—
> The waters saw thee, O God;
> The waters saw thee; they were seized with anguish.
> Psal. lxxviii. 1. 11. 16.

(3.) "Sometimes, in the latter line, a part is to be supplied from the former, to complete the sentence:—

> The mighty dead tremble from beneath:
> The waters, and they that dwell therein.
> Job xxvi. 5.

(4.) "There are parallel triplets; where three lines correspond together, and form a kind of stanza; of which, however, only two lines are commonly synonymous:—

> The wicked shall see it, and it shall grieve him;
> He shall gnash with his teeth and pine away;
> The desire of the wicked shall perish.
> Psal. cxii. 10."[a]

Another instance of parallel triplets occurs in Job iii. 4., and Micah vi. 15.

(5.) "There are parallels consisting of four lines; two distichs being so connected together by sound and construction, as to make one stanza:

> The ox knoweth his owner;
> And the ass the crib of his lord:
> But Israel does not know;
> My people doth not consider.
> Isa. i. 3. See also Psal. xxvii. 1, 2.

In stanzas of four lines, sometimes the parallel lines answer to one another, alternately; the first to the third, and the second to the fourth:—

> As the heavens are high above the earth
> So high is his goodness over them that fear him:
> As remote as the east is from the west;
> So far hath he removed from us our transgressions.
> Psal. ciii. 11, 12."[a]

Sometimes, however, in the alternate quatrain, by a peculiar artifice in the distribution of the sentences, the third line forms a continuous sense with the first, and the fourth with the second:—

> From the heavens JEHOVAH looketh down:
> He seeth all the children of men;
> From the seat of his rest he contemplateth
> All the inhabitants of the earth.
> Psal. xxxiii. 13, 14.

Isaiah with great elegance uses this form of composition:—

> For thy husband is thy Maker;
> JEHOVAH God of hosts is his name:
> And thy Redeemer is the Holy One of Israel;
> The God of the whole earth shall he be called.
> Isa. liv. 5.

(6.) Some periods also may be considered as forming stanzas of five lines; in which the odd line or member usually either comes in between two distichs; or the line that is not parallel is generally placed between the two distichs; or, after two distichs makes a full close:

> Who is wise, and will understand these things?
> Prudent, and will know them?
> For right are the ways of JEHOVAH:
> And the just shall walk in them:
> And the disobedient shall fall therein.
> Hos. xiv. 9.

> Like as a lion growleth,
> Even the young lion over his prey;
> Though the whole company of shepherds be called together against him:
> At their voice he will not be terrified,
> Nor at their tumult will he be humbled.
> Isa. xxxi. 4.

> Who established the word of his servant:
> And accomplisheth the counsel of his messenger;
> Who sayeth to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be inhabited,
> And to the cities of Judah, Ye shall be built;
> And her desolate places I will restore.
> Isa. xliv. 26.

The preceding are the chief varieties of the parallel lines, gradational, antithetic, and constructive: a few others of less note are discussed both by Bishops Lowth and Jebb; for which the reader is necessarily referred to their respective works. We now proceed to notice,

4. PARALLEL LINES INTROVERTED.—These are stanzas so constructed, that, whatever be the number of lines, the first line shall be parallel with the last; the second with the penultimate, or last but one; and so throughout, in an order that looks inward, or, to borrow a military phrase, from flanks to centre. This may be called the *introverted parallelism*.

Bishop Jebb has illustrated this definition with several apposite examples, from which we have selected the three following.

> My son, if thy heart be wise;
> My heart also shall rejoice;
> Yea, my reins shall rejoice:
> When thy lips speak right things.
> Prov. xxiii. 15, 16.

> "And it shall come to pass in that day;
> JEHOVAH shall make a gathering of his fruit
> From the flood of the river:
> To the stream of Egypt:
> And ye shall be gleaned up, one by one;
> O ye sons of Israel.

> "And it shall come to pass in that day;
> The great trumpet shall be sounded;
> And those shall come, who were perishing in the land of Assyria;
> And who were dispersed in the land of Egypt;
> And they shall bow themselves down before Jehovah;
> In the holy mountain, in Jerusalem.
> Isaiah xxvii. 12, 13.

"In these two stanzas of Isaiah, figuratively, in the first, and literally in the second, is predicted the return of the Jews from their several dispersions. The first line of each stanza is parallel with the sixth; the second with the fifth; and the third with the fourth; also on comparing the stanzas one with another, it is manifest, that they are constructed with the utmost precision of mutual correspondence; clause harmonizing with clause, and line respectively with line; the first line of the first stanza with the first line of the second, and so throughout."

> "The idols of the heathen are silver and gold:
> The work of men's hand;
> They have mouths, but they speak not;
> They have eyes, but they see not;
> They have ears, but they hear not;
> Neither is there any breath in their mouths;
> They who make them are like unto them;
> So are all they who put their trust in them.
> Psal. cxxxv. 15—18."

The parallelisms here marked are very accurate. In the first line of this example we have the idolatrous heathen;—in the eighth, those who put their trust in idols:—in the second line, the fabrication;—in the seventh, the fabricators;—in the third line, mouths without articulation;—in the sixth, mouths without breath;—in the fourth line, eyes without vision; and, in the fifth line, ears without the sense of hearing.

The parallelism of the extreme members, Bishop Jebb proceeds to state, may be rendered yet more evident, by reducing the passage into two quatrains; thus:

> The idols of the heathen are silver and gold;
> The work of men's hand;
> They who make them are like unto them;
> So are all they who put their trust in them.

> They have mouths, but they speak not:
> They have eyes, but they see not;
> They have ears, but they hear not;
> Neither is there any breath in their mouths.[a]

III. Such is the nature, and such are the species, of the parallelisms which are variously distributed throughout the Old Testament. With the exception of a few partial failures,

[a] Bp. Jebb's Sacred Literature, pp. 27. 28. [a] Ibid. p. 29. [a] Sacred Literature, pp. 53 54. 57 58.

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it is worthy of remark, that the character and complexion of Hebrew poetry have been very competently preserved in that body of Greek translations, composed at different times, by different persons, and known under the name of the Septuagint version. Nor should it be omitted, that the Hebraic parallelism occurs also, with much variety, in the Apocrypha: the book of Ecclesiasticus, for example, is composed of pure parallelisms: the book of Wisdom, too, affords fine specimens of this manner, though it is commonly overlaid by the exuberant and vicious rhetoric of the Alexandrine Platonists; while, not to mention other parts of the Apocryphal writings, in Tobit and the books of Maccabees there are examples both of lyric and didactic poetry, clothed in parallelisms which will hardly shrink from comparison with several in the genuine Hebrew Scriptures. One other fact remains: namely, that in the sententious *formulæ* of the Rabbinical writers, the manner of Hebrew poetry is frequently observed, with much accuracy, though with a manifest declension of spirit.[1]

Such being the fact, we are authorized by analogy to expect a similar parallelism in the New Testament, particularly when the nature of that portion of the Holy Scriptures is considered. It is a work supplementary to and perfective of the Old Testament; composed under the same guidance that superintended the composition of the latter; written by native Jews, Hebrews of the Hebrews,—by men whose minds were moulded in the form of their own Sacred Writings, and whose sole stock of literature (with the exception of Paul, and probably also of Luke and James) was comprised in those very writings. Now, it is improbable in the extreme, that such men, when they came to write such a work, should, without any assignable motive, and in direct opposition to all other religious teachers of their nation, have estranged themselves from a manner, so pervading the noblest parts of the Hebrew Scriptures, as the sententious parallelism. But we are not left to analogical reasoning. The Greek style of the New Testament leads us to expect a construction similar to that which we find in the Old. The New Testament, as we have already shown,[2] is not written in what is termed strictly classical Greek, but in a style of the same degree of purity as the Greek which was spoken in Macedonia, and that in which Polybius wrote his Roman History. From the intermixture of Oriental idioms and expressions with those which are properly Greek, the language of the New Testament has been termed *Hellenistic* or *Hebraïc Greek*. The difference in style and manner which subsists between the writers of the New Testament and the Greek classic authors is most strongly marked: and this difference is not confined to single words and combination of words, but pervades the whole structure of the composition: and in frequent instances, a poetical manner is observable, which not only is not known, but would not be tolerated, in any modern production, purporting to be prose. This poetical style has been noticed briefly by Boecler, Ernesti, Michaelis, Schleusner, Dr. Campbell, and other critics, and also by the author of this work, in the first edition; but none of these writers were aware, to how great an extent it pervades the New Testament. It was reserved for Bishop Jebb, to whose "Sacred Literature" this chapter is so deeply indebted, to develope the existence of the poetical parallelism in the New Testament, and to place its numerous beauties in a point of view equally novel and delightful to the biblical student.

The proofs of the existence of the poetical dialect in the New Testament, are disposed by this critic under the following four divisions, viz.;—1. Simple and direct quotations in the New Testament, of single passages from the poetical parts of the Old Testament;—2. Quotations of a more complex kind, when fragments are combined from different parts of the poetical Scriptures, and wrought up into one connected whole; and, 3. Quotations mingled with original matter. We shall give one or two examples of each of these proofs.

1. *Simple and direct Quotations of single passages from the poetical parts of the Old Testament, in which the parallelism has been preserved by the writers of the New Testament.*

καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ, γῆ Ἰούδα,
οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα·
ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος,
ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ.

And thou, Bethlehem, territory of Judah,
Art by no means least among the captains of Judah.
For from these shall come forth a leader,
Who will guide my people Israel. Matt. ii. 6.

υἱέ μου, μὴ ὀλιγωρεῖ παιδείας Κυρίου,
μηδὲ ἐκλύου, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος·
ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος, παιδεύει·
μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν, ὃν παραδέχεται.

My son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord,
Nor faint when thou art rebuked by him:
For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth,
But scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.
Heb. xii. 5, 6.

This passage is taken from Proverbs iii. 11, 12.: thus rendered in our authorized translation:—

My son, despise not the chastening of the Lord:
Neither be weary of his correction:
For whom the Lord loveth, he correcteth;
Even as a father the son *in whom* he delighteth.

In this last line the parallelism is completely spoiled. But Bp. Jebb shows, that Saint Paul's reading is afforded without altering a letter in the Hebrew text, by a slight departure from the Masoretic punctuation. The original passage in Prov. iii. 11, 12., therefore, may be thus rendered in strict conformity with the apostle.

The chastening of JEHOVAH, my son, do not despise;
Neither be weary at his rebuking:
For, whom JEHOVAH loveth, he chasteneth,
But scourgeth the son in whom he delighteth.

In the corrected version of this quatrain, the parallelism is not only preserved, but there is also a beautiful climax in the sense, both of which are excellently illustrated by Bp. Jebb.[3]

2. *Quotations of a more complex kind, in which fragments are combined from different parts of the Poetical Scriptures, and wrought up into one connected or consistent whole.*

Of this class of quotations, the following is a short but satisfactory specimen:

ὁ οἶκός μου, οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν·
ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐποιήσατε αὐτὸν σπήλαιον ληστῶν.

My house shall be called the house of prayer for all the nations;
But ye have made it a den of thieves. Mark xi. 17.

This antithetical couplet is composed of two independent passages, very remotely connected in their subject matter; of which the first stands in the Septuagint version of Isaiah lvi. 57. exactly as it is given above from Saint Mark's Gospel. The substance of the second line occurs in the prophet Jeremiah. (vii. 11.)

μὴ σπήλαιον λῃστῶν ὁ οἶκός μου;
Is my house a den of thieves?[4]

ὦ βάθος πλούτου, καὶ σοφίας, καὶ γνώσεως Θεοῦ
ὡς ἀνεξερεύνητα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ·
τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν Κυρίου;
ἢ τίς συμβούλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο,
ἢ τίς προέδωκεν αὐτῷ;
καὶ ἀνταποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ;

O the depth of the riches, and the wisdom, and the knowledge of God!
How inscrutable are his judgments;
And untraceable his ways!
For who hath known the mind of the Lord?
Or who hath been his counsellor?
Or who hath first given unto him,
And it shall be repaid him again? Rom. xi. 33—35.

On this passage Bishop Jebb remarks, that, although the quotation is not always so uniformly direct as in the preceding example, yet the marks of imitation are unquestionable; the probable sources of imitation are numerous; the continuity of the parallelism is maintained unbroken: and the style, both of thought and of expression, is remarkable alike for elegance, animation, and profundity. He supposes the apostle to have had the following texts (which are given at length by Dr. J.) present in his recollection when composing this noble epiphonema; Psal. xxxvi. 6. Job xi. 7, 8 v. 9 xxxvi. 22, 23. Jer. xxiii. 18. Isa. xl. 13. 15. Job xxiii. 18. and xli. 2.

"The first line proposes the subject:

O the depth of the riches, and the wisdom, and the knowledge of God!

"The notion of depth, as a quality attributed alike to God's riches, and wisdom, and knowledge, is first expanded in the next couplet:

How inscrutable are his judgments;
And untraceable his ways!

Riches, wisdom, and knowledge are then, in a fine epanodos, enlarged upon in the inverted order; first, knowledge:

For who hath known the mind of the Lord?

secondly, wisdom:

Or who hath been his counsellor?

thirdly, riches:

Or who hath first given unto him,
And it shall be repaid him again?

"Let, now, the most skilfully executed *cento* from the heathen classics be compared with this finished scriptural mosaic of St. Paul: the former, however imposing at the first view, will on closer inspection infallibly betray its patchwork jointing and incongruous materials; while the latter, like the beauties of creation, not only bears the microscope glance, but, the more minutely it is examined, the more fully its exquisite organization is disclosed. The fathers, also, often quote and *combine* Scripture: let their complex quotations be contrasted with those of the apostle; the result may be readily anticipated."[5]

[1] Sacred Literature, p. 76. Bp. Jebb has illustrated the remarks in the text by numerous apposite examples from the apocryphal and rabbinical writings, for which the reader is referred to his work, pp. 84—90.

[2] See pp. 194—196. of this volume, for an account of the Greek style of the New Testament.

[3] Sacred Literature, pp. 98. 109—113.—In pp. 99—108. other examples are given, with suitable philological illustrations.

[4] Ibid. p. 114.

[5] Ibid. pp. 114. 117. 120. Other examples of complex quotations are given in pp. 121—123.

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3. *Quotations mingled with original matter, in which one or more passages derived from the Hebrew Scriptures, are so connected and blended with original writing, that the compound forms one homogeneous whole; the sententious parallelism equally pervaded all the component members, whether original or derived.*

πας γαρ ὃς αν επικαλεσηται το ονομα Κυριου σωθησεται·
πως ουν επικαλεσονται εις ὃν ουκ επιστευσαν;
πως δε πιστευσουσιν ὀυ ουκ ηκουσαν;
πως δε ακουσουσι χωρις κηρυσσοντος;
πως δε κηρυξουσιν εαν μη αποσταλωσι;
ὡς γεγραπται·
ὡς ὡραιοι οἱ ποδες των ευαγγελιζομενων ειρηνην,
των ευαγγελιζομενων τα αγαθα.

For whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord, shall be saved:
But how shall they call on him, in whom they have not believed?
And how shall they believe in him, of whom they have not heard?
And how shall they hear without a preacher?
And how shall they preach, if they be not sent?
As it is written;
How beautiful the feet of those who bring good tidings of peace!
Who bring good tidings, of good things!
Rom. x. 13—18.

The first line of this passage is literally taken from the Septuagint version of Joel ii. 32., the next quotation is original, and affords an exact, though somewhat peculiar specimen of parallelism, its composition nearly resembling that of the logical *sorites*, in which the predicate of each preceding line becomes the subject of the line next in order. Similar instances of this logical construction occur in the prophetic writings, and abound in the epistles of St. Paul.[1] The last couplet is from Isa. lii. 7., the Septuagint rendering of which is both confused and inaccurate. St. Paul, however, has quoted so much as it answered his purpose to quote, but has carefully maintained the parallelism uninjured.

λιθον ὃν απεδοκιμασαν οἱ οικοδομουντες
ουτος εγενηθε εις κεφαλην γωνιας·
παρα Κυριου εγενετο αυτη,
και εστι θαυμαστη εν οφθαλμοις ἡμων·
διο τουτο λεγω ὑμιν·
ὀτι αφεθησεται αφ' ὑμων ἡ βασιλεια του Θεου,
και δοθησεται εθνει ποιουντι τους καρπους αυτης·
και ὁ πεσων επι τον λιθον τουτον, συνθλασθησεται,
εφ ὃν δ' αν πεσῃ, λικμησει αυτον.

The stone which the builders rejected;
The same has become the head of the corner;
From the Lord hath this proceeded;
And it is marvellous in our eyes;
Wherefore I say unto you:
That from you shall be taken away the kingdom of God;
And it shall be given to a nation producing the fruits thereof:
And he who falleth upon this stone, shall be sorely bruised.
But upon whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.
Matt. xxi. 42—44.

The first four lines are literally taken from the Septuagint version of Psal. cxviii. 22, 23. The last four are original; and Bp. Jebb asks, with great reason, whether the parallelism is not more striking in the latter portion than in the former.[2]

IV. The preceding examples will sufficiently exemplify the *manner* in which the inspired writers of the New Testament were accustomed to cite, abridge, amplify, and combine passages from the poetical parts of the Old Testament; and also to annex to, or intermingle with, their citations, parallelisms by no means less perfect, of their own original composition. These examples further corroborate the argument from analogy for the existence of the grand characteristic of Hebrew poesy,—the sententious parallelism,—in the New Testament. We shall, therefore, now proceed to give a few examples of the *original parallelisms*, which pervade that portion of the Holy Scriptures. They are divided by Bishop Jebb into, 1. Parallel Couplets;—2. Parallel Triplets;—3. Quatrains, of which the lines are either directly, alternately, or inversely parallel: 4, 5. Stanzas of five and six lines;—6. Stanzas of more than six parallel lines.

1. Of PARALLEL COUPLETS the two following examples will give the reader an adequate idea:

τῳ αιτουντι σε, διδου·
και τον θελοντα απο σου δανεισασθαι, μη αποστραφῃς.

To him that asketh thee, give;
And him that would borrow from thee, turn not away.
Matt. v. 42.

μεγαλυνει ἡ ψυχη μου τον Κυριον·
Και ηγαλλιασε το πνευμα μου επι τῳ Θεῳ τῳ σωτηρι μου.

My soul doth magnify the Lord;
And my spirit hath exulted in God my Saviour.
Luke i. 46, 47.[3]

"The second line of the latter couplet, it is well observed, clearly rises above the first in all its terms; μεγαλυνω is simply to *magnify*, to praise; αγαλλιαω denotes *exultation* or *ecstasy*; ψυχη is the *animal soul*; πνευμα the *immortal spirit*; τον Κυριον is the simplest and most general expression of the Godhead, the *Lord* of all men; τῳ Θεῳ τῳ σωτηρι μου is a considerable amplification in terms, and personally appropriative in meaning, *the God who is* MY Saviour."[4]

2. PARALLEL TRIPLETS consist of three connected and correspondent lines, which are constructively parallel with each other, and form within themselves a distinct sentence or significant part of a sentence.

αἱ αλωπεκες φωλεους εχουσι·
και τα πετεινα του ουρανου κατασκηνωσεις·
ὁ δε υἱος του ανθρωπου ουκ εχει που την κεφαλην κλινῃ

The foxes have dens;
And the birds of the air have nests;
But the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.
Matt. viii 20

ὁ πιστευων εις τον Υἱον, εχει ζωην αιωνιον·
ὁ δε απειθων τῳ υἱῳ, ουκ οψεται ζωην.
αλλ' ἡ οργη του Θεου μενει επ' αυτον.

He who believeth in the Son, hath life eternal;
But he who disobeyeth the Son, shall not see life;
But the wrath of God abideth on him.
John iii. 36.

In this passage, Bishop Jebb justly remarks, the translators of our authorized version "have not preserved the variation of the terms, ὁ πιστευων, ὁ απειθων: rendering the former, 'he that believeth;' the latter, 'he that believeth not.' The variation, however, is most significant; and should on no account be overlooked: as Dr. Doddridge well observes, 'the latter phrase explains the former; and shows, that the *faith* to which the promise of eternal life is annexed, is an effectual *principle* of sincere and unreserved *obedience*.' The descending series is magnificently awful; he who, with his heart *believeth in the Son*, is *already* in possession of eternal life: he, whatever may be his outward profession, whatever his theoretic or historical belief, who *obeyeth not the Son*, not only does not possess *eternal* life, he does not possess any thing worthy to be called *life* at all; nor, so persisting, ever can *possess*, for he shall not even *see* it: but this is not the whole, for, as eternal life is the *present possession* of the faithful, so the wrath of God is the *present* and *permanent* lot of the disobedient. It *abideth on him*."[5]

3. In QUATRAINS, two parallel couplets are so connected as to form one continued and distinct sentence; the pairs of lines being either directly, alternately, or inversely parallel:

εαν τας εντολας μου τηρησητε,
μενειτε εν τῃ αγαπῃ μου·
καθως εγω τας εντολας του πατρος μου τετηρηκα,
και μενω αυτου εν τῃ αγαπῃ.

If ye keep my commandments,
Ye shall abide in my love;
Even as I have kept my Father's commandments,
And abide in his love.
John xv. 10

τις γαρ οιδεν ανθρωπων, τα του ανθρωπου,
ει μη το πνευμα του ανθρωπου το εν αυτῳ;
ὀυτω και τα του Θεου ουδεις οιδεν,
ει μη το πνευμα του Θεου.

For who, of men, knoweth the depth of any man,
Save only the spirit of that man which is in him?
Even so, the depths of God, knoweth no person;
Save only the Spirit of God.[6]
1 Cor. ii. 11.

In this last cited passage, our authorized version reads *the things of a man; the things of the Spirit of God;* an awkward mode of supplying the ellipsis, which ought to be filled up from the τα βαθη of the preceding verse. This ellipsis is supplied by Bishop Jebb from Dr. Macknight.

4. FIVE-LINED STANZAS admit of considerable varieties of structure, which it would exceed the limits of this work to specify. One or two instances must suffice to exemplify them.

ουχι δωδεκα εισιν ὡραι της ἡμερας;
εαν τις περιπατῃ εν τῃ ἡμερᾳ, ου προσκοπτει·
ὀτι το φως του κοσμου τουτου βλεπει.
εαν δε τις περιπατῃ εν τῃ νυκτι, προσκοπτει
ὀτι το φως ουκ εστιν εν αυτῳ.

Are there not twelve hours in the day?
If a man walk in the day, he stumbleth not;
Because he seeth the light of this world:
But if a man walk in the night he stumbleth;
Because the light is not in him.
John xi. 9, 10.

In this instance, the odd line or member (which commences the stanza) lays down a truth which is illustrated in the remaining four lines. A similar disposition is observable in the *first* of the two following stanzas, in which the odd line lays down the proposition to be illustrated, viz. *By their fruits ye shall thoroughly know them.* In the *second* stanza, on the contrary, the odd lines make a full close, reasserting with authority the same proposition, as undeniably established by the intermediate quatrains —*By their fruits*, THEREFORE, *ye shall thoroughly know them.*

απο των καρπων αυτων επιγνωσεσθε αυτους·
μητι συλλεγουσιν απο ακανθων σταφυλην;
η απο τριβολων συκα;
ὀυτω παν δενδρον αγαθον καρπους καλους ποιει·
το δε σαπρον δενδρον καρπους πονηρους ποιει·
ου δυναται δενδρον αγαθον καρπους πονηρους ποιειν·

[1] Sacred Literature, p. 124. In p. 125. and also in his nineteenth section (pp. 368—390.), Bp. Jebb has given several of the instances above referred to.
[2] Ibid. p. 127. In pp. 128—142. Bp. Jebb has given additional examples of his class of mingled quotations; one of which (Acts iv. 24—30.) is particularly worthy of the reader's attention, on account of the very striking evidence which it affords (on the principles of sententious parallelism) of the supreme Deity of Jesus Christ.
[3] Ibid. p. 143. In pp. 144—148. are given numerous other instances of parallel couplets.
[4] Sacred Literature, p. 310.
[5] Ibid. pp. 149, 150. In pp. 151—167. are given numerous other examples, in which are interspersed some admirable quotations from the writings of the fathers.
[6] Ibid. p. 169. See also pp. 170—192. for further examples of the quatrain

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οὐδὲ δενδρον σαπρον καρπους καλους ποιειν.
παν δενδρον μη ποιουν καρπον καλον,
εκκοπτεται, και εις πυρ βαλλεται·
αρα γε απο των καρπων αυτων επιγνωσεσθε αυτους.

By their fruits ye shall thoroughly know them:
Do men gather from thorns the grape?
Or from thistles the fig?
Thus, every sound tree beareth good fruit;
But every corrupt tree beareth evil fruit.
A sound tree cannot bear evil fruit;
Nor a corrupt tree bear good fruit.
Every tree not bearing good fruit
Is hewn down, and cast into the fire:
By their fruits, therefore, ye shall thoroughly know them.[1]
Matt. vii. 16—20.

5. The SIX-LINED STANZAS likewise admit of a great variety of structure. Sometimes they consist of a quatrain, with a distich annexed: sometimes of two parallel couplets, with a third pair of parallel lines so distributed, that one occupies the centre, and the other the close; and occasionally of three couplets alternately parallel; the first, third, and fifth lines corresponding with one another; and, in like manner, the second, fourth, and sixth. Of these six-lined stanzas, Bishop Jebb has adduced numerous examples. We subjoin two.

οψιας γενομενης, λεγετε, Ευδια,
πυρραζει γαρ ὁ ουρανος·
και πρωι, Σημερον χειμων,
πυρραζει γαρ συγκαλυπτων ὁ ουρανος·
υποκριται· το μεν προσωπον του ουρανου γινωσκετε διακρινειν·
τα δε σημεια των καιρων ου δυνασθε.

When it is evening, ye say, "A calm!
For the sky is red:"
And in the morning, "To-day a tempest:
For the sky is red and lowering;"
Hypocrites! the face of the sky ye know how to discern!
But ye cannot [discern] the signs of the times!
Matt. xvi. 2, 3.

This stanza consists of a quatrain with a distich annexed. In the following passage, the stanza begins and ends with parallel lines, a parallel triplet intervening.

εκεινος δε ὁ δουλος ὁ γνους το θελημα του κυριου εαυτου,
και μη ετοιμασας, μηδε ποιησας προς το θελημα αυτου,
δαρησεται πολλας·
ὁ δε μη γνους,
ποιησας δε αξια πληγων,
δαρησεται ολιγας.

And that servant who knew the will of his lord,
And who prepared not, neither did according to his will,
Shall be beaten with many stripes:
And he who did not know,
And did things worthy of stripes,
Shall be beaten with few stripes.[2]
Luke xii. 47, 48.

6. STANZAS OF MORE THAN SIX PARALLEL LINES.—It frequently happens that more than six parallel lines are so connected by unity of subject or by mutual relationship, as to form a distinct stanza. Of the numerous examples of this kind of distribution, given by Bishop Jebb, one specimen must suffice.

πας ουν ὁστις ακουει μου τους λογους τουτους, και ποιει αυτους,
ὁμοιωσω αυτον ανδρι φρονιμῳ,
ὁστις ωκοδομησε την οικιαν αυτου επι την πετραν·
και κατεβη ἡ βροχη,
και ηλθον οἱ ποταμοι,
και επνευσαν οἱ ανεμοι,
και προσεπεσον τῃ οικιᾳ εκεινῃ,
και ουκ επεσε· τεθεμελιωτο γαρ επι την πετραν·

και πας ὁ ακουων μου τους λογους τουτους, και μη ποιων αυτους,
ὁμοιωθησεται ανδρι μωρῳ,
ὁστις ωκοδομησε την οικιαν αυτου επι την αμμον·
και κατεβη ἡ βροχη,
και ηλθον οἱ ποταμοι,
και επνευσαν οἱ ανεμοι,
και προσεκοψαν τῃ οικιᾳ εκεινῃ,
και επεσε· και ην ἡ πτωσις αυτης μεγαλη.

Whoever, therefore, heareth these my words, and doeth them,
I will liken him to a prudent man,
Who built his house upon the rock:
And the rain descended,
And the floods came,
And the winds blew,
And fell upon that house:
And it fell not; for it was founded upon the rock.
And every one hearing these my words, and doing them not
Shall be likened to a foolish man,
Who built his house upon the sand:
And the rain descended,
And the floods came,
And the winds blew,
And struck upon that house;
And it fell; and the fall thereof was great.[3]
Matt. vii. 24—27.

V. Further, several stanzas are often so connected with each other as to form a paragraph or section. Luke xvi. 9—13. James iii. 1—12. iv. 6—10. and v. 1—6. and 1 John iv. 15—17. afford striking examples of this sort of distribution; for the detail and illustration of which we must refer our readers to Bishop Jebb's elegant and instructive volume, which has been so often cited. It only remains that we notice briefly the *gradational parallelism*, and the *epanodos*, in the New Testament, which he has discovered and elucidated.

1. PARALLEL LINES GRADATIONAL (or as Bishop Jebb terms them COGNATE PARALLELISMS), we have already remarked, are of most frequent occurrence in the poetical books of the Old Testament. The poetical parallelisms exhibited in the preceding pages, while they fully prove his position, that the poetical dialect pervades the New Testament, will prepare the reader to expect to find there similar instances of parallel lines gradational. The second example of parallel couplets, given in page 378. *supra*, affords a concise but beautiful specimen of the ascent or climax in the terms, clauses, or lines which constitute the parallelism. One or two additional instances, therefore, will suffice, to show the existence of the gradational parallelism in the New Testament.

ον ὁ Κυριος Ιησους αναλωσει, τῳ πνευματι του στοματος αυτου·
και καταργησει τῃ επιφανειᾳ της παρουσιας αυτου.

Whom the Lord Jesus will waste away, with the breath of his mouth,
And will utterly destroy, with the bright appearance of his coming.
2 Thess. ii. 8.

"The first words, ον ὁ Κυριος Ιησους are common to both lines; αναλωσει implies no more, in this place, than *gradual decay*; καταργησει denotes *total extermination*; while, in terror and magnificence, no less than in the effects assigned, *the breath of his mouth* must yield to *the bright appearance of his coming*. The first line seems to announce the ordinary diffusion, gradually to be effected, of Christian truth: the second, to foretell the extraordinary manifestation of the victorious Messiah, suddenly, and overwhelmingly, to take place in the last days."[4]

εις ὁδον εθνων μη απελθητε·
και εις πολιν Σαμαριτων μη εισελθητε·
πορευεσθε δε μαλλον προς τα προβατα τα απολωλοτα οικου Ισραηλ.

To the way of the Gentiles go not off;
And to a city of the Samaritans go not in;
But proceed rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.
Matt. x. 5, 6.

"This is a gradation in the scale of national and religious proximity; the *Gentiles*, the *Samaritans*, *Israel*. In the remaining terms, there is a correspondent progress: the *way*, or *road*, to foreign countries, a *city* of the Samaritans; the '*house* of Israel, a phrase conveying the notion of HOME: *go not off*,—go not from Palestine, towards other nations; *go not in* to a city of the Samaritans; though, in your progresses between Judæa and Galilee, you must pass by the walls of many Samaritan cities; but, however great your fatigue, and want of refreshment, *proceed rather* not merely to the house of Israel, but to *the lost sheep* of that house. Thus, by a beautiful gradation, the apostles are brought from the indefiniteness of a road leading to countries remote from their own, and people differing from themselves in habits, in language, and in faith, to the homefelt, individual, and endearing relationship of their own countrymen; children of the same covenant of promise, and additionally recommended to their tender compassion, as *morally lost*."

Bishop Jebb has given additional examples of the gradational parallelism from Matt. v. 45. vii. 1, 2. xx. 26, 27. xxiv. 17, 18. Mark iv. 24. Luke vi. 38. Rom. v. 7. James i. 17. iv. 8. and v. 5. Rev. ix. 6. and xxii. 14.

2. The nature of the INVERTED PARALLELISM, or *Parallel Lines Inverted*, has been stated in page 376., and confirmed by suitable examples. Closely allied to this is a peculiarity or artifice of construction, which Bishop Jebb terms an *Epanodos*, and which he defines to be literally "*a going back*, speaking first to the second of two subjects proposed: or if the subjects be more than two, resuming them precisely in the inverted order, speaking first to the last, and last to the first." The *rationale* of this artifice of composition he explains more particularly in the following words:—"Two pair of terms or propositions, containing two important, but not equally important notions, are to be so distributed, as to bring out the sense in the strongest and most impressive manner: now, this result will be best attained, by

[1] Sacred Literature, p. 195.

[2] Ibid. pp. 201. 204. We cannot withhold from our readers Bishop Jebb's beautiful remarks on the last cited passage. "The antithesis in this passage has prodigious moral depth: he who sins *against* knowledge, though his sins were only sins of *omission*, shall be beaten with *many stripes*; but he who sins *without* knowledge, though his sins were sins of *commission*, shall be beaten only with *few* stripes. Mere negligence against the light of conscience shall be severely punished: while an offence, in itself comparatively heinous, if committed ignorantly, and without light, shall be mildly dealt with. This merciful discrimination, however, is full of terror: for, whatever may be the case, respecting past, forsaken, and repented sins of ignorance, no man is entitled to take comfort to himself from this passage, respecting his present, or future course of life: the very thought of doing so, proves that the person entertaining that thought has sufficient knowledge to place him beyond its favourable operation." Ibid. p. 205. Other examples of the six-lined stanza are given in pp. 204—211.

[3] Sacred Literature, p. 211. In these two connected stanzas, the language may be justly termed *picturesque*. The marked transition in each of them from a long and measured movement, to short rapid lines, and the resumption, at the close of a lengthened cadence, are peculiarly expressive. The continual return, too, in the shorter lines, of the copulative particle (a return purely Hebraic, and foreign from classical usage), has a fine effect: it gives an idea of danger, sudden, accumulated, and overwhelming. These are beauties which can be only retained in a literal translation; and which a literal translation may exhibit very competently. Ibid. p. 214. In pp. 215—248. the reader will find many other examples, intermingled with much just criticism and some fine quotations from the fathers.

[4] Ibid. p. 312.

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commencing, and concluding, with the notion to which prominence is to be given; and by placing in the centre the less important notion, or that which, from the scope of the argument, is to be kept subordinate."[1] Having established the justice of this explanation by examples of epanodos, derived from the Scriptures, as well as from the best classic authors, Bishop Jebb has accumulated many examples proving its existence in the New Testament, the doctrines and precepts of which derive new force and beauty from the application of this figure. The length to which this chapter has unavoidably extended, forbids the introduction of more than one or two instances of the epanodos.

> μη δοτε το αγιον τοις κυσι·
> μηδε βαλητε τους μαργαριτας ὑμων εμπροσθεν των χοιρων·
> μητοτε καταπατησωσιν αυτους εν τοις ποσιν αυτων,
> και ῥηξαντες ῥηξωσιν ὑμας.
>
> Give not that which is holy to the dogs;
> Neither cast your pearls before the swine;
> Lest they trample them under their feet;
> And turn about and rend you.
>
> Matt. vii. 6.

"The relation of the first line to the fourth, and that of the second to the third, have been noticed by almost all the commentators. A minor circumstance is not altogether undeserving of attention: the equal lengths, in the original, of each related pair of lines; the first and fourth lines being short, the second and third lines long. The sense of the passage becomes perfectly clear, on thus adjusting the parallelism:

> Give not that which is holy to the dogs
> Lest they turn about and rend you:
> Neither cast your pearls before the swine,
> Lest they trample them under their feet.

"The more dangerous act of imprudence, with its fatal result, is placed first and last, so as to make, and to leave, the deepest practical impression."[2]

> Χριστου ευωδια εσμεν τω Θεω·
> εν τοις σωζομενοις,
> και εν τοις απολλυμενοις·
> οἷς μεν οσμη θανατου, εις θανατον·
> οἷς δε οσμη ζωης, εις ζωην.
>
> We are a sweet odour of Christ;
> To those who are saved;
> And to those who perish;
> To the one, indeed, an odour of death, unto death;
> But to the other, an odour of life, unto life.[3]
>
> 2 Cor. ii. 15, 16.

In this specimen of the epanodos, the painful part of the subject is kept subordinate; the agreeable is placed first and last.

The preceding examples are sufficient to show the existence of the grand characteristic of Hebrew poesy,—the sententious parallelism, with all its varieties, in the New Testament. The reader, who is desirous of further investigating this interesting topic (and what student who has accompanied the author of the present work thus far, will not eagerly prosecute it?) is necessarily referred to Bishop Jebb's "Sacred Literature," to which this chapter stands so deeply indebted;—a volume, of which it is but an act of bare justice in the writer of these pages to say, that, independently of the spirit of enlightened piety which pervades every part, it has the highest claims to the attention of EVERY biblical student for its numerous beautiful and philological criticisms and elucidations of the New Testament; for the interpretation of which this learned prelate has opened and developed a new and most important source, of which future commentators will, doubtless, gladly avail themselves.

VI. The sacred writers have left us DIFFERENT KINDS of poetical composition: they do not, however, appear to have cultivated either the *epic* or the *dramatic* species, unless we take these terms in a very wide sense, and refer to these classes, those poems in which several interlocutors are introduced. Thus, M. Hgen[4] and (after him) Dr. Good[5] conceive the book of Job to be a regular epic poem: while Messieurs Velthusen and Ammon think that the Song of Songs exhibits traces of a dramatic or melo-dramatic structure. Bishop Lowth, however, reduces the various productions of the Hebrew poets to the following classes; viz.

1. PROPHETIC POETRY.—Although some parts of the writings of the prophets are clearly in prose, of which instances occur in the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Jonah, and Daniel, yet the other books, constituting by far the larger portion of the prophetic writings, are classed by Bishop Lowth among the poetical productions of the Jews; and (with the exception of certain passages in Isaiah, Habakkuk, and Ezekiel, which appear to constitute complete poems of different kinds, odes as well as elegies) form a particular species of poesy, which he distinguishes by the appellation of *Prophetic*.

The predictions of the Hebrew Prophets are pre-eminently characterized by the sententious parallelism, which has been discussed and exemplified in the preceding pages. The prophetic poesy, however, is more ornamented, more splendid, and more florid than any other. It abounds more in imagery, at least that species of imagery, which, in the parabolic style, is of common and established acceptation, and which, by means of a settled analogy always preserved, is transferred from certain and definite objects to express indefinite and general ideas. Of all the images peculiar to the parabolic style, it most frequently introduces those which are taken from natural objects and sacred history: it abounds most in metaphors, allegories, comparisons, and even in copious and diffuse descriptions. It possesses all that genuine enthusiasm which is the natural attendant on inspiration; it excels in the brightness of imagination, and in clearness and energy of diction, and, consequently, rises to an uncommon pitch of sublimity; hence, also, it is often very happy in the expression and delineation of the passions, though more commonly employed in exciting them.[6]

The following passage from one of Balaam's prophecies (which Bishop Lowth ranks among the most exquisite specimens of Hebrew poetry) exhibits a prophetic poem complete in all its parts. It abounds in gay and splendid imagery, copied immediately from the tablet of nature; and is chiefly conspicuous for the glowing elegance of the style, and the form and diversity of the figures. The translation is that of the Rev. Dr. Hales.[7]

> How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob,
> And thy tabernacles, O Israel!
> As streams do they spread forth,
> As gardens by the river side;
> As sandal-trees which THE LORD hath planted,
> As cedar-trees beside the waters.
>
> There shall come forth a man of his seed,
> And shall rule over many nations:
> And his king shall be higher than Gog,
> And his kingdom shall be exalted.[8]
>
> (God brought him forth out of Egypt,
> He is to him as the strength of a unicorn.)
> He shall devour the nations, his enemies,
> And shall break their bones,
> And pierce them through with arrows
>
> He lieth down as a lion,
> He coucheth as a lioness,
> Who shall rouse him?
> Blessed is he that blesseth thee,
> And cursed is he that curseth thee.
>
> Num. xxiv. 5—9.

The eighteenth chapter and the first three verses of the nineteenth chapter of the Apocalypse present a noble instance of prophetic poesy, in no respect inferior to the finest productions of any of the Hebrew bards.[9]

2. ELEGIAC POETRY.—Of this description are several passages in the prophetical books,[10] as well as in the book of Job,[11] and many of David's psalms that were composed on occasions of distress and mourning: the forty-second psalm in particular is in the highest degree tender and plaintive, and is one of the most beautiful specimens of the Hebrew elegy. The lamentation of David over his friend Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 17—27.) is another most beautiful elegy: but the most regular and perfect elegiac composition in the Scriptures, perhaps in the whole world, is the book entitled The Lamentations of Jeremiah, of which we have given a particular analysis, *infra*, Vol. II. p. 276.

[1] Sacred Literature, pp. 60. 335. [2] Ibid. p. 339. [3] Ibid. p. 344.
[4] Jobi, antiquissimi carminis Hebraici, Natura atque Virtutes, cap. iii. pp. 40—89.
[5] Introductory Dissertation to his version of the book of Job, p. xx.

[6] Bp. Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, Lect. xviii. xix. and xx.
[7] Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. pp. 224—226.
[8] In the rendering of this quatrain, Dr. Hales has followed the Septuagint version, which he vindicates in a long note. In our authorized translation, made from the Masoretic text, the seventh verse of Num. xxiv stands thus:—

> He shall pour the water out of his buckets,
> And his seed *shall be* in many waters;
> And his king shall be higher than Agag,
> And his kingdom shall be exalted.

This is confessedly obscure.—Dr. Boothroyd, in his New Version of the Old Testament, with a slight departure from the common rendering, translates the verse in the following manner:—

> Water shall flow from the urn of Jacob,
> And his seed shall become as many waters;
> Their king shall be higher than Agag,
> And his kingdom more highly exalted.

[9] The passages above noticed are printed in Greek and English, divided so as to exhibit their poetical structure to the greatest advantage, in Dr Jebb's Sacred Literature, pp. 452—459.
[10] See Amos v. 1, 2. 16. Jer. ix. 17—22. Ezek. xxii. and xxxii.
[11] See Job iii. vi. vii. x. xiv. xvii xix. xxix. xxx

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3. DIDACTIC POETRY is defined by Bishop Lowth to be that which delivers moral precepts in elegant and pointed verses, often illustrated by a comparison expressed or implied, similar to the Γνωμαι, or moral sentences, and adages, of the ancient sages. Of this species of poetry the book of Proverbs is the principal instance. To this class may be referred the book of Ecclesiastes.

4. OF LYRIC POETRY, or that which is intended to be accompanied with music, the Old Testament abounds with numerous examples. Besides a great number of hymns and songs which are dispersed through the historical and prophetical books, such as the ode of Moses at the Red Sea (Exod. xv.), his prophetic ode (Deut. xxxii.), the triumphal ode of Deborah (Judg. v.), the prayer of Habakkuk (iii.), and many similar pieces, the entire book of Psalms is to be considered as a collection of sacred odes, possessing every variety of form, and supported with the highest spirit of lyric poetry;—sometimes sprightly, cheerful, and triumphant; sometimes solemn and magnificent; and sometimes tender, soft, and pathetic.

5. Of the IDYL, or short pastoral poem,[1] the historical psalms afford abundant instances. The seventy-eighth, hundred and fifth, hundred and sixth, hundred and thirty-sixth, and the hundred and thirty-ninth psalms, may be adduced as singularly beautiful specimens of the sacred idyl: to which may be added Isa. ix. 8.—x. 4.

6. Of DRAMATIC POETRY, Bishop Lowth[2] adduces examples in the book of Job and the Song of Solomon, understanding the term in a more extended sense than that in which it is usually received. Some critics, however, are of opinion, that the Song of Solomon is a collection of sacred idyls: and M. Bauer is disposed to consider the former book as approximating nearest to the *Mekàma*, that is, "the assemblies," moral discourses, or conversations of the celebrated Arabian poet Hariri.[3]

In another part of this work some reasons are offered in confirmation of this conjecture.

Many of the psalms (and, according to Bishop Horsley,[4] by far the greater part) are a kind of dramatic ode, consisting of dialogues between persons sustaining certain characters.[5] This dramatic or dialogue form admits of considerable variety. Its leading characteristic, however, is an alternate succession of parts, adapted to the purpose of alternate recitation by two semi-choruses in the Jewish worship. Bishop Jebb considers the sublime hymn of Zacharias (Luke i. 67—79.) as a dramatic ode of this description; and, in confirmation of his opinion, he remarks that Zacharias must have been familiar with this character of composition, both as a pious and literate Jew, much conversant with the devotional and lyric poetry of his country, and also as an officiating priest, accustomed to bear his part in the choral service of the temple. Dr. J. has accordingly printed that hymn in Greek and English, in the form of a dramatic ode: and by this mode of distribution has satisfactorily elucidated its true meaning and grammatical construction in many passages, which have hitherto in vain exercised the acumen of critics.[6]

To the preceding species of Hebrew poetry, we may add,

7. The ACROSTIC or ALPHABETICAL POEMS. Bishop Lowth considered this form of poetry as one of the leading characteristics of the productions of the Hebrew muse: but this, we have seen,[7] is not the fact. It may rather be viewed as a subordinate species, the form of which the bishop thus defines:—The acrostic or alphabetical poem consists of twenty-two lines, or of twenty-two systems of lines, or periods, or stanzas, according to the number of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet; and every line, or every stanza, begins with each letter in its order, as it stands in the alphabet; that is, the first line, or first stanza, begins with א (*aleph*), the second ב (*beth*), and so on. This was certainly intended for the assistance of the memory, and was chiefly employed in subjects of common use, as maxims of morality, and forms of devotion; which, being expressed in detached sentences, or aphorisms (the form in which the sages of the most ancient times delivered their instructions), the inconvenience arising from the subject, the want of connection in the parts, and of a regular train of thought carried through the whole, was remedied by this artificial contrivance in the form. There are still extant in the books of the Old Testament twelve[8] of these poems: three of them perfectly alphabetical,[9] in which every line is marked by its initial letter; the other nine less perfectly alphabetical, in which every stanza only is so distinguished. Of the three former it is to be remarked, that not only every single line is distinguished by its initial letter, but that the whole poem is laid out into stanzas; two[10] of these poems each into ten stanzas, all of two lines except the two last stanzas in each, which are of three lines; in these the sense and the construction manifestly point out the division into stanzas, and mark the limit of every stanza. The third[11] of these perfectly alphabetical poems consists of twenty-two stanzas of three lines: but in this the initial letter of every stanza is also the initial letter of every line of that stanza: so that both the lines and the stanzas are infallibly limited. And in all the three poems the pauses of the sentences coincide with the pauses of the lines and stanzas. It is also further to be observed of these three poems, that the lines, so determined by the initial letters in the same poem, are remarkably equal to one another in length, in the number of words nearly, and, probably, in the number of syllables; and that the lines of the same stanza have a remarkable congruity one with another, in the matter and the form, in the sense and the construction.

Of the other nine poems less perfectly alphabetical, in which the stanzas only are marked with initial letters, six[12] consist of stanzas of two lines, two[13] of stanzas of three lines, and one[14] of stanzas of four lines: not taking into the account at present some irregularities, which in all probability are to be imputed to the mistakes of transcribers. And these stanzas likewise naturally divide themselves into their distinct lines, the sense and the construction plainly pointing out their limits: and the lines have the same congruity one with another in matter and form, as was above observed, in regard to the poems more perfectly alphabetical.

Another thing to be observed of the three poems perfectly alphabetical is, that in two[15] of them the lines are shorter than those of the third[16] by about one third part, or almost half; and of the other nine poems the stanzas only of which are alphabetical, that three[17] consist of the longer lines, and the six others of the shorter.

VII. We have already had occasion to remark, that the poetry of the Hebrews derives its chief excellence from its being dedicated to religion. Nothing can be conceived more elevated, more beautiful, or more elegant, than the compositions of the Hebrew bards; in which the sublimity of the subject is fully equalled by the energy of the language and the dignity of the style. Compared with them, the most brilliant productions of the Greek and Roman muses, who often employed themselves on frivolous or very trifling themes, are infinitely inferior in the scale of excellence. The Hebrew poet, who worshipped Jehovah as the sovereign of his people—who believed all the laws, whether sacred or civil, which he was bound to obey, to be of divine enactment—and who was taught that man was dependent upon God for every thing—meditated upon nothing but Jehovah; to Him he devoutly referred all things, and placed his supreme delight in celebrating the divine attributes and perfections. If, however, we would enter fully into the beauties of the sacred poets, there are two GENERAL OBSERVATIONS, which it will be necessary to keep in mind whenever we analyze or examine the Songs of Sion.

1. The first is, that *we carefully investigate their nature and genius.*

For, as the Hebrew poems, though, various in their kinds, are each marked by a character peculiar to itself, and by which they are distinguished from each other, we shall be enabled to enter more fully into their elegance and beauty, if we have a correct view of their form and arrangement. For instance, if we wish critically to expound the Psalms, we ought to investigate the nature and properties of the Hebrew ode, as well as the form and structure of the Hebrew elegies, &c., and ascertain in what respects they differ from the odes, elegies, &c. of the Greek poets. In like manner, when studying the Proverbs of Solomon, we should recollect that the most ancient kind of instruction was by means of moral sentences, in which the first principles of ancient philosophy were contained; and, from a comparison of the Hebrew, Greek, and other gnomic sentences, we should investigate the principal characters of a proverb. In the book of Job are to be observed the unity of action, delineation of manners, the external form and construction of the poem, &c.

[1] Bishop Lowth defines an idyl to be a poem of moderate length, of a uniform middle style, chiefly distinguished for elegance and sweetness; regular and clear as to the plot, conduct, and arrangement.

[2] Lowth, Prælect. xviii.—xxxiv.

[3] Bauer, Hermeneut. Sacr. p. 386.

[4] Bishop Horsley's Book of Psalms translated from the Hebrew, vol. i. pref. p. xv.

[5] See Vol. II. p. 228.

[6] Sacred Literature, pp. 404—417.

[7] See p. 374. *supra.*

[8] Psal. xxv. xxxiv. xxxvii. cxi. cxii. cxix. cxlv. Prov. xxxi. 10—31. Lam. i. ii. iii. iv.

[9] Psal. cxi. cxii. Lament. iii.

[10] Psal. cxi. cxii.

[11] Lament. iii.

[12] Psal. xxv. xxxiv. cxix. cxlv. Prov. xxxi. Lam. iv.

[13] Lam. i. ii.

[14] Psal. xxxvii.

[15] Psal. cxi. cxii.

[16] Lament. iii.

[17] Lament. i. ii. iv.

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2. Further, in interpreting the compositions of the Hebrew bards, it ought not to be forgotten, that *the objects of our attention are the productions of poets, and of oriental poets in particular.*

It is therefore necessary that we should be acquainted with the country in which the poet lived, its situation and peculiarities, and also with the manners of the inhabitants, and the idiom of the language. Oriental poetry abounds with strong expressions, bold metaphors, glowing sentiments, and animated descriptions, portrayed in the most lively colours. Hence the words of the Hebrew poets are neither to be understood in too lax a sense, nor to be interpreted too literally. In the comparisons introduced by them, the point of resemblance between the object of comparison, and the thing with which it is compared, should be examined, but not strained too far and the force of the personifications, allegories, or other figures that may be introduced, should be fully considered. Above all, it should be recollected, that as the sacred poets lived in the East, their ideas and manners were totally different from ours, and, consequently, are not to be considered according to *our* modes of thinking. From inattention to this circumstance, the productions of the Hebrew muse have neither been correctly understood, nor their beauties duly felt and appreciated.

The reader will find some hints for the special study of the book of Psalms, in Vol. II. pp. 244, 245., and also a copious analysis of the book of Job, with observations for the better understanding of it, in pp. 235, 236. of the same volume.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE SPIRITUAL INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.[1]

SECTION I.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE SPIRITUAL INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

It has been a favourite notion with some divines, that the mystical or spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures had its first origin in the synagogue, and was thence adopted by our Lord and his apostles, when arguing with the Jews: and that from them it was received by the fathers of the Christian church, from whom it has been transmitted to us. The inference deduced by many of these eminently learned men is, that no such interpretation is admissible: while other commentators and critics have exaggerated and carried it to the extreme. But, if the argument against a thing from the possibility of its being abused be inadmissible in questions of a secular nature, it is equally inadmissible in the exposition of the Sacred Writings. All our ideas are admitted through the medium of the senses, and consequently refer in the first place to external objects: but no sooner are we convinced that we possess an immaterial soul or spirit, than we find occasion for other terms, or, for want of these, another application of the same terms to a different class of objects; and hence arises the necessity of resorting to figurative and spiritual interpretation. Now, the object of revelation being to make known things which "eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man to conceive," it seems hardly possible that the human mind should be capable of apprehending them, but through the medium of figurative language or mystical representations.

"The foundation of religion and virtue being laid in the mind and heart, the secret dispositions and genuine acts of which are invisible, and known only to a man's self; therefore the powers and operations of the mind can only be expressed in figurative terms and external symbols. The motives also and inducements to practice are spiritual, such as affect men in a way of moral influence, and not of natural efficiency; the principal of which are drawn from the consideration of a future state; and, consequently, *these* likewise must be represented by allegories and similitudes, taken from things most known and familiar here. And thus we find in Scripture the state of religion illustrated by all the beautiful images we can conceive; in which natural unity, order, and harmony consist, as regulated by the strictest and most exact rules of discipline, taken from those observed in the best ordered temporal government. In the interpretation of places, in which any of these images are contained, the principal regard is to be had to the *figurative* or *spiritual*, and not to the literal sense of the words. From not attending to which, have arisen absurd doctrines and inferences, which weak men have endeavoured to establish as Scripture truths; whereas, in the other method of explication, the things are plain and easy to every one's capacity, make the deepest and most lasting impressions upon their minds, and have the greatest influence upon their practice. Of this nature are all the rites and ceremonies prescribed to the Jews, with relation to the external form of religious worship; every one of which was intended to show the obligation or recommend the practice of some moral duty, and was esteemed of no further use than as it produced that effect. And the same may be applied to the rewards and punishments peculiar to the Christian dispensation, which regard a future state. The rewards are set forth by those things, in which the generality of men take their greatest delight, and place their highest satisfaction in this life; and the punishments are such as are inflicted by human laws upon the worst of malefactors; but they can neither of them be understood in the *strictly literal* sense, but only by way of analogy, and corresponding in the general nature and intention of the thing, though very different in kind."[2]

But independently of the able argument *à priori*, here cited, in favour of the mediate, mystical, or spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures, unless such interpretation be admitted, we cannot avoid one of two great difficulties: for, either we must assert that the multitude of applications, made by Christ and his apostles, are fanciful and unauthorized, and wholly inadequate to prove the points for which they are quoted; or, on the other hand, we must believe that the obvious and natural sense of such passages was never intended, and that it was a mere illusion. The *Christian* will not assent to the former of these positions; the *philosopher* and the *critic* will not readily assent to the latter.[3] It has been erroneously supposed that this mediate, or mystical interpretation of Scripture is confined to the New Testament exclusively; we have, however, clear evidence of its adoption by some of the sacred writers of the Old Testament, and a few instances will suffice to prove its existence.

1. In Exod. xxviii. 38. Moses says, that the diadem or plate of gold, worn upon certain solemn festivals upon the high priest's forehead, signified that he bore in a vicarious and typical manner the sin of the holy things, and made an atonement for the imperfection of the Hebrew offerings and sacrifices.

2. In Lev. xxvi. 41. and Deut. x. 16. and xxx. 6., he mentions the circumcision of the heart, which was signified by the circumcision of the flesh. (Compare Jer. iv. 4. vi. 10. and ix. 25, 26. with Exod. vi. 12. 30.)

3. Further, the great lawgiver of the Jews explains the historical and typical import of all their great festivals.

Thus, in Exod. xiii. 13. and Num. iii. 12, 13. 44—51. and xviii. 14—16., he shows the twofold meaning of the redemption of their first-born sons, viz. that the first-born of the Hebrews were preserved while Egypt groaned beneath the plague inflicted by divine vengeance, and that the first-born sons were formerly consecrated to the priesthood; which being afterwards transferred to the tribe of Levi, the first-born sons were exchanged for the Levites, and were thenceforth to be redeemed. The whole of the sacrificial law showed that the bloody sacrifices morally signified the punishment of the person for or by whom they were offered; and that the other sacred rites of the Hebrews should have a symbolical or spiritual import will be obvious to every one, who recollects the frequent use of symbols which obtained in Egypt, from which country Moses brought out the Hebrews.

The precepts delivered in the New Testament concerning the sacraments plainly intimate that those very sacred rites were then about to receive their real accomplishment, and their symbolical or spiritual meaning is explained.

[1] The present chapter is abridged from Rambach's Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, pp. 67—82. compared with his "Commentatio Hermeneutica de Sensus Mystici Criteriis ex genuinis principiis deducta, necessitisque cautelis circumscripta." 8vo. Jenæ, 1728.

[2] Dr. John Clarke's Enquiry into the Origin of Evil, in the folio collection of Boyle's Lectures, vol. iii. p. 229.

[3] See Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article, p. 680. first edition.

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1. See, for instance, Rom. vi. 3—11. Col. ii. 12. 1 Cor. vi. 11. xi. 23—27. Eph. v. 26. and Tit. iii. 5. In which last passage baptism (by immersion in water probably) is said to signify not only the moral ablution of sin, but also the death and burial of guilty man, and (by his emersion from the water) his resurrection to a pious and virtuous life; in other words, our death unto sin, and our obligation to walk in newness of life. The spiritual import of the Lord's supper is self-evident.

2. Lastly, since we learn from the New Testament that some histories, which in themselves convey no peculiar meaning, must be interpreted allegorically or mystically (as Gal. iv. 22—24.), and that persons and things are there evidently types and emblems of the Christian dispensation, and its divine founder, as in Matt. xii. 40. John iii. 14, 15. 1 Cor. x. 4. and Heb. vii. 2, 3. it is plain that the mystical sense ought to be followed in the histories and prophecies[1] of the Old Testament, and especially in such passages as are referred to by the inspired writers of the New Testament; who having given us the key by which to unlock the mystical sense of Scripture, we not only may but ought *cautiously* and *diligently* to make use of it.

Where the inspired writers themselves direct us to such an interpretation, when otherwise we might not perceive its necessity, then we have an *absolute authority* for the exposition, which supersedes our own conjectures, and we are not only safe in abiding by that authority, but should be unwarranted in rejecting it.

SECTION II.

CANONS FOR THE SPIRITUAL INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

THE Spiritual Interpretation of the Bible, "like all other good things, is liable to abuse; and that it hath been actually abused, both in ancient and modern days, cannot be denied. He, who shall go about to apply, in this way, any passage, *before* he hath attained its literal meaning, may say in itself what is pious and true, but foreign to the text from which he endeavoureth to deduce it. St. Jerome, it is well known, when grown older and wiser, lamented that, in the fervours of a youthful fancy, he had spiritualized the prophecy of Obadiah, before he understood it. And it must be allowed that a due attention to the occasion and scope of the Psalms would have pared off many unseemly excrescences, which now deform the commentaries of St. Augustine and other fathers upon them. But these and other concessions of the same kind being made, as they are made very freely, men of sense will consider, that a principle is not therefore to be rejected, because it has been abused; *since human errors can never invalidate the truths of God.*"[2]

The literal sense, it has been well observed, is, undoubtedly, first in point of *nature* as well as in order of signification; and consequently, when investigating the meaning of any passage, this must be ascertained before we proceed to search out its mystical import: but the true and genuine mystical or spiritual sense excels the literal *in dignity*, the latter being only the medium of conveying the former, which is more evidently designed by the Holy Spirit. For instance, in Num. xxi. 8, 9. compared with John iii. 14. the brazen serpent is said to have been lifted up, in order to signify the lifting up of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world; and, consequently, that the type might serve to designate the antitype.[3]

Though the true spiritual sense of a text is undoubtedly to be most highly esteemed, it by no means follows that we are to look for it in every passage of Scripture; it is not, however, to be inferred that spiritual interpretations are to be rejected, although they should not be clearly expressed. It may be considered as an axiom in sacred hermeneutics, that the SPIRITUAL MEANING OF A PASSAGE IS *there only* TO BE SOUGHT, WHERE IT IS EVIDENT, FROM *certain* CRITERIA, THAT SUCH MEANING WAS DESIGNED BY THE HOLY SPIRIT.

The criteria, by which to ascertain whether there is a latent spiritual meaning in any passage of Scripture, are two fold: either they are *seated in the text itself*, or they are to be *found in some other passages.*

I. *Where the criteria are seated in the text, vestiges of a spiritual meaning are discernible, when things, which are affirmed concerning the person or thing immediately treated of, are so august and illustrious that they cannot in any way be applied to it, in the fullest sense of the words.*

The word of God is the word of truth: there is nothing superfluous, nothing deficient in it. The writings of the prophets, especially those of Isaiah, abound with instances of this kind. Thus, in the 14th, 40th, 41st, and 49th chapters of that evangelical prophet, the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity is announced in the most lofty and magnificent terms. He describes their way as levelled before them, valleys filled up, mountains reduced to plains, cedars and other shady trees, and fragrant herbs, as springing up to refresh them on their journey, and declares that they shall suffer neither hunger nor thirst during their return. The Jews, thus restored to their native land, he represents as a holy people, chosen by Jehovah, cleansed from all iniquity, and taught by God himself, &c. &c. Now, when we compare this description with the accounts actually given of their return to Palestine, by Ezra and Nehemiah, we do not find any thing corresponding with the events predicted by Isaiah: neither do they represent the manners of the people as reformed, agreeably to the prophet's statement. On the contrary, their profligacy is frequently reproved by Ezra and Nehemiah in the most pointed terms, as well as by the prophet Haggai. In this description, therefore, of their deliverance from captivity, we must look beyond it to that infinitely higher deliverance, which in the fulness of time was accomplished by Jesus Christ: "who by himself once offered, hath thereby made a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and atonement for the sins of the whole world," and thus "hath opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers."

We proceed to show in what cases it will be proper to have recourse to other passages of Scripture.

II. *Where the spiritual meaning of a text is latent, the Holy Spirit (under whose direction the sacred penmen wrote) sometimes clearly and expressly asserts that one thing or person was divinely constituted or appointed to be a figure or symbol of another thing or person: in which case the* INDISPUTABLE TESTIMONY OF ETERNAL TRUTH *removes and cuts off every ground of doubt and uncertainty.*

For instance, if we compare Psalm cx. 4. with Heb. vii. 1. we shall find that *Melchisedec* was a type of Messiah, the great high-priest and king. So *Hagar and Sarah* were types of the Jewish and Christian churches. (Gal. iv. 22—24.) *Jonah* was a type of Christ's resurrection (Matt. xii. 40.): the *manna*, of Christ himself, and of his heavenly doctrine. (John vi. 32.) The rock in the wilderness, whence water issued on being struck by Moses, represented Christ to the Israelites (1 Cor. x. 4.); and the entrance of the high-priest into the holy of holies, on the day of expiation, with the blood of the victim, is expressly stated by Saint Paul to have prefigured the entrance of Jesus Christ into the presence of God, with his own blood. (Heb. ix. 7—20.)

III. *Sometimes, however, the mystical sense is intimated by the Holy Spirit in a more* OBSCURE *manner; and without excluding the practice of sober and pious meditation, we are led by various intimations (which require very diligent observation and study) to the knowledge of the spiritual or mystical meaning. This chiefly occurs in the following cases.*

1. *When the antitype is proposed under figurative names taken from the Old Testament.*

Thus, in 1 Cor. v. 7. Christ is called the Paschal Lamb:—in 1 Cor. xv. 45. he is called the *last* Adam; the first Adam, therefore, was in some respect a type or figure of Christ, who in Ezekiel xxxiv. 23. is further called David. In like manner, the kingdom of Antichrist is mentioned under the appellations of Sodom, Egypt, and Babylon, in Rev. xi. 8. and xvi. 19.

2. *When, by a manifest allusion of words and phrases, the Scripture refers one thing to another; or, when the arguments of the inspired writers either plainly intimate it to have a spiritual meaning, or when such meaning is tacitly implied.*

(1.) Thus, from Isa. ix. 4., which alludes to the victory obtained by Gideon (Judges vii. 22.), we learn that this represents the victory which Christ should obtain by the preaching of the Gospel, as Vitringa has largely shown on this passage.

(2.) So, when St. Paul is arguing against the Jews from the types of Sarah, Hagar, Melchisedec, &c. he supposes that in these memorable Old Testa

[1] On the *Double Sense of Prophecy*, see pp. 390, 391. *infra*.

[2] Bishop Horne's Commentary on the Psalms, vol. i. Preface. (Works, ii. p. x.) "The importance, then, of figurative and mystical interpretation can hardly be called in question. The entire neglect of it must, in many cases, greatly vitiate expositions, however otherwise valuable for their erudition and judgment. In explaining the prophetical writings and the Mosaic ordinances, this defect will be most striking; since, in consequence of it, not only the spirit and force of many passages will almost wholly evaporate, but erroneous conceptions may be formed of their real purport and intention." Bp. Vanmildert's Bampton Lectures, p. 240. Rambach has adduced several instances, which strongly confirm these solid observations, Institut. Herm. Sacr. p. 81.

[3] Rambach, Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, p. 72.

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ment personages there were some things in which Christ and his mystical body the church were delineated, and that these things were admitted by his opponents: otherwise his argument would be inconclusive. Hence it follows, that Isaac, and other persons mentioned in the Old Testament, of whom there is no typical or spiritual signification given in the Scriptures, *in express terms*, were types of Christ in many things that happened to them, or were performed by them. In like manner, St. Paul shows (1 Cor. ix. 9. 10.) that the precept in Deut. xxv. 4. relative to the muzzling of oxen, has a higher spiritual meaning than is suggested by the mere letter of the command.

Such are the most important criteria, by which to ascertain whether a passage may require a spiritual interpretation, or not. But although these rules will afford essential assistance in enabling us to determine this point, it is another and equally important question, in what manner that interpretation is to be regulated.

In the consideration of this topic, it will be sufficient to remark, that the general principles already laid down,[1] with respect to the figurative and allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures, are applicable to the spiritual exposition of the Sacred Writings. It only remains to add, that all mystical or spiritual interpretations must be such as really illustrate, not obscure or perplex the subject. Agreeably to the sound maxim adopted by divines, they must not be made the foundation of articles of faith, but must be offered only to explain or confirm what is elsewhere more clearly revealed;[2] and above all, they must on no account or pretext whatever be sought after in matters of little moment.

In the spiritual interpretation of Scripture, there are two extremes to be avoided, viz. on the one hand, that we do not restrict such interpretation within too narrow limits; and, on the other hand, that we do not seek for mystical meanings in every passage, to the exclusion of its literal and common sense, when that sense is sufficiently clear and intelligible. The latter of these two extremes is that to which men have in every age been most liable. Hence it is that we find instances of it in the more ancient Jewish doctors, especially in Philo, and among many of the fathers, as Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, and others, and particularly in Origen, who appears to have derived his system of allegorizing the Sacred Writings from the school of Plato. Nor are modern expositors altogether free from these extravagancies.[3]

In these strictures, the author trusts he shall not be charged with improperly censuring "that fair and sober accommodation of the historical and parabolical parts to present times and circumstances, or to the elucidation of either the doctrines or precepts of Christianity, which is sanctioned by the word of God;" and which he has attempted to illustrate in the preceding criteria for ascertaining the mystical or spiritual meaning of the Scriptures. Such an accommodation, it is justly remarked, is perfectly allowable, and may be highly useful; and in some cases it is absolutely necessary. "Let every truly pious man, however, be aware of the danger of extending this principle beyond its natural and obvious application; lest he should wander himself, and lead others also astray from that clearly traced and well beaten path in which we are assured that even 'a wayfaring man though a fool should not err.' Let no temptations, which vanity, a desire of popularity, or the more specious, but equally fallacious, plea of usefulness may present, seduce him from his tried way. *On the contrary, let him adhere with jealous care to the plain and unforced dictates of the word of God;* lest, by departing from the simplicity of the Gospel, he should inadvertently contribute to the adulteration of Christianity, and to the consequent injury which must thence arise to the spiritual interest of his fellow-creatures."[4]

IV. APPLICATION of the preceding principles to the spiritual interpretation of the Miracles recorded in the New Testament.

Although (as we have already observed) the design of miracles[5] is to mark the divine interposition, yet, when perusing the miracles recorded in the Sacred Writings, we are not to lose sight of the moral and religious instruction concealed under them, and especially under the miracles performed by our Saviour. "All his miracles," indeed, "were undoubtedly so many testimonies that he was sent from God: but they were much more than this, for they were all of such a kind, and attended with such circumstances, as give us an insight into the spiritual state of man, and the great work of his salvation." They were significant emblems of his designs, and figures aptly representing the benefits to be conferred by him upon mankind, and had in them a spiritual sense.

Thus, he cast out evil spirits, who, by the Divine Providence, were permitted to exert themselves at that time, and to possess many persons. By this act he showed that he came to destroy the empire of Satan, and seemed to foretell that, wheresoever his doctrine should prevail, idolatry and vice should be put to flight.—He gave sight to the blind, a miracle well suiting him who brought immortality to light, and taught truth to an ignorant world. *Lucem caliganti reddidit mundo*, applied by Quintus Curtius to a Roman emperor, can be strictly applied to Christ, and to him alone. No prophet ever did this miracle before him, as none ever made the religious discoveries which he made. Our Saviour himself leads us to this observation, and sets his miracle in the same view, saying, upon that occasion, *I am the light of the world; I am come into this world, that they which see not might see.* He cured the deaf, and the dumb, and the lame, and the infirm, and cleansed the lepers, and healed all manner of sicknesses, to show at the same time that he was the physician of souls, which have their diseases corresponding in some manner to those of the body, and are deaf, and dumb, and impotent, and paralytic, and leprous in the spiritual sense.—He fed the hungry multitudes by a miracle, which aptly represented his heavenly doctrine, and the Gospel preached to the poor, and which he himself so explains, saying,—*I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever.*—He raised the dead, a miracle peculiarly suiting him, who at the last day should call forth all mankind to appear before him; and, therefore, when he raised Lazarus he uttered those majestic words: *I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live.*—He performed some miracles upon persons who were not of his own nation, and it was ordered by Divine Providence.

[1] See Chapter I. Sections I. III. and IV. pp. 355—358. and 361—366. *supra.*

[2] "Est regula theologorum, *sensum mysticum non esse argumentativum*, hoc est, non suppeditare firma ac solida argumenta, quibus dogmata fidei insedificentur." Rambach, Inst. Herm. Sacr. pp. 72. 73.

[3] Thus, Cocceius represented the *entire* history of the Old Testament as a mirror, which held forth an accurate view of the transactions and events that were to happen in the church under the New Testament dispensation, to the end of the world. He further affirmed, that by far the greatest part of the ancient prophecies foretold Christ's ministry and mediation, together with the rise, progress, and revolutions of the church, not only under the figure of persons and transactions, but in a literal manner, and by the sense of the words used in these predictions. And he laid it down as a fundamental rule of interpretation that the *words and phrases of Scripture are to be understood in* EVERY SENSE *of which they are susceptible:* or, in other words, that *they signify in effect every thing which they can signify.* (Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. v. p. 360. *et seq.* edit. 1808.) These opinions have not been without their advocates in this country; and if our limits permitted, we could adduce numerous instances of evident misinterpretations of the Scriptures which have been occasioned by the adoption of them: one or two, however, must suffice. Thus, the Ten Commandments, or *Moral Law*, as they are usually termed, which the most pious and learned men in every age of the Christian church have considered to be rules or precepts for regulating the manners or conduct of men, both towards God and towards one another, have been referred to Jesus Christ, under the mistaken idea that they *may* be read with a new interest by believers! (See an exposition of the Ten Commandments on the above principle, if such a perversion of sense and reason may be so called, in the Bible Magazine, vol. iv. pp. 13, 14.) In like manner the first psalm, which, it is generally admitted, describes the respective happiness and misery of the pious and the wicked, according to the Cocceian hypothesis, has been applied to the Saviour of the world, in whom alone all the characters of goodness are made to centre, without any reference to its moral import! An ordinary reader, who peruses Isa. iv. 1., would naturally suppose that the prophet was predicting the calamities that should befall the impenitently wicked Jews, previously to the Babylonish captivity; which calamities he represents to be so great that *seven women shall take hold of one man*, that is, use importunity to be married, and that upon the hard and unusual conditions of maintaining themselves. But this simple and literal meaning of the passage, agreeably to the rule that the words of Scripture signify every thing which they can signify, has been distorted beyond measure; and, because in the *subsequent* verses of this chapter the prophet makes a transition to evangelical times, this first verse has been made to mean the rapid conversion of mankind to the Christian faith; the *seven women* are the converted persons, and the *one man* is Jesus Christ! A simple reference to the *context and subject-matter* of the prophecy would have shown that this verse properly belonged to the third chapter, and had no reference whatever to Gospel times. On the absurdity of the exposition just noticed, it is needless to make any comment. It is surpassed only by the reveries of a modern writer on the Continent, who has pushed the Cocceian hypothesis to the utmost bounds. According to his scheme, the incest of Lot and his daughters was permitted, only to be a sign of the salvation which the world was afterwards to receive from Jesus Christ; and *Joshua the son of Nun* signifies the same thing as *Jesus the son of Man!!!* Kanne's Christus im Alten Testament, that is, Christ in the Old Testament, or Inquiries concerning the Adumbrations and Delineations of the Messiah. Nürnberg, 1818, 2 vols. 8vo. (Mélanges de Religion, de Morale, et de Critique Sacrée, published at Nismes, tome i. pp. 159, 160.)

[4] Christian Observer for 1805, vol. iv. p. 133. The two preceding pages of this journal contain some admirable remarks on the evils of spiritualizing the Sacred Writings too much. The same topic is also further noticed in volume xvi. for 1817, p. 319. *et seq.* Many important observations on the history and abuses of spiritual interpretation will be found in the late Rev. J. J. Conybeare's Bampton Lectures for 1824. The whole of Bishop Horsley's Preface to his Commentary on the Psalms is equally worthy of perusal for its excellent observations on the same question. The misapplication and abuse of spiritual interpretation are also pointed out by Bishop Van-mildert, Bampton Lectures, p. 241. *et seq.*

[5] The nature and evidence of miracles are discussed in this volume pp. 93—119.

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that these persons, as the centurion, the Syrophœnician woman, the Samaritan leper, should show a greater degree of faith and of gratitude than the Jews to whom the same favours were granted. This was an indication that the Gospel would be more readily received by the Gentiles than by the Jews, and this our Saviour intimates, saying when he had commended the centurion's faith, *Many shall come from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into utter darkness.*

It were easy to adduce other instances, but the preceding will suffice to establish the rule, especially as the spiritual import of the Christian miracles is particularly considered by every writer that has expressly illustrated them, but by no one with more sobriety than by Dr. Jortin, to whom we are indebted for most of the preceding illustrations.[1]

SECTION III.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF TYPES.

I. *Nature of a type.*—II. *Different species of types.*—1. *Legal types.*—2. *Prophetical types.*—3. *Historical types.*—III. *Rules for the interpretation of types.*—IV. *Remarks on the interpretation of symbols.*

I. A TYPE, in its primary and literal meaning, simply denotes a rough draught, or less accurate model, from which a more perfect image is made; but, in the sacred or theological sense of the term, a type may be defined to be a symbol of something future and distant, or an example prepared and evidently designed by God to prefigure that future thing. What is thus prefigured is called the *antitype*.[2]

1. The first characteristic of a type is its ADUMBRATION OF THE THING TYPIFIED.

One thing may adumbrate another,—either in something which it has in common with the other; as the Jewish victims by their death represented Christ, who in the fulness of time was to die for mankind,—or in a symbol of some property possessed by the other; as the images of the cherubim, placed in the inner sanctuary of the temple, beautifully represented the celerity of the angels of heaven, not indeed by any celerity of their own, but by wings of curious contrivance, which exhibited an appropriate symbol of swiftness,—or in any other way, in which the thing representing can be compared with the thing represented; as Melchisedec the priest of the Most High God represented Jesus Christ our priest. For though Melchisedec was not an eternal priest, yet the sacred writers have attributed to him a slender and shadowy appearance of eternity, by not mentioning the genealogy of the parents, the birth or death of so illustrious a man, as they commonly do in the case of other eminent persons, but under the divine direction concealing all these particulars.

2. The next requisite to constitute a type is, THAT IT BE PREPARED AND DESIGNED BY GOD TO REPRESENT ITS ANTITYPE.[3]

This forms the distinction between a type and a simile; for many things are compared to others, which they were not made to resemble, for the purpose of representing them. For, though it is said that "all flesh is grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass" (1 Pet. i. 24.), no one can consider the tenuity of grass as a type of human weakness, or the flower of grass as a type of human glory. The same remark must be applied also to a metaphor, or that species of simile in which one thing is called by the name of another; for, though Herod from his cunning is called a *fox* (Luke xiii. 32.), and Judah for his courage a *lion's whelp* (Gen. xlix. 9.), yet no one supposes foxes to be types of Herod, or young lions types of Judah.

3. Our definition of a type includes also, that the OBJECT REPRESENTED BY IT IS SOMETHING FUTURE.

Those institutions of Moses, which partook of the nature of types, are called "a shadow of things to come" (Col. ii. 17.); and those things which happened unto the fathers for types are said to have been written for our admonition, "upon whom the ends of the world are come." (1 Cor. x. 1. 11.) In the same sense the Mosaic law, which abounded with numerous types, is declared to have had "a shadow of good things to come." (Heb. x. 1.) And those things which by the command of God were formerly transacted in the tabernacle, are described as prefiguring what was afterwards to be done in the heavenly sanctuary. (Heb. ix. 11, 12. 23, 24.) Hence it appears, that a type and a symbol differ from each other as a *genus* and *species*. The term *symbol* is equally applicable to that which represents a thing, past, present, or future; whereas the object represented by a *type* is invariably future. So that all the rites which signified to the Jews any virtues that they were to practise, ought to be called symbols rather than types; and those rites, if there were any, which were divinely appointed to represent things both present and future, may be regarded as both symbols and types;—symbols, as denoting things present; and types, as indicating things future.

4. We may further remark, that a type differs from a parable, in being grounded on a matter of fact, not on a fictitious narrative, but is much of the same nature in actions, or things and persons, as an allegory is in words; though allegories are frequently so plain, that it is scarcely possible for any man to mistake them; and thus it is, in many cases, with respect to types.

Where, indeed, there is only one type or resemblance, it is in some instances not so easily discernible; but where several circumstances concur, it is scarcely possible not to perceive the agreement subsisting between the type and the antitype. Thus, the ark was a type of baptism; the land of Canaan, of heaven; the elevation of the brazen serpent, and the prophet Jonah, of our Saviour's crucifixion and resurrection.

II. In the examination of the Sacred Writings, three SPECIES of types present themselves to our consideration; viz. *Legal Types*, or those contained in the Mosaic law; *Prophetical Types*, and *Historical Types*.

1. LEGAL TYPES.—It evidently appears, from comparing the history and economy of Moses with the whole of the New Testament, that the ritual law was typical of the Messiah and of Gospel blessings; and this point has been so clearly established by the great apostle of the Gentiles in his Epistle to the Hebrews, that it will suffice to adduce a very few examples, to show the nature of *Legal Types*.

Thus, the entire constitution, and offerings of the Levitical priesthood, typically prefigured Christ the great high-priest (Heb. v. vii. viii.); and especially the ceremonies observed on the great day of atonement. (Lev. xvi. with Heb. ix. throughout, and x. 1—22.) So, the passover and the paschal lamb typified the sacrifice of Jesus Christ (Exod. xii. 3. *et seq.* with John xix. 36. and 1 Cor. v. 7.): so, the feast of Pentecost, which commemorated the giving of the law on Mount Sinai (Exod. xix. xx.), prefigured the effusion of the Holy Spirit on the apostles, who were thus enabled to promulgate the Gospel throughout the then known world. (Acts ii. 1—11.) And it has been conjectured[4] that the feast of tabernacles typifies the final restoration of the Jews. In like manner, the privileges of the Jews were types of those enjoyed by all true Christians; "for their relation to God as his people, signified by the name *Israelite* (Rom. ix. 4.), prefigured the more honourable relation, in which believers, the *true Israel*, stand to God.—Their *adoption* as the sons of God, and the privileges they were entitled to by that adoption, were types of believers being made partakers of the *divine nature* by the renewing of the Holy Ghost, and of their title to the inheritance of heaven.—The residence of the *glory*, first in the tabernacle and then in the temple, was a figure of the residence of God by his Spirit in the Christian church, His temple on earth, and of His eternal residence in that church brought to perfection in heaven.—The *covenant with Abraham* was the new or Gospel covenant, the blessings of which were typified by the temporal blessings promised to him and to his *natural seed*; and the *covenant at Sinai*, whereby the Israelites, as the worshippers of the true God, were separated from the idolatrous nations, was an emblem of the final separation of the righteous from the wicked.—In the *giving of the law*, and the formation of the Israelites into a nation or community, was represented the formation of a city of the living God, and of the general assembly of the church of the first-born.—Lastly, the heavenly country, the habitation of the righteous, was typified by *Canaan*, a country given to the Israelites by God's promise."[5]

2. PROPHETICAL TYPES are those, by which the divinely inspired prophets prefigured or signified things either present or future, by means of external symbols.

Of this description is the prophet Isaiah's going naked (that is, without his prophetic garment) and barefoot (Isa. xx. 2.), to prefigure the fatal destruction of the Egyptians and Ethiopians.—The hiding of a girdle in a rock on the banks of the Euphrates, which, on being subsequently taken thence, proved to be rotten, to denote the destruction which would

[1] See Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. pp. 257—275. (2d edit.) See also Dr. Dodd's Discourses on the Miracles of the New Testament, and Dr. Collyer's Lectures on Scripture Miracles.

[2] Outram de Sacrificiis, lib. i. c. 18. or p. 215. of Mr. Allen's accurate translation. This work is of singular value to the divinity student; as affording, in a comparatively small compass, one of the most masterly vindications of the vicarious atonement of Christ that ever was published.

[3] "It is essential," observes Bp. Vanmildert, "to a type, in the scriptural acceptation of the term, that there should be a competent evidence of the divine *intention* in the correspondence between it and the antitype,—a matter not left to the imagination of the expositor to discover, but resting on some solid proof from Scripture itself, that this was really the case." Bampton Lectures, p. 239.

[4] By Bp. Elrington (formerly Provost of Trinity College, Dublin). See the grounds of this conjecture ably supported in Dr. Graves's Lectures on the Pentateuch, vol. ii. pp. 393—395. notes.

[5] Dr. Macknight on Rom. ix. 4. note 1.

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speedily befall the abandoned and ungrateful Jewish people (Jer. xiii. 1—7. compared with the following verses):—the abstaining from marriage (Jer. xvi. 2.), mourning (ver. 5.), and feasting (ver. 8.), to indicate the woful calamities denounced by Jehovah against his people for their sins. Similar calamities are prefigured by breaking a potter's vessel. (Jer. xviii. 2—10.) By making bonds and yokes (Jer. xxvii. 1—8.) is prefigured the subjugation of the kings of Edom, Moab, the Ammonites, Tyre, and Sidon, by Nebuchadnezzar; and in like manner, Agabus's binding his own hands with Paul's girdle intimated the apostle's captivity at Jerusalem. (Acts xxi. 10, 11.)[4]

To this class of types may be referred *prophetical and typical visions* of future events: some of these have their interpretation annexed: as Jeremiah's vision of the almond tree and a seething pot (Jer. i. 11—16.), Ezekiel's vision of the resurrection of dry bones (Ezek. xxxvii.), with many similar instances recorded in the Sacred Writings. Other typical visions, however, will in all probability be explained only by their actual accomplishment; as Ezekiel's vision of the temple and holy city (ch. xl. to the end), and especially the Revelation of Saint John: which will then be most clear and intelligible when the whole is fulfilled; as we can now plainly read the calling of the Gentiles in many parts of the Old Testament, which seemed so strange a thing, before it was accomplished, even to those who were well acquainted with the writings of the prophets. See an instance of this in Acts xi. 1—18.

3. HISTORICAL TYPES are the characters, actions, and fortunes of some eminent persons recorded in the Old Testament, so ordered by Divine Providence as to be exact prefigurations of the characters, actions, and fortunes, of future persons who should arise under the Gospel dispensation.

In some instances, the persons whose characters and actions prefigured future events, were declared by Jehovah himself to be typical, long before the events which they prefigured came to pass: these have been termed *innate*, or natural historical types; and these may be safely admitted. But *inferred* types, or those in which typical persons were not known to be such, until after the things which they typified had actually happened (and which can only be consequentially ascertained to be such by probabilities supposed to be agreeable to the analogy of faith), cannot be too carefully avoided, notwithstanding they have the sanction of some eminent expositors, because they are not supported by the authority of the inspired writers of the New Testament.[5]

III. From the preceding remarks and statements it will be obvious, that great caution is necessary in the INTERPRETATION OF TYPES; for unless we have the authority of the sacred writers themselves for it, we cannot conclude with certainty that this or that person or thing, which is mentioned in the Old Testament, is a type of Christ on account of the resemblance which we may perceive between them: but we may admit it as probable. "Whatever persons or things recorded in the *Old* Testament were expressly declared by Christ, or by his apostles, to have been designed as prefigurations of persons or things relating to the *New* Testament, such persons or things so recorded in the *former* are types of the persons or things with which they are compared in the *latter*. But if we assert, that a person or thing was designed to prefigure *another* person or thing, where no such prefiguration has been declared by *divine authority*, we make an assertion for which we neither *have*, nor can have, the slightest foundation. And even when comparisons *are* instituted in the New Testament between antecedent and subsequent persons or things, we must be careful to distinguish the examples, where a comparison is instituted merely for the sake of *illustration*, from the examples where such a *connection* is declared, as exists in the relation of a *type* to its antitype."[3] In the interpretation of types, therefore,

1. *There must be a fit application of the Type to the Antitype.*

"To constitute one thing the *type* of another, as the term is generally understood in reference to Scripture, something *more* is wanted than mere *resemblance*. The former must not only *resemble* the latter, but must have been *designed* to resemble the latter. It must have been so designed in its *original institution*. It must have been designed as something *preparatory* to the latter. The type, as well as the antitype, must have been preordained; and they must have been preordained as constituent parts of the same general scheme of Divine Providence. It is this *previous design* and this *preordained connection*, which constitute the relation of type and antitype. Where *these* qualities fail, where the *previous design* and the *preordained* connection are wanting, the relation between any two things, however similar in *themselves*, is not the relation of type to antitype."[4] In further explanation of this canon, it may be remarked, that in a type *every* circumstance is far from being typical, as in a parable there are several incidents, which are not to be considered as parts of the parable, nor to be insisted upon as such. From not considering the evident relation which ought to subsist between the type and the antitype, some [illegible] expositors, under pretence that the tabernacle of Moses was a [illegible] of the church or of heaven, have converted even the very *boards* [illegible] of it into *types*. Thus Cardinal Bellarmine[5] found the mass to [illegible] Melchisedec's bringing forth *bread and wine*, he being a priest of the Most High God. The same great adversary of the Protestants (in his Treatise *de Laicis*) in like manner discovered that their secession under Luther "was typified by the secession of the ten tribes under Jeroboam; while the Lutherans, with equal reason, retorted that Jeroboam was a type of the Pope, and that the secession of Israel from Judah typified, not the secession of the Protestants under Luther, but the secession of the church of Rome from primitive Christianity. But, to whichever of the two events the secession under Jeroboam may be supposed the most *similar* (if similarity exist there *at all* beyond the mere *act* of secession), we have no authority for pronouncing it a *type* of either. We have no *proof* of previous design and of preordained connection between the subjects of comparison; we have no *proof* that the secession of the Israelites under Jeroboam was designed to prefigure any *other* secession whatever."[6] From the same inattention to considering the necessarily evident relation between the type and the antitype, the Hebrew monarch Saul, whose name is by interpretation *Death*, has been made a type of the moral law, which Saint Paul terms the "ministration of *death*." (2 Cor. iii. 7.) In like manner, the period, which elapsed between the anointing of David and the death of Saul, has been made to typify the time of Christ's ministry upon earth!! And the *long war between the house of Saul and the house of David* (2 Sam. iii. 1.), in which *David waxed stronger and stronger, and the house of Saul weaker and weaker*, has been represented as strikingly portrayed in the lengthened contests between the righteousness of faith and that of works so often alluded to in the epistles, especially in those addressed to the Romans and Galatians!!![7]

It were no difficult task to adduce numerous similar examples of abuse in the interpretation of types; but the preceding will suffice to show the danger of falling into it, and the necessity of confining our attention to the strict relation between the type and the antitype. In further illustration of this canon it may be remarked, that in expounding typical passages two points should be always kept in mind, viz.

(1.) The TYPE *must in the first instance be explained according to its literal sense; and if any part of it appear to be obscure, such obscurity must be removed: as in the history of Jonah, who was swallowed by a great fish, and cast ashore on the third day.*

(2.) The ANALOGY *between the thing prefiguring and the thing prefigured must be soberly shown in all its parts.*

The criteria for ascertaining this analogy are to be found solely in the *Sacred Writings themselves*; for whenever the Holy Spirit refers any thing to analogy, either expressly or by implication, there we may rest assured that such analogy was designed by God. But further than this we cannot safely go.

2. *There is often more in the Type than in the Antitype.*

God designed one person or thing in the Old Testament to be a type or shadow of things to come, not in all things, but only in respect to *some particular thing* or things: hence we find many things in the type that are inapplicable to the antitype. The use of this canon is shown in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which the ritual and sacrifices of the Old Testament are fairly accommodated to Jesus Christ the antitype, although there are many things in that priesthood which do not accord. Thus the priest was to offer sacrifice for his own sins (Heb. v. 3.), which is in no respect applicable to Christ. (Heb. vii. 27.) Again, the Mosaic priesthood is (vii. 18.) *weak and unprofitable*, neither of which characters can be applied to the Redeemer, *who continueth ever*, and *hath an unchangeable priesthood*. (vii. 24, 25.)

3. *Frequently there is more in the Antitype than in the Type.*

The reason of this canon is the same as that of the preceding rule: for, as no single type can express the life and particular actions of Christ, there is necessarily more in the antitype than can be found in the type itself; so that one type must signify one thing, and another type another thing. Thus, *one* goat could not typify Christ both in his death and resurrection; therefore two were appointed (Lev. xvi. 7.), one of which was offered, and prefigured his "full, perfect, and sufficient atonement;" while the other, which was dismissed, typified his triumph over death and the grave. In like manner, Moses was a type of Christ as a Deliverer, or Saviour, in bringing the children of Israel out of Egypt, and Joshua, in bringing them into Canaan, which was a type of heaven,—the true country of all sincere Christians.

4. *The wicked, as such, are* NOT *to be made Types of Christ.*

For how can a thing, which is bad in itself, prefigure or typify a thing that is good? Yet, for want of attending to this obvious and almost self-evident proposition, some[8] expositors have interpreted the adultery of David, and the incest of Amnon, as typical of the Messiah! and the oak on which Absalom was suspended by the hair of the head has been made a type of the cross of Christ![9] It is not, however, to be denied, that the punishments of some malefactors are *accommodated* to Christ as an antitype. Thus, Deut. xxi. 23. is by Saint Paul accommodated *typically* to him, Gal. iii. 13. Jonah, we have already observed, was a type of Christ, by his continuance three days and three nights in the belly of a great fish: but the point of resemblance is to be sought, not in his being there as the punishment of his disobedience to the divine command, but *in his coming forth, at the expiration of that time*, alive, and in perfect vigour; which coming forth prefigured the resurrection of Christ.

5. *In Types and Antitypes, an enallage or change sometimes takes place; as when the thing prefigured assumes the name of the Type or figure; and, on the contrary, when the Type of the thing represented assumes the name of the Antitype.*

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[4] Other examples of, and observations on, prophetical types, may be seen in Dr. Nares's Warburtonian Lectures on the Prophecies concerning the Messiah, pp. 70—86. 117—125.

[5] The subject of historical types is copiously (but in some respects fancifully) elucidated by Huet in his Demonstratio Evangelica, cap. 170. vol. ii. pp. 1056—1074. Amst. 1680; and by Dr. Macknight in his Essay on the right Interpretation of the Language of Scripture, in vol. iv. or vi. (4to. or 8vo.) of his translation of the Apostolical Epistles, Essay viii. sect. 1—5. The interpretation of types, generally, is vindicated by Alber, against the modern neologian divines on the Continent, in his Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Nov. Test. vol. i. pp. 63—85.

[1] Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part iii. p. 115.

[2] Ibid. part iii. p. 113.

[3] De Missa, lib. i. c. 9

[4] Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part iii. 117.

[5] The reader who may be desirous of seeing the above extravagant typifications treated at length, will find them minutely stated, with other similar particulars equally extravagant, in the "Bible Magazine," vol. iv. pp. 22—28.

[6] Azorius, the Spanish Jesuit, in his Institutiones Morales, lib. viii. c. 2. and Cornelius à Lapide in Præfat. ad Pentateuch, canon 40.

[7] By Gretzer, De Cruce, lib. i. c. 6.

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Of the first kind of enallage we have examples in Ezek. xxxiv. 23. xxxvii. 24, 25. and Hos. iii. 5.; in which descriptions of Messiah's kingdom he is styled David because as he was prefigured by David in many respects, so he was to descend from him. In like manner Christ is called a *lamb* (John i. 29. 36. and Rev. xix. 7. 9.), because the paschal lamb was an eminent type of him. So, the Christian church is sometimes called Mount Sion and Jerusalem (Gal. iv. 26. Heb. xii. 22. Rev. xxi. 2.), because these places were types of her.

Of the second kind of enallage we have instances:—1. *In prophetical types*, in which the name of a person or thing, properly agreeing with the antitype, and for which the type was proposed, is given to any one: as in Isa. vii. 3. and viii. 1—3. So, the wife of the prophet Hosea, and his legitimate children, are by the command of Jehovah termed a *wife of whoredoms*, and *children of whoredoms* (Hos. i. 2.), on account of the Israelites, who were the antitype, and were guilty of spiritual whoredom or adultery. See Hos. i. 4. 6. 9.—2. *In historical types*, as when hanging was called in the Old Testament the curse of the Lord, because it was made a type of Christ, who was made a curse for our sins, as the apostle Paul argues in Gal. iii. 13.

6. *That we may not fall into extremes, in the interpretation of Types, we must, in every instance, proceed cautiously, "with fear and trembling," lest we imagine mysteries to exist where none were ever intended.*

No mystical or typical sense, therefore, ought to be put upon a plain passage of Scripture, the meaning of which is obvious and natural; unless it be evident from some other part of Scripture that the place is to be understood in a double sense. When Paul says (Gal. iii. 24. Col. ii. 17.) that the *law was a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ*, and a *shadow of things to come*, we must instantly acknowledge that the ceremonial law in general was a type of the mysteries of the Gospel. Nothing can be more contrary to that sober judgment which is so strenuously urged by the apostle (Rom. xii. 3.), than to seek for types where there are not the smallest marks or traces of any; and that, too, by contradicting the plain and literal meaning of Scripture, and not unfrequently in direct opposition to common sense. "Should not the prudence and moderation of Christ and his apostles in this respect be imitated? Is it not pretending to be wiser than they were, to look for mysteries where they designed none? How unreasonable is it to lay an useless weight on the consciences of Christians, and to bear down the *true* and *revealed*, under the unwieldly burden of traditional mysteries!"[1]

IV. Closely connected with the interpretation of types is the expounding of SYMBOLS; which, though often confounded with them, are nevertheless widely different in their nature. By *symbols*[2] we mean "certain representative marks, rather than express pictures; or, if pictures, such as were at the time *characters*, and, besides presenting to the eye the resemblance of a particular object, suggested a general idea to the mind As when a *horn* was made to denote *strength*, an *eye* and *sceptre*, *majesty*, and in numberless such instances; where the picture was not drawn to express merely the thing itself, but something else, which was, or was conceived to be, analogous to it. This more complex and ingenious form of picture-writing was much practised by the Egyptians, and is that which we know by the name of *Hieroglyphics*."[3]

It has been doubted whether symbolical language should be referred to figurative or spiritual interpretation: in the former case, it would have occupied a place in the discussion respecting the figurative language of Scripture; but, on consideration, it will appear that it is most nearly allied to spiritual interpretation. For a symbol differs from a type in this respect, that the former represents something *past* or *present*, while a *type* represents something future. The images of the cherubim over the propitiatory were symbols; the bread and wine in the last supper also were symbols. The commanded sacrifice of Isaac was given for a type; the sacrifices of the law were types. So far, Bishop Warburton has remarked, symbols and types agree in their *genus*, that they are equally representations, but in their *species* they differ widely. It is not required, he further observes, that the *symbol* should partake of the *nature* of the thing represented: the cherubim shadowed out the celerity of angels, but not by any physical celerity of their own; the bread and wine shadowed out the body and blood of Christ, but not by any change in the elements. But *types* being, on the contrary, representations of *things future*, and so partaking of the nature of *prophecy*, were to convey information concerning the *nature* of the antitypes, or of the things represented; which they could not do but by the exhibition of their own nature. And hence we recollect, that the command to offer Isaac, being the command to offer a *real sacrifice*, the death and sufferings of Christ, thereby represented, were a *real sacrifice*.[4]

As the same rules, which regulate the general interpretation of the tropes and figures occurring in the Scriptures, are equally applicable to the interpretation of symbols, it will be sufficient to refer to a former part of this volume,[5] in which that topic is particularly discussed. Much light will also be thrown upon the symbolical language of Scripture, by a careful collation of the writings of the prophets with each other; for "the symbolical language of the prophets is almost a science in itself. None can fully comprehend the depth, sublimity, and force of their writings, who are not thoroughly acquainted with the peculiar and appropriate imagery they were accustomed to use. This is the main key to many of the prophecies; and, without knowing how to apply it, the interpreter will often in vain essay to discover their hidden treasures."[6] Lastly, the diligent comparison of the New Testament with the Old will essentially contribute to illustrate the symbolical phraseology of the prophets. For instance, we learn what is intended by the *water* promised to the Israelites in Isa. xliv. 3., and to which the thirsty are invited in ch. lv. 1., from John iv. 10. and vii. 37—39.; where it is explained of the Holy Spirit and his gifts which were afterwards to be dispensed.[7]

[1] Beausobre's Introduction to the New Testament. (Bishop Watson's Tracts, vol. iii. p. 140.) In the preceding observations on the interpretation of types, the author has chiefly been indebted to Glassii Philologia Sacra, lib. ii. part i. tract ii. sect. iv. col. 442—472., which has been unaccountably *omitted* by Prof. Dathe in his otherwise truly valuable edition of that work; Langii Hermeneutica Sacra, pp. 97—119.; J. E. Pfeiffer, Inst. Herm. Sacr. pp. 775—795.; Viser, Hermeneutica Sacra Novi Testamenti, part ii. pp. 184—188. The subject of types is particularly considered and ably illustrated in Dr. Outram de Sacrificiis, particularly lib. i. cap. 18. and lib. ii. c. 7. (pp. 217—228. 361—384. of Mr. Allen's translation already noticed); Mr. Faber's Horæ Mosaicæ, vol. ii. pp. 40—173.; Bishop Chandler's Defence of Christianity from the Prophecies of the Old Testament, &c. chap. iii.; and Mr. Wilson's popular Inquiry into the Doctrine of Scripture Types. Edinburgh, 1823. 8vo. But the fullest view of this subject is stated by Dr. Graves to be found in the Rev. Samuel Mather's work on the Figures and Types of the Old Testament. Dublin, 1683, 4to.

[2] Before an alphabet was invented, and what we call literary writing was formed into an art, men had no way to record their conceptions, or to convey them to others at a distance, but by setting down the figures and tropes of such things as were the objects of their contemplation. Hence, the way of writing in *picture* was as universal, and almost as early, as the way of speaking in *metaphor*; and from the same reason, the necessity of the thing. In process of time, and through many successive improvements, this rude and simple mode of picture-writing was succeeded by that of *symbols*, or was enlarged at least and enriched by it. Bishop Hurd's Introduction to the Study of the Prophecies, serm. ix. (Works, vol. v. p. 238.

[3] Bishop Hurd's Introduction to the Study of the Prophecies, serm. ix. (Works, vol. v. p. 239.)

[4] Divine Legation of Moses, book ix. ch. ii. (Works, vol. vi. p. 299. 8vo. edit.)

[5] See pp. 355—358. *supra*.

[6] Bp. Vanmildert's Lectures, p. 240.

[7] See a Concise Dictionary of the Symbolical Language of Prophecy *infra*, Vol. II. Index II. pp. 457. *et seq.*

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CHAPTER IV.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURE PROPHECIES.

SECTION I.

GENERAL RULES FOR ASCERTAINING THE SENSE OF THE PROPHETIC WRITINGS.

PROPHECY, or the prediction of future events, is justly considered as the highest evidence that can be given, of supernatural communion with the Deity. The force of the argument from prophecy, for proving the divine inspiration of the sacred records, has already been exhibited; and the cavils of objectors, from its alleged obscurity, has been obviated.[1] Difficulties, it is readily admitted, do exist in understanding the prophetic writings: but these are either owing to our ignorance of history and of the Scriptures, or because the prophecies themselves are yet unfulfilled. The latter can only be understood when the events foretold have actually been accomplished: but the former class of difficulties may be removed in many, if not in all cases; and the knowledge, sense, and meaning of the prophets may, in a considerable degree, be attained by prayer, reading, and meditation, and by comparing Scripture with Scripture, especially with the writings of the New Testament, and particularly with the book of the Revelation.[2] With this view, the following general rules will be found useful in investigating the *sense and meaning* of the prophecies, as well as their *accomplishment*.

I. *As not any prophecy of Scripture is of self-interpretation*, (2 Pet. i. 20.), *or is its own interpreter, "the sense of the prophecy is to be sought in the events of the world, and in the harmony of the prophetic writings, rather than in the bare terms of any single prediction."*[3]

In the consideration of this canon, the following circumstances should be carefully attended to:—

(1.) *Consider well the times when the several prophets flourished, in what place and under what kings they uttered their predictions, the duration of their prophetic ministry, and their personal rank and condition, and, lastly, whatever can be known respecting their life and transactions.*

These particulars, indeed, cannot in every instance be ascertained, the circumstances relating to many of the prophets being very obscure: but, where they can be known, it is necessary to attend to them, as this will materially contribute to the right understanding of the prophetic writings.[4] Thus, in order to understand correctly the prophecy of Isaiah, we should make ourselves acquainted with the state and condition of the people of Israel under the kings Amaziah, Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. With this view, the books of Kings (2. xiv.—xxi.) and 2 Chron. (xvi.—xxii.) ought to be repeatedly perused and studied; because they contain an accurate view of the state of those times.

(2.) *The situation of the particular places, of which the prophets speak, must also be kept in mind, as well as that of the neighbouring places: there being in the prophetic writings frequent allusions to the situation and ancient names of places.*

When places are mentioned as lying north, south, east, or west, it is generally to be understood of their situation with respect to Judea or Jerusalem; when the context does not plainly restrict the scene to some other place. For instance, Egypt and Arabia are every where called the land of the south, because they are situated to the south of Jerusalem: thus in Daniel (ch. xi.) the *king of the south* signifies the king of Egypt, and the *king of the north*, the monarch of Syria. The *sea* is often put for the west, the Mediterranean Sea being to the west of Judæa: by the earth, the prophets often mean the land of Judæa, and sometimes the great continent of all Asia and Africa, to which they had access by land; and by the *isles of the sea*, they understood the places to which they sailed, particularly all Europe, and probably the islands and sea-coasts of the Mediterranean. The appellation of *sea* is also given to the great rivers Nile and Euphrates, which, overflowing their banks, appear like small seas or great lakes. The *Egyptian Sea*, with its *seven streams*, mentioned in Isa. xi. 15. is the Nile with its seven mouths: the sea, mentioned in Isa. xxvii. 1. and Jer. li. 36. is the Euphrates; and the *desert of the sea*, in Isa. xxi. 1. is the country of Babylon, watered by that river. In like manner, the Jewish people are described by several particular appellations, after the division of the kingdom in the reign of Jeroboam: thus, the ten tribes, being distinct from the other two, and subject to a different king, until the time of the Assyrian captivity, are respectively called *Samaria*, *Ephraim*, and *Joseph*; because the city of *Samaria*, which was situated in the allotment of the tribe of *Ephraim*, who was the son of Joseph, was the metropolis of the kings of Israel. Compare Isa. vii. 2. 5. 8. 9. Psal. lxxxi. 5. Hos. vii. 11. Amos v. 15. and vi. 6. They were also called Israel and Jacob, because they formed the greater part of Israel's or Jacob's posterity. The other two tribes of Judah and Benjamin are called the *kingdom of Judah*, the *house of David*, *Jerusalem*, or *Sion* (Isa. vii. 13. and xi. 2. Psal. cxxvi. 1. and Isa. lii. 8.), because those two tribes adhered to the family of David, from whose posterity their kings sprung, and the capital of their dominions was Jerusalem, within whose precincts was Mount Sion. After their return, however, from the Babylonish captivity, the names of Israel and Judah are promiscuously applied to all the descendants of the twelve tribes who were thus restored to their native country. This is the case in the writings of the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who all flourished after that event. In addition to the situations and names of places, whatever relates to the history of those times must be ascertained, as far as is practicable, by consulting not only the historical books of Scripture, and the writings of Josephus (whose statements must sometimes be taken with great caution, as he has not *always* related the sacred history with fidelity), but also by comparing the narratives of Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and other profane historians, who have written on the affairs of the Chaldæans, Babylonians, Egyptians, Tyrians, Medes and Persians, and other Oriental nations, with whom the posterity of Jacob had any intercourse. Quotations from these writers may be seen in all the larger commentaries on the Bible. Dr. Prideaux's Connection of Sacred and Profane History, and Bishop Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies, are both particularly valuable for the illustrations of the sacred predictions which they have respectively drawn from profane authors. In the Historical and Geographical Index, at the end of the second volume of this work, under the articles *Assyria*, *Babylon*, *Egypt*, *Media*, and *Persia*, we have given an Abstract of the Profane History of the East, from the time of Solomon until the Babylonish Captivity, to facilitate the better understanding of the history of the Hebrews, described in the writings of the prophets.

(3.) *As the prophets treat not only of past transactions and present occurrences, but also foretell future events, in order to understand them, we must diligently consult the histories of the following ages, both sacred and profane, and carefully see whether we can trace in them the fulfilment of any prophecy.*

The event is the best interpreter of a prediction: this inquiry into history, however, demands not only great labour, but also great industry and equal judgment, in order that the events may be referred to those prophecies with which they harmonize. These events must not be far-fetched; nor can they always be ascertained, because the circumstances alluded to by the prophets are often unknown to us, being yet future. Hence a considerable portion of the prophets, especially of the book of Revelation, is not only not understood, but *cannot* at present be comprehended. Some conjectures, perhaps, may be offered: but these should be advanced with caution as far as they throw light upon prophecy; and where this is wanting, we must withhold our assent from such conjectures.

(4.) *The words and phrases of a prophecy must be explained, where they are obscure: if they be very intricate, every single word should be expounded; and, if the sense be involved in metaphorical and emblematical expressions (as very frequently is the case), these must be explained according to the principles already laid down.*

No strained or far-fetched interpretation, therefore, should be admitted: and that sense of any word or phrase is always to be preferred, which is the clearest and most precise.

(5.) *Similar prophecies of the same event must be carefully compared, in order to elucidate more clearly the sense of the sacred predictions.*

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[1] See Vol. I. pp. 119—142. For an account of the Prophets, see Vol. II. pp. 253—259. and for an analysis of their writings, with critical remarks thereon, see also Vol. II. pp. 259—289.

[2] There is scarcely an expression in this book which is not taken out of Daniel or some other prophet. Sir Isaac Newton has observed, that it is written in the same style and language with the prophecies of Daniel, and has the same relation to them which they have to one another, so that all of them together make but one complete prophecy; and in like manner it consists of two parts, an introductory prophecy, and an interpretation thereof. (Observations on the Apocalypse, chap. ii. p. 254.) The style of the Revelations, says the profoundly learned Dr. Lightfoot, "is very prophetical as to the things spoken, and very hebraizing as to the speaking of them. Exceeding much of the old prophet's language and manner [is] adduced to intimate New Stories; and exceeding much of the Jews' language and allusion to their customs and opinions, thereby to speak the things more familiarly to be understood." Harmony of the New Testament, p. 154. (Lond. 1655.) See also Langii Hermeneutica Sacra, pp. 148—150.

[3] Bishop Horsley. This learned prelate has shown in his sermon on 2 Pet. i. 20. that the clause—*No prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation*—may be more precisely thus expressed:—"*Not any prophecy of Scripture is of self-interpretation*, or is its own interpreter: because the Scripture prophecies are not detached predictions of separate independent events, but are united in a regular and entire system, all terminating in one great object,—the promulgation of the Gospel, and the complete establishment of the Messiah's kingdom." Sermons, vol. ii. pp. 13—16.

[4] On the chronological order, &c. of the prophets, see Vol. II. pp. 289—290.

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For instance, after having ascertained the subject of the prophet's discourse and the sense of the words, Isa. liii. 5. (*He was wounded*, literally *pierced through*, for our transgressions), may be compared with Psal. xxii. 16. (*They pierced my hands and my feet*), and with Zech. xii. 10. (*They shall look on me whom they have pierced*). In thus paralleling the prophecies, regard must be had to the predictions of *former* prophets, which are sometimes repeated with abridgment, or more distinctly explained by others; and also to the predictions of *subsequent* prophets, who sometimes repeat, with greater clearness and precision, former prophecies, which had been more obscurely announced.

II. *In order to understand the prophets, great attention should be paid to the prophetic style, which is highly figurative, and particularly abounds in metaphorical and hyperbolical expressions.*

By images borrowed from the natural world, the prophets often understand something in the world politic. Thus, as the sun, moon, stars, and heavenly bodies, denote kings, queens, rulers, and persons in great power; and the increase of splendour in those luminaries denotes increase of prosperity, as in Isa. xxx. 26. and lx. 19. On the other hand, their darkening, setting, or falling, signifies a reverse of fortune, or the entire destruction of the potentate or kingdom to which they refer. In this manner the prophet Isaiah denounced the divine judgments on Babylon (Isa. xiii. 10. 12.), and on Idumæa (xxxiv. 4—6.); and Jeremiah, on the Jews and Jerusalem. (Jer. iv. 23, 24.) The destruction of Egypt is predicted in similar terms by Ezekiel (xxxii. 7, 8.); and also the terrible judgments that would befall the unbelieving Jews, by Joel. (ii. 28—31.) And Jesus Christ himself employed the same phraseology in foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. (Matt. xxiv. 29.)

In further illustration of this rule it may be observed, that the prophetical writings contain numerous figures and similitudes that appear strange to our habits and modes of thinking; but which in their times were perfectly familiar. These figures and similitudes, therefore, must not be interpreted according to our notions of things, but agreeably to the genius of Oriental writing: for instance, very numerous metaphors are taken from agriculture and the pastoral life, which were common pursuits among the Jews, some of the prophets themselves having been herdsmen or shepherds. However humble such employments may appear to us, they were not accounted servile at the time the prophets flourished. Other representations of events, which were to come to pass under the New Testament dispensation, are drawn from the sacred rites of the Jews. Thus, the conversion of Egypt to the Gospel is foretold (Isa. xix. 19. 21.) by *setting up an altar, and offering sacrifice to the Lord*; and the conversion of the Gentiles in general (Mal. i. 11.) by the offering up of incense. The service of God under the Gospel is set forth (Zech. xiv. 16.) *by going up to Jerusalem, and keeping the feast of tabernacles there*; and the abundant effusion of the Holy Spirit, in the miraculous gifts which attended the preaching of the Gospel, is represented (Joel ii. 28.) *by prophesying, and dreaming dreams, and seeing visions*. In this passage the prophet did not intend to say, that these things should literally and actually take place under the Christian dispensation: but, in order that his meaning might be the better understood by those whom he addressed, he expressed the abundant measure of gifts and Gospel light by images drawn from those privileges which were at that time most highly valued by the Jews.

Although the prophets thus frequently employ words in a figurative or metaphorical meaning, yet we ought not, *without necessity*, to depart from the primitive sense of their expressions; and that necessity exists, only when the plain and original sense is less proper, as well as less suitable to the subject and context, or contrary to other passages of Scripture. But, even in this case, we must carefully assign to each prophetical symbol its proper and definite meaning, and never vary from that meaning.

III. *As the greater part of the prophetic writings was first composed in verse, and still retains much of the air and cast of the original, an attention to the division of the lines, and to that peculiarity of Hebrew poetry by which the sense of one line or couplet so frequently corresponds with another, will frequently lead to the meaning of many passages; one line of a couplet, or member of a sentence, being generally a commentary on the other.*

Of this rule we have an example in Isa. xxxiv. 6.

> The Lord hath a sacrifice in Bozrah,
> And a great slaughter in the land of Idumæa.

Here the metaphor in the first verse is expressed in the same terms in the next: the sacrifice in Bozrah means the great slaughter in the land of Idumæa, of which Bozrah was the capital. Similar instances occur in Isa. xlix. 3. and lxi. 10. and in Micah vi. 6. in which the parallelism is more extended. Concerning the nature of Prophetic Poesy, see P. 380. of the present volume.

IV. *Particular names are often put by the prophets for more general ones, in order that they may place the thing represented, as it were, before the eyes of their hearers: but in such passages they are not to be understood literally.*

Thus, in Joel iii. 4. *Tyre and Sidon, and all the coast of Palestine*, are put, by way of poetical description, for all the enemies of the Jews; and the Greeks and Sabæans for distant nations. In like manner the prophet Amos (ch. ix. 12.), when speaking of the enemies of the Jews, mentions *the remnant of Edom, or the Idumæans*

V. *It is usual with the prophets to express the same thing in a great variety of expressions; whence they abound in amplifications, each rising above the other in strength and beauty.*

For instance, when describing drought or famine, they accumulate together numerous epithets, to represent the sorrow that would accompany those calamities: on the other hand when delineating plenty, they portray, in a great variety of expressions, the joy of the people possessed of abundance of grain; and in like manner the horrors of war and the blessings of peace, the misery of the wicked and the blessedness of the righteous, are contrasted with numerous illustrations. It were unnecessary to cite examples, as we can scarcely open a single page of the prophetic writings without seeing instances; but in reading such passages it is not to be supposed that each individual phrase possesses a distinct and peculiar sense.

VI. *The order of time is not always to be looked for in the prophetic writings; for they frequently resume topics of which they have formerly treated, after other subjects have intervened, and again discuss them.*

Jeremiah and Ezekiel may, in particular, be cited as instances of this abruptness of style, who spoke of various things as they were moved by the Holy Spirit, and as occasion required; and whose discourses, being first dispersed, were afterwards collected together without regard to the order of time. In the midst of the mention of particular mercies promised to, or of judgments denounced against, the people of God, the prophets sometimes break forth into sublime predictions concerning the Messiah: these digressions appear extremely abrupt and incoherent to those who do not consider how seasonable the mention of Christ may be, in conjunction with that of the mercies of God (of which he is the foundation and pinnacle, the ground and consummation), and with the threats of the judgments of God, in which he was his people's grand consolation.[1] A careful examination, however, of the plan and distribution of the different prophetical books will always enable the diligent reader to trace the arrangement and scope of the respective prophecies. Where, indeed, a new prediction or discourse is distinguished from a former one by a new title, as in Haggai i. 1. and ii. 10. 20., it is an easy task to trace such an arrangement and scope: but where the prophets do not introduce any new titles (Hosea for instance) it becomes very difficult. Vitringa has laid it down as a canon,[2] that in *continued* predictions, which are not distinguished one from another by titles or inscriptions, we should carefully attend both to the *beginning* and *end* of the prophetic sermon, as well as to the period of time in which the scene of the prophetic vision is fixed, and to the period in which it ends. This will tend to illustrate the sermons or discourses of Isaiah, in the forty-first and following chapters of his prophecy.

It is, however, probable that those prophecies—whose *terminus à quo* demonstrates the beginning of the time of Christ's kingdom, and the *terminus ad quem* the end of that time—give a narration of the principal events that shall befall the church in a continued series, unless any thing intervene which may require us to go back to former times. Upon this foundation depends the interpretation of Isa. liv. 1. to lx. 22. The commencement of this prophecy unquestionably belongs to the beginning of Messiah's kingdom: the term or end falls upon the most flourishing state of that kingdom, which is to follow the conversion of the Jewish nation, and the vindication of the afflicted church; which deliverance, as well as the flourishing state of Christ's kingdom, are described in Isa. lix. 19—21. and lx. throughout.

VII. *The prophets often change both persons and tenses, sometimes speaking in their own persons, at other times representing God, his people, or their enemies, as respectively speaking, and without noticing the change of person; sometimes taking things past or present for things future, to denote the certainty of the events.*

Of this observation we have a signal instance in that very obscure prediction contained in Isa. xxi. 11, 12. which, according to Bishop Lowth's translation, is as follows:—

THE ORACLE CONCERNING DUMAH.

> A voice crieth unto me from Seir:
> Watchman, what from the night?
> Watchman, what from the night?
> The watchman replieth:
> The morning cometh, and also the night.
> If ye will inquire, inquire ye: come again.

This prophecy, from the uncertainty of the occasion on which it was uttered, as well as from the brevity of the expression, is very obscure: but if we observe the *transitions*, and carefully distinguish between the person *speaking* and the person *spoken to*, we shall be able to apprehend its general import. It expresses the inquiries, made of a prophet of Jehovah by a people who were in a very distressed and hazardous condition, concerning the fates which awaited them. The Edomites as well as the Jews were subdued by the Babylonians. They anxiously inquire of the prophet, how long their subjection is to last. He intimates that the Jews should be delivered from captivity, but not the Edomites. The transition being thus observed, the obscurity disappears.

Isa. ix. 6., liii. throughout, lxiii. throughout, Zech. ix. 9. and Rev. xviii. 2 (to mention no other instances), may be adduced as examples of the *substitution of the past or present, in order to denote the certainty of things yet future*: attention to the scope and context of the prophetic discourse will here also, as in the preceding rule, enable the reader to distinguish the various transitions with sufficient accuracy.[3]

It may here be further observed, that, in the computation of time, a *day* is used by the prophet to denote a *year*: a *week*, seven years; and that when they speak of the *latter*, or *last days*, they invariably mean the days of the Messiah, or the time of the Gospel dispensation. The expression, *that day*, often means the same time, and always some period at a distance

VIII. *When the prophets received a commission to declare any thing, the message is sometimes expressed as if they had been appointed to do it themselves.*

This remark has, in substance, been already made. It is introduced again, in order to illustrate the phraseology of the prophetic writings. One or two additional examples will show the necessity of attending to it in interpreting the predictions of the Sacred Writings.

[1] Boyle on the Style of the Holy Scriptures, Works, vol. ii. p. 271.

[2] Typus Doctrinæ Propheticæ, p. 179.

[3] This change of tense, however, is not exclusively confined to predictions of future events: it is sometimes used by the prophets to represent duties as performed which ought to be done: Thus, in Mal. i. 6. *A son honours* (ought to honour) *his father*. But it is more frequently employed by the writers of the New Testament to express both our Christian privileges, and the duties to which they oblige us Thus, Matt. v. 13.:—*Ye are* (ought to be) *the salt of the earth*. Rom. ii. 4. *The goodness of God leadeth* (ought to lead) *thee to repentance*. 2 Cor. iii. 18 *We all with open face beholding* (enjoying the means of beholding) *as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are* (ought to be) *changed into the same image from glory to glory* Similar instances may be seen in 1 Cor. v. 7. Col. iii. 3. Heb. xiii. 14. 1 Pet i. 6. 1 John ii. 15. iii. 9. and v. 4. 18. Dr. Taylor's Key to the Apostolic Writings, § 274. (Bishop Watson's Tracts, vol. iii. p. 241.)

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Thus, when Isaiah was sent to tell the Jews, that their heart would become fat, and their ears heavy, and that they would be guilty of shutting their eyes, so as not to understand and believe the truth, the message is thus expressed:—*Go and tell this people, hear ye indeed, but understand not, and see ye indeed, but perceive not.* This implies, that they would not employ the faculties which they possessed, so as to understand and believe the Gospel. The reason of this is assigned:—*Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes, lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed.* (Isa. vi. 9, 10.) This is merely a prediction of what they would do; for when this prophetic declaration was accomplished, the Saviour quoted the passage, and expressed its genuine sense:—*In them is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias, which saith: For this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed; lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them.* (Matt. xiii. 15.) This condition is still more explicitly stated in John iii. 19.:—*This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. For every one that doeth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved.* The Lord said to Jeremiah, *I have put my words in thy mouth; see, I have this day set thee over the nations, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, and to build, and to plant.* (Jer. i. 10.) The meaning of this message is, that the prophet was appointed to declare to the nations, that they should be rooted out, pulled down, and destroyed, and that others would be planted in their place, and built up. When Ezekiel beheld the glory of the God of Israel, he observes, that *it was according to the appearance of the vision which I saw when I came* TO DESTROY THE CITY. (Ezek. xliii. 3.) That is, when he came to prophesy that the city should be destroyed.

IX. *As symbolic actions and prophetic visions greatly resemble parables, and were employed for the same purpose, viz. more powerfully to instruct and engage the attention of the people, they must be interpreted in the same manner as parables.*[1]

We must therefore chiefly consider the scope and design of such symbolic actions and prophetic visions, without attempting too minute an explanation of all the poetical images and figures with which the sacred writers adorned their style. For instance, in Zech. i. 7—11., it is not necessary to inquire what is meant by the *man riding upon a red horse, and standing among the myrtle trees:* this vision represents so many angels returning probably from the kingdoms over which they presided, to give to Jehovah an account of their expedition and ministry. The horse, it has been conjectured, denote their power and celerity; and the different colours the difference of their ministries. The *scope* of the vision, however, is sufficiently plain: the angels tell that all the earth was *sitting still and at rest;* the Persian empire and other nations connected with Judæa enjoying peace at that time, though the Jews continued in an unsettled state.[2]

SECTION II.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF PROPHECY IN GENERAL.

A PROPHECY is demonstrated to be fulfilled when we can prove that the event has actually taken place, precisely according to the manner in which it was foretold, either from sacred history, where that is practicable, or from profane authors of unimpeachable veracity; whose characters stand so high, that they cannot possibly be suspected of having forged any thing to favour the idea of its accomplishment. In order to ascertain whether a prediction has been fulfilled, we must first endeavour to find out the general scheme of the prophecy in question, by a careful comparison of the parts with the whole, and with corresponding prophecies, both earlier and later; and to classify the various things spoken of, lest the judgment be perplexed with a multitude of references. And, secondly, in our deductions from the prophecies thus arranged, those predictions, and their respective accomplishments, are principally to be selected and urged, which chiefly tend to remove all suspicion of their taking place by accident, or being foretold by some happy conjecture. Now this may be done, by showing the vast *distance of time* between the prophecy and the event foretold; the *agreement* of very many, even of the minutest circumstances, so that, when completed, the description determinately applies to the subject; and, lastly, the *dependence of actions* upon the uncertain will of man, or upon opportunity presenting itself: for *all* these things are of such a nature, that no unassisted human intellect either can or could possibly foresee them. These two general observations being premised, we now proceed to offer a few canons by which to ascertain the accomplishment of prophecy.

I. *The same prophecies frequently have a double meaning, and refer to different events, the one near, the other remote; the one temporal, the other spiritual or perhaps eternal. The prophets thus having several events in view, their expressions may be partly applicable to one, and partly to another, and it is not always easy to mark the transitions. What has not been fulfilled in the first, we must apply to the second; and what has already been fulfilled, may often be considered as typical of what remains to be accomplished.*

The double sense of prophecy has been opposed with much ingenuity by Mr. Whiston, Dr. Sykes, and Dr. Benson, in this country, and by father Balthus in France, as well as by most of the German theologians, who severally contend that the ancient prophecies contain only one sense: but that the rule above stated is correct, we apprehend will appear from the following remarks and illustrations:—

1. "Throughout the whole of prophetical Scripture, a time of retribution and of vengeance on God's enemies is announced. It is called '*the day of the Lord,*' '*the day of wrath and slaughter; of the Lord's anger, vexation, and judgment;*' '*the great day,*' and '*the last day.*' At the same time it is to be observed, that this kind of description, and the same expressions, which are used to represent this great day are also employed by the prophets to describe the fall and punishment of particular states and empires; of Babylon, by Isaiah (ch. xiii.); of Egypt, by Ezekiel (ch. xxx. 2—4. and xxxii. 7, 8.); of Jerusalem, by Jeremiah, Joel, and by our Lord (Matt. xxiv.): and in many of these prophecies, the description of the calamity, which is to fall on any *particular* state or nation, is so blended and intermixed with that *general* destruction, which, in the final days of vengeance, will invade *all* the inhabitants of the earth, that the industry and skill of our ablest interpreters have been scarcely equal to separate and assort them. Hence it has been concluded, by judicious divines, that these partial prophecies and particular instances of the divine vengeance, whose accomplishment we know to have taken place, are presented to us as types, certain tokens, and forerunners of some greater events which are also disclosed in them. To the dreadful time of universal vengeance, they all appear to look forward, beyond their first and more immediate object. Little, indeed, can we doubt that such is to be considered the use and application of these prophecies, since we see them thus applied by our Lord and his apostles."[3]

2. The second psalm is primarily an inauguration hymn, composed by David, the anointed of Jehovah, when crowned with victory, and placed triumphant on the sacred hill of Sion. But in Acts iv. 25. the inspired apostles with one voice declare it to be descriptive of the exaltation of the Messiah, and of the opposition raised against the Gospel, both by Jews and Gentiles.—The latter part of the sixteenth psalm is spoken of David's person, and is, unquestionably, in its first and immediate sense, to be understood of him, and of his hope of rising after death to an endless life: but it is equally clear from Acts ii. 25—31. that it was spoken of Christ, the son of David, who was typified by that king and prophet. The twenty-second psalm,[4] though primarily intended of David when he was in great distress and forsaken by God, is yet, secondarily and mystically, to be understood of our blessed Saviour during his passion upon the cross; and so it is applied by himself. (Matt. xxvii. 46.) And it is further observable, that other passages of this psalm (v. 8. 16. 18.), are noticed by the evangelist, as being fulfilled at that time (Matt. xxvii. 35. 43.); now it is certain that they could not be fulfilled unless they had been intended in this mysterious sense of Jesus Christ. The forty-fifth psalm is, in the original, a *song of loves*, an epithalamium on the nuptials of king Solomon and the king of Egypt's daughter: but from Heb. i. 8. we are assured that it is addressed to Christ; and, therefore, in a remote and spiritual sense, it celebrates the majesty and glory of his kingdom, his mystical union with his church, and the admirable benefits that would be conferred upon her in the times of the Gospel.

It would be no difficult task to adduce many other psalms in which the double sense is most clearly to be discerned:[5] but we shall proceed to cite a few instances from the writings of the prophets.

(1.) Isa. vii. 14.—In the *primary* but lower sense of this prophecy, the sign given was to assure Ahaz that the land of Judæa would speedily be delivered from the kings of Samaria and Damascus, by whom it was invaded. But the introduction of the prophecy, the singular stress laid upon it, and the exact sense of the terms in which it was expressed, make it in a high degree probable that it had another and more important purpose; and the event has clearly proved that the *sign given* had, second-

[1] On the construction of parabolic language, see pp. 366—368 of this Volume.

[2] Archbishop Newcome on Zech. i. 7—11.

[3] Dr. Woodhouse on the Apocalypse, pp. 172, 173. One of the most remarkable of these prophecies, he observes, is that splendid one of Isaiah, ch. xxxiv.; the importance and universality of which is to be collected from the manner in which it is introduced: "*All nations and people, the world and all things in it,*" are summoned to the audience. It represents "*the day of the Lord's vengeance,*" and the year of the *recompenses* for the controversy of Sion (ver. 8.); it descends on *all nations* and *their armies.* (ver. 2.) The images of wrathful vengeance and utter dissolution are the same which are presented under the sixth seal in the Revelation of St. John. (vi. 12—17.) The hosts of heaven are dissolved; the heavens are rolled together as a scroll of parchment; the stars fall like a leaf from a vine, or a fig from its tree. And yet *Idumæa* is mentioned by the prophet as the *particular* object of vengeance: such seems to be the *typical* completion and *primary* application of this prophecy; but it has evidently a more sublime and future prospect, and in this sense the *whole world* is its object; and using the same symbols and figurative expressions with the prophecy of the sixth seal, with those of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and above all, the sixteenth chapters of the Apocalypse, and with others of the Old and New Testaments, it must, with them, be finally referred to the *great day* of the Lord's vengeance for its perfect completion." Ibid. p. 174.

[4] Dr. Randolph has a beautiful exposition of this psalm at the end of vol. i. of his View of Christ's Ministry, pp. 503—515.

[5] Bishop Horne, in the preface to his admirable commentary on the Psalms, has noticed a considerable number of those divine odes, which bear a double meaning, the propriety of which he has fully vindicated. Works, vol. ii. pp. x.—xx. See also Dr. Apthorpe's Warburtonian "Discourses on Prophecy," vol. i. pp. 77—89.; and Dr. Nares's Warburtonian Lectures, entitled "A Connected and Chronological View of the Prophecies relating to the Christian Church," pp. 155—162. 176, 177. Almost the whole of the Psalms are applied by Bishop Horsley to the Messiah, in his "Book of Psalms translated from the Hebrew," 2 vols. 8vo. But Bishop Marsh has endeavoured to show that there are no double meanings, or, as he terms them, *secondary senses*, in prophecy. Lectures on Divinity part iv. lect. 22.

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arily and mystically, a respect to the miraculous birth of Christ, and to a deliverance much more momentous than that of Ahaz from his then present distressful situation.[1]

(2.) Isa. xi. 6.—What is here said of the wolf dwelling with the lamb, &c. is understood as having its first completion in the reign of Hezekiah, when profound peace was enjoyed after the troubles caused by Sennacherib; but its *second* and full completion is under the Gospel, whose power in changing the hearts, tempers, and lives of the worst of men, is here foretold and described by a singularly beautiful assemblage of images. Of this blessed power there has, in every age of Christianity, been a cloud of witnesses; although its most glorious æra, predicted in this passage, may not yet be arrived. The latter part of the same chapter, in which there are many beautiful allusions to the Exodus from Egypt, seems to refer principally to the future restoration of the Jews from their several dispersions, and to that happy period when they and the Gentiles shall stand together under the banner of Jesus, and unite their zeal in extending the limits of his kingdom. This is a favourite theme with Isaiah, who is usually and justly designated the Evangelical Prophet, and who (ch. xl.) predicted the deliverance of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, and their restoration to the land of Canaan;—events which were primarily and literally accomplished, but which, by the evangelist Matthew (iii. 3.) and by our Lord himself (Matt. xi. 10.) are said to have been fulfilled by John the Baptist's preaching in the wilderness of Judæa; and which, secondarily and spiritually, foretold the deliverance of mankind from the infinitely greater bondage of sin.

(3.) Once more.—Hos. xi. 1. *Out of Egypt have I called my son.* This passage, in its literal sense, was meant of God's delivering the children of Israel out of Egypt; but in its secondary and mystical sense, there can be no doubt that an allusion was intended by the Holy Spirit to the call of the infant Christ out of the same country. (Matt. ii. 15.)

Thus it is evident that many prophecies *must be taken in a double sense*, in order to understand their full import; and this two-fold application of them, by our Lord and his apostles, is a full authority for us to consider and apply them in a similar way. In order to ascertain whether a prophecy is to be taken in a double sense, the following rules have been laid down by the celebrated Vitringa:[2]—

(1.) That we may attain an accurate and distinct knowledge of the *subject* of a prediction, we must carefully attend to all the *attributes* and *characters* which are applied to the subject of the prophecy: if the subject be not specifically mentioned by *name*, it must be discovered by its characteristics: of this description are many of the prophecies concerning Christ, particularly Psalms ii. xxii. xlv. lx. Isa. liii. Zech. iii. 8. If the subject be named, we must inquire whether it is to be taken properly or mystically or partly properly and partly mystically; as in Psalm lxxii.

(2.) We must not, however, depart from the literal sense of the subject, when called by its own proper name, if all the attributes, or the principal and more remarkable ones, agree to the subject of the prophecy. This rule will be found of considerable use in interpreting the prophecies concerning Israel, Judah, Tyre, Babylon, Egypt, and other countries and places.

(3.) If the attributes by no means agree with the subject expressed in a prophecy by its own name, we must direct our thoughts to another subject which corresponds to it, and which assumes a mystic name, on account of the agreement between the type and antitype. Examples of this occur in the prophecies concerning Edom (Isa. lxiii. 1—6.), David (Ezek. xxxiv. 24—31.), and Elijah. (Mal. iv. 5.)

(4.) If, in prophecies, the subject be expressed by name, which may bear both a proper and a mystical interpretation, and the attributes of the prophetic discourse be of a mixed kind, so that some of them agree more strictly with the subject mystically taken, while others are more correctly predicated of it in a literal and grammatical sense;—in such cases, we must take the subject of the prophecy to be, not simple, but *complex*; and the prophet, actuated by divine illumination, expresses himself in such a manner as designedly to be understood of both senses, and to intimate to the reader that the mystical or allegorical sense is enveloped in the literal sense.

Thus, many of the prophecies concerning Babylon, Edom, Egypt, and Tyre, contain such august and magnificent expressions, as, if taken properly, will admit of a very poor and barren exposition; and, therefore, it must be presumed that the Holy Spirit designed something more, and to lead our minds to the mystical Babylon, &c. In like manner, such grand things are sometimes spoken concerning the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, and mention is made of such distinguished blessings being bestowed upon them, as necessarily lead us to look for a further and more complete fulfilment in the redemption by Jesus Christ, and the spiritual blessings of grace bestowed upon the people of God, under the Gospel dispensation. Isa. lii. 1—3. and Jer. iii. 14—18., to cite no other examples, present very striking illustrations of this remark. Hence it follows, that,

(5.) Prophecies of a general nature are applicable by accommodation to individuals; most of the things, which are spoken of the church, being equally applicable to her individual members.

(6.) Prophecies of a particular nature, on the other hand, admit, and often require, an extended sense: for instance, Edom, Moab, or any of the enemies of God's people, are often put for the whole; what is said of one being generally applicable to the rest. And, in like manner, what is said either to or concerning God's people, on any particular occasion, is of general application; as all, who stand in the same relation to God, have an interest in the same prophecies.

(7.) In continued prophecies, which are not distinguished one from another, we should carefully attend, *first*, to the beginning and end of each discourse, and, *secondly*, to the epoch of time which commences the scene of the prophetic vision, and the term in which it ends.

The *first* observation is of principal use in the discourses of Isaiah, from the fortieth chapter to the end of the book. This distinction, often difficult and somewhat obscure, is of great moment in the interpretation of the prophecies, that we may not consider as a continued discourse what ought to be divided into several distinct topics. The *last* part of this canon is indispensable in explaining the Psalms and Prophetic Visions. See Psal. xxiv. i. Isa. vi. 1.

II. *Predictions, denouncing judgments to come, do not in themselves speak the absolute futurity of the event, but only declare what is to be expected by the persons to whom they are made, and what will certainly come to pass, unless God in his mercy interpose between the threatening and the event.*

"So that comminations do speak only the *debitum pœnæ*, and the necessary obligation to punishment: but therein God doth not bind up himself as he doth in absolute promises; the reason is, because comminations confer no right to any, which absolute promises do, and therefore God is not bound to necessary performance of what he threatens. Indeed the guilt or obligation to punishment is necessary, where the offence hath been committed, to which the threatening was annexed: but the execution of that punishment doth still depend upon God's arbitrarious will, and therefore he may suspend or remove it upon serious addresses made to himself in order to it. For, since God was pleased not to take the present forfeiture of the first grand transgression, but made such a relaxation of that penal law, that conditions of pardon were admittable, notwithstanding sentence passed upon the malefactors, there is strong ground of presumption in human nature, that God's forbearance of mankind, notwithstanding sin, doth suppose his readiness to pardon offenders upon their repentance, and, therefore, that all particular threatenings of judgment to come do suppose incorrigibleness in those against whom they are pronounced; upon which the foundation of hope is built, that if timely repentance do intervene, God will remove those judgments which are threatened against them:"[3] of these conditional comminatory predictions we have examples in Jonah's preaching to the Ninevites (Jonah iii. 4—10.), and in Isaiah's denunciation of death to Hezekiah. (Isa. xxxviii. 1.) See also a similar instance in Jer. xxxviii. 14—23.

III. *Predictions then express divine purposes, when many prophets in several ages concur in the same prediction.*

"Because it is hardly seen but all those tacit conditions, which are supposed in general promises or comminations, may be altered in different ages: but, when the conditions alter, and the predictions continue the same, it is a stronger evidence that it is some immutable counsel of God, which is expressed in those predictions. And in this case one prediction confirms the foregoing, as the Jews say of prophets, '*one prophet that hath the testimony of another prophet is supposed to be true*:' but it must be with this supposition, that the other prophet was before approved to be a true prophet. Now, both these meet in the prophecies concerning our Saviour; for to him bear all the prophets witness, and in their several ages they had several things revealed to them concerning him: and the uniformity and perfect harmony of all these several prophecies by persons at so great distance from each other, and being of several interests and employments, and in several places, yet all giving light to each other, and exactly meeting at last in the accomplishment, do give us yet a further and clearer evidence, that all those several beams came from the same sun, when all those scattered rays were at last gathered into one body again at the appearance of the Sun of Righteousness in the world."[4]

SECTION III.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF PROPHECIES CONCERNING THE MESSIAH IN PARTICULAR.[5]

I. JESUS CHRIST *being the great subject and end of Scripture revelation, we ought every where to search for Prophecies concerning him.*

We are assured by Christ himself that the Scriptures testify of him (John v. 39.), and that in Moses, the Psalms, and Prophets, there are things concerning him (Luke xxiv. 25—27. 44.): further, we have the declaration of an inspired apostle, that to him give all the prophets witness (Acts x. 43.), and

[1] There is a good philological illustration of this prediction in Dr. Randolph's Prælectiones Theologicæ, in vol. ii. (pp. 446. *et seq.*) of his View of Christ's Ministry; and an elaborate vindication and explanation of it in the Abbé Hook's Religionis Naturalis et Revelatæ Principia, tom. ii. pp. 494—498.

[2] In his Typus Doctrinæ Propheticæ, cap. ii. Dr. Apthorpe has translated eighteen of Vitringa's canons (which are admirably illustrated by numerous examples in his valuable commentary on Isaiah) in his Lectures on Prophecy, vol. i. pp. 90—106. Jahn has given several additional examples. Introd. ad Vet. Fœdus, pp. 332—334.

[3] Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ, book ii. chap. vi. § 10. pp. 120, 121. 8th edit. Jahn, Enchiridion Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, pp. 148, 149.

[4] Stillingfleet's Orig. Sac. p. 120.

[5] Bishop Marsh (Divinity Lectures, part iv. lect. xx. and xxi.) has several admirable observations on the connection subsisting between the truth of Christianity and the prophecies relating to the Messiah: nearly the whole of Lecture xxi. is occupied with examples of predictions literally and strictly *foretelling the coming of Christ.*

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of an angel of God, that "*the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.*" (Rev. xix. 10.) It may therefore be remarked generally, that whatsoever is emphatically and characteristically spoken of some certain person, not called by his own name, in the psalms or prophetical books, so that each predicate can be fully demonstrated in no single subject of that or any other time, must be taken as said and predicted of the Messiah. The twenty-second psalm, and the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah's prophecy, may be adduced as illustrations of this rule, which will not mislead any student or reader of the sacred volume. The first four remarks in p. 391. may be advantageously employed in the application of this rule.

II. *The interpretation of the word of prophecy, made by Jesus Christ himself, and by his inspired apostles, is a rule and key by which to interpret correctly the prophecies cited or alluded to by them.*

The propriety of this canon must be obvious: for as every one is the best interpreter of his own words, so the Holy Spirit (under whose influence the ancient prophets wrote and spoke), in more recent prophecies, refers to former predictions, and often uses the same words, phrases, and images, thus leading us to understand the true sense of those oracles.[1] For instance, the prophecy (in Isa. viii. 14.) that the Messiah would prove a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence, is more plainly repeated by Simeon (Luke ii. 34.), and is shown to have been fulfilled by Paul (Rom. ix. 32, 33.), and by Peter (1 Pet. ii. 8.); and the sixteenth psalm is expressly applied to Jesus Christ by the latter of these apostles. (Acts ii. 25—31.)[2]

III. *Where the prophets describe a golden age of felicity, they clearly foretell Gospel times; and particularly in the Prophecies and Psalms, whatever is predicated of a person not named, in terms expressive of such excellence, glory, and other characteristics, as are suitable in their just emphases to no other subject, must be interpreted as spoken and predicted of the Messiah.*

1. It is thus that the writers of the New Testament interpret and allege the ancient prophecies; instances may be given in Deut. xviii. 18. Psalms viii. xvi. xxii. xl. lxix. lxxviii. cxviii. 22, 23. Isa. iv. 2. vii. 14, 15. xlii. 1. liii. Zech. iii. 8. and xii. 10. It is worthy of remark that the writers of the New Testament directly apply to the SON OF GOD the most magnificent descriptions and attributes of the FATHER in the Old Testament; as in Psal. lxviii. 18. cii. 26, 27. Isa. xlv. 22—24.; which teach us to *acknowledge the mystery of God, even of the Father, and of Christ, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.* (Col. ii. 2, 3.)

2. At the time the prophets respectively flourished the Israelites and Jews were, in general, notoriously wicked, although, even in the worst of times, there was a considerable number who feared Jehovah. Hence, while the prophets denounce national judgments upon the wicked (in which temporal afflictions the righteous would necessarily be involved), they at the same time hold out to the latter, to strengthen their trust in God, predictions of future and better times; and, with promises of some great and temporal deliverance, they invariably connect a display of the yet greater though future deliverance of the Messiah: the peace and happiness which are to prevail in consequence of that deliverance are portrayed in such a beautiful assemblage of images, and delineate so high a state of felicity, that, as there is no period in the history of the world, prior to the Christian dispensation, to which they can in any way be applied, these predictions of future happiness and peace must necessarily be understood exclusively to refer to Gospel times. Many passages might be adduced from the prophetic writings in confirmation of this rule. It will, however, suffice to adduce two instances from Isaiah, ch. ix. 2—7. and xi. 1—9. In the former of these passages, the peaceful kingdom of the Messiah is set forth, its extent and duration; and in the latter, the singular peace and happiness which should then prevail are delineated in imagery of unequalled beauty and energy.[3]

IV. *Things foretold as universally or indefinitely to come to pass under the Gospel, are to be understood,—as they respect the duty,—of all persons; but,—as they respect the event,—only of God's people.*

Thus, when the peace, that is foretold to prevail in Gospel times, is stated to be so great that men should then *beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks;* that nation should not *lift up sword against nation, neither learn war any more* (Isa. ii. 4.); and that *the wolf should lie down with the lamb, and the leopard with the kid* (Isa. xi. 6. and lxv. 25. with other passages that might be adduced);—all these highly figurative expressions are to be understood of the nature, design, and tendency of the Gospel, and what is the duty of all its professors, and what would actually take place in the Christian world, if all who profess the Christian doctrine did sincerely and cordially obey its dictates. And, so far as the Gospel does prevail upon any, it reclaims their wild and unruly natures; from being furious as wolves, they become meek as lambs, and from raging like lions, they become gentle and tender as kids: so far are they from hurting or injuring others, that they dare not entertain any the slightest thoughts of malevolence or revenge, towards their most inveterate enemies.

V. *As the ancient prophecies concerning the Messiah are of two kinds, some of them relating to his first coming to suffer, while the rest of them concern his second coming to advance his kingdom, and restore the Jews;—in all these prophecies, we must carefully distinguish between his first coming in humiliation to accomplish his mediatorial work on the cross, and his second coming in glory to judgment.*

This distinction is sufficiently obvious in those passages which treat of either coming separately, as in Isa. vii. 14. ix. 6. liii. &c. which treat of his *first coming* in the flesh; and in Isa. ii. 10—21., which refers to his second *coming* to judgment. To the former must be referred all those passages which relate to his humiliation. But it is more difficult to distinguish each advent in those passages, in which the prophet makes an immediate transition from the one to the other. For instance, in Isa. xl. 1—9, the prediction relates to the first advent of Christ, but in v. 10. his second coming to judgment is noticed, express mention being made of the solemn work of retribution, which is peculiar to judgment. Again, in Jer. xxiii. 5—7. the promise of sending the Son of God into the world is in v. 8. joined with a prophecy concerning the conversion of the Jews, which is yet future. A similar instance of uniting the two advents of Christ occurs in Mal. iii. 1—5. By distinguishing, however, between them, we shall be better able to combat the objections of the Jews, who apply to the Messiah all those predictions which refer to a state of exaltation, while they overlook all those plain, though less numerous prophecies, in which is described Messiah's first coming in a state of humiliation.

Before we dismiss the important subject of prophecy, there are two cautions, which must uniformly be kept in view in studying the prophetic writings.

1. The first is, *that we do not apply passing events as actually fulfilling particular prophecies.*

It has justly been remarked, that "a commentator upon the predictions of Daniel and John can never be too much upon his guard against the fascinating idea, that he may expect to find *every passing event of his own day* there predicted. Before he ventures to introduce any exposition founded upon *present* circumstances, he ought to make it clearly appear that it both accords with the *chronological* order so carefully preserved in those prophecies, that it strictly harmonizes with the *language of symbols*, and that it demonstrates every part of the prediction to tally *exactly* with its supposed accomplishments."[4]

2. The other caution is, that *we do not curiously pry beyond what is expressly written, or describe as fulfilled prophecies which are yet future.*

Such *secret things*, as unaccomplished prophecies, *belong unto the Lord* our God; and it is a vain waste of time to weary ourselves with conjectures respecting the *precise* mode of their accomplishment. Upon these points, when we go beyond what is written, we exceed our commission; and it has almost invariably been found, that a commentator, who attempted to show *how* a prophecy was about to be fulfilled, was by the event convicted of error. We may safely and positively declare what will come to pass, and we may even say *how* it will come to pass, so long as we resolutely confine ourselves to the *explicit declarations of Scripture;* but to point out the *manner* in which an event will be accomplished, *any further than the word of God* has revealed the manner of it, is to pry too curiously into what he has purposely concealed, and to aim at becoming prophets, instead of contenting ourselves with being humble and fallible expositors of prophecy. What *the Bible* has declared, that *we* may without hesitation declare: beyond this, all is mere vague conjecture.[5]

On the subject of apparent contradictions between prophecies and their accomplishment, see Chap. VII. Sect. III. *infra.*[6]

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[1] Bishop Lowth has some fine remarks on this topic towards the close of his eleventh Lecture.

[2] The petty cavils and evasions of Ruperti and other modern commentators, who deny (without being able to disprove) the above canon, are well exposed by Dr. J. P. Smith, on the Person of Christ, vol. i. pp. 222, 223.

[3] Rambach, Inst. Herm. pp. 175—177. J. P. Carpzov, Primæ Lineæ Hermeneuticæ p. 25, 26.

[4] Faber's Dissertation on the Prophecies, vol. ii. p. 277.

[5] Ibid. vol. i. p. 77.

[6] In addition to the writers cited in the course of this chapter, it may be stated that the fulfilment of prophecy is fully considered by Bishop Newton in his "Dissertations," 2 vols. 8vo. See also Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, and the Apocalypse, 4to. A. H. Franckii Introductio ad Lectionem Prophetarum, (Halæ Magdeburgicæ, 1724, 8vo.), pp. 1—88. In pp. 91—247. he has applied his general principles to the interpretation of the prophet Jonah; Glassii Philologia Sacr. lib. i. tract. iv. col. 311—391. 4to. edit. Lipsiæ, 1725; Rambachii Observationes Selectæ de Parallelismo Sacro, pp. 219—235., and his Instit. Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, pp. 741—745. 779—791. J. E. Pfeifferi, Inst. Herm. Sacr. pp. 79—81.; Langii Hermeneutica Sacra, pp. 133—150.; Turretin de Sacræ Scripturæ Interpretatione, cap. iv. pp. 244—255.; in pp. 256—295. he has given an admirable illustration of the principles laid down by him in the preceding chapter by expounding chapters i. and ii. of the prophecy of Joel; Pareau, Institutio Interpretis Veteris Testamenti, pp. 468—519.; Principes Généraux pour l'intelligence des Prophéties (Paris, 1763, 8vo.); Bishop Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses, book vi. (Works, vol. vi. p. 47. *et seq.*); Dr. Hey's Norrisian Lectures, vol. i. pp. 235—240.; Dr. Smith's View of the Prophets, 12mo. Bishop Hurd's Introduction to the Study of the Prophets (Works, vol. v.) Dr. Macknight's Translation and Commentary on the Epistles, vol. iv. (4to edit.) or vi. (8vo. edit.) essay viii. sect. v.; Mr Frere's Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, Esdras, and St. John, 8vo.; and the Rev. Wm. Jones's Lectures on the Figurative Language of Scripture. (Theol. and Miscel. Works, vol. iv.) These writers have all been consulted on the present occasion.

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CHAPTER V.

ON THE DOCTRINAL INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

As the Holy Scriptures contain the revealed will of God to man, they not only offer to our attention the most interesting histories and characters for our instruction by example, and the most sublime prophecies for the confirmation of our faith, but they likewise present to our serious study, *doctrinal truths* of the utmost importance. Some of these occur in the historical, poetical, and prophetical parts of the Bible: but they are chiefly to be found in the apostolic epistles which, though originally designed for the edification of particular Christian churches or individuals, are nevertheless of *general application, and designed for the guidance of the universal church in every age.* For many of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity are more copiously treated in the epistles, which are not so particularly explained in the Gospels; and as the authors of the several epistles wrote under the same divine inspiration as the evangelists, the epistles and gospels must be taken together, to complete the rule of Christian faith. The doctrinal interpretation, therefore, of the Sacred Writings is of paramount consequence; as by this means we are enabled to acquire a correct and saving knowledge of the will of God concerning us. In the prosecution of this important branch of sacred literature, the following observations are offered to the attention of the student:—

I. *The meaning of the Sacred Writings is not to be determined according to modern notions and systems: but we must endeavour to carry ourselves back to the very times and places in which they were written, and realize the ideas and modes of thinking of the sacred writers.*

This rule is of the utmost importance for understanding the Scriptures; but is too commonly neglected by commentators and expositors, who, when applying themselves to the explanation of the Sacred Writings, have a preconceived system of doctrine which they seek in the Bible, and to which they refer every passage of Scripture. Thus they rather draw the Scriptures to *their* system of doctrine, than bring their doctrines to the standard of Scripture; a mode of interpretation which is altogether unjust, and utterly useless in the attainment of truth. The only way by which to understand the meaning of the sacred writers, and to distinguish between true and false doctrines, is, to lay aside all preconceived modern notions and systems, and to carry ourselves back to the very times and places in which the prophets and apostles wrote. In perusing the Bible, therefore, this rule must be most carefully attended to:—it is only an unbiassed mind that can attain the true and genuine sense of Scripture.[1]

II. *Regard must also be had to the peculiar state of the churches, cities, or persons, to whom particular epistles, especially those of Saint Paul, were addressed; as the knowledge of such state frequently leads to the particular occasion for which such epistle was written.*

"Although the general design of the whole of Scripture was the instruction of the world, and the edification of the church in every age, still there was an immediate and specific design with regard to every book. This appears particularly obvious in reference to the epistles. With the exception of those properly called catholic or general epistles, and of a few written to individuals, they were addressed to particular societies of Christians, and they were adapted to the exact state of those societies, whether consisting chiefly of Jewish or of Heathen converts; whether recently organized as churches, or in a state of flourishing maturity; whether closely cemented together by the strength of brotherly love, or distracted by the spirit of faction; whether steadfast in adherence to the truth, or inclining to the admission of error. Now, if these considerations were present to the mind of the inspired writer of an epistle, and served to regulate the strain and the topics of his address, it is evident that they must by no means be disregarded by us in our attempts to ascertain the genuine and intended sense."[2] A knowledge, therefore, of the state of the particular churches, to which they addressed their epistles, is of the greatest importance, not only to enable us to ascertain the scope of any particular epistle, but also for the purpose of reconciling doctrinal passages, which, to a *cursory* reader, may at first sight appear contradictory.

For instance, the Galatian churches, not long after their members had been converted to the faith of the Gospel, were persuaded by some Judaizing teachers that it was absolutely necessary they should be circumcised, and observe the entire law of Moses: hence great dissensions arose among the Galatian Christians. These circumstances led Saint Paul to write his Epistle to them; the design of which was, to prove the Jewish ceremonial law to be no longer obligatory, to convince them of the moral and spiritual nature of the Gospel, and thus to restore mutual good-will among them.

Again, Rom. xiv. 5. and Gal. iv. 10, 11. are *apparently* contradictory to each other. In the former passage we read—"*One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.*" The latter passage runs thus,—"*Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years; I am afraid lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain.*" Now, if we attend to the situation and character of the persons addressed, we shall easily be enabled to solve this seeming difficulty.

The Roman and Galatian churches were composed of both Jews and Gentiles: but they are not addressed promiscuously; neither are they the same description of people who are addressed in both passages. Those who "regarded days," among the Romans, were the *converted Jews*, who, having from their youth observed them as divine appointments, were with difficulty brought to lay them aside. And as their attachment had its origin in a tender regard to divine authority, they were considered as "keeping the day unto the Lord;" and great forbearance was enjoined upon the Gentile converts towards them in that matter. Those, on the other hand, who, among the Galatians, "observed days, and months, and times," were *converted Gentiles*, as is manifest from the context, which describes them as having, in their unconverted state, "done service to them which by nature were no gods." (ch. iv. 8.) These being perverted by certain Judaizing teachers, were, contrary to the apostolic decision (Acts xv.), circumcised, and subjected themselves to the yoke of Jewish ceremonies. Nor was this all; they were led to consider these things as necessary to justification and salvation, which were subversive of the doctrine of justification by faith in Jesus Christ. (Acts xv. 1. Gal. v. 4.) These circumstances being considered, the different language of the apostle is perfectly in character. Circumcision, and conformity to the law of Moses, *in Jewish converts*, was held to be lawful. Even the apostle of the Gentiles himself "to the Jews became a Jew;" frequently, if not constantly, conforming to the Jewish laws. And when writing to others, he expresses himself on this wise:—"Is any man called, being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised. Is any called, in uncircumcision? let him not become circumcised. Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping of the commandments of God." (1 Cor. vii. 18, 19.) But for *Gentiles*, who had no such things to allege in their favour, to go off from the liberty granted to them (Acts xv.), and entangle themselves under a yoke of bondage, and not only so, but to make it a term of justification, was sufficient to excite a fear lest the labour which he had bestowed upon them was in vain.[3]

Braunius,[4] Vitringa,[5] and Buddeus[6] have happily illustrated numerous passages in St. Paul's Epistles by attending to the circumstances mentioned in the above canon. The state of the Apocalyptic churches has also been well described by our learned countryman Smith,[7] by Witsius,[8] and especially by Ferdinand Stosch.[9] Rambach, in his Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans, has elaborately investigated the state of the church at Rome, and applied it to the justification and scope of this epistle.[10]

III. *In order to understand any doctrinal book or passage of Scripture, we must attend to the controversies which were agitated at that time, and to which the sacred writers allude; for a key to the apostolic epistles is not to be sought in the modern controversies that divide Christians, and which were not only unknown, but also were not in existence at that time.*

The controversies which were discussed in the age of the apostles are to be ascertained, partly from their writings, partly from the existing monuments of the primitive Christians, and likewise from some passages in the writings of the Rabbins.

From these it appears that the following were the principal questions then agitated, viz. What is the true way by which to please God, and thus to obtain eternal life—the observance of the Mosaic law, or faith and obedience as held forth in the Gospel? To this question the following was closely allied—Whether the observance of the Mosaic ceremonies was so absolutely necessary, that they were to be imposed on the converted Gentiles? The former question is *particularly* discussed in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; the latter in the council held at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 1—31.), and *especially* in the Epistle to the Galatians.

Another question which was most warmly agitated, related to the calling of the Gentiles, which the Jews could by no means bear, as appears from

[1] Turretin, de Interp. Sacr. Script. pp. 312. 314. See also some sensible remarks on these perversions of the Sacred Writings in the Christian Observer for 1818, vol. xvii. p. 317.

[2] Rev. H. F. Burder's Sermon on the Duty and Means of ascertaining the genuine Sense of the Scriptures, p. 19.

[3] Fuller's Harmony of Scripture, pp. 44. 46.

[4] Selecta Sacra, lib. i.

[5] Observationes Sacræ, lib. iv. cc. 7, 8.

[6] Jo Francisci Buddei Ecclesia Apostolica, sive de Statu Ecclesiæ Christianæ sub Apostolis Commentatio Historica-Dogmatica. Jenæ, 1729. 8vo.

[7] In his "Remarks upon the Manners, Religion, and Government of the Turks, with a Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia," 8vo. 1678. The remarks had previously been printed in Latin in 1672, and again in an enlarged edition in 1674.

[8] Miscellanea Sacra, tom. i. p. 669.

[9] Ferdinandi Stosch Syntagma Dissertationum Septem de nominibus totidem Urbium Asiæ ad quos D. Johannes in Apocalypsi Epistolas direxit, 8vo. Guelpherbyti. 1757.

[10] Jo. Jac. Rambachii Introductio Historico-Theologica in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos. 8vo. Halæ, 1727.

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numerous passages in the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles. The apostles, therefore, found it necessary to assert that point, to confirm it by citing numerous prophecies from the Old Testament relative to the conversion of the Gentiles, and to vindicate it from the objections of the Jews; this has been done by Saint Paul in several chapters of his Epistle to the Romans, as well as in his Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, in hich he proves that the Jewish ceremonies were superseded.

There were also some Jewish notions, which were refuted both by our Lord and by his apostles; for instance, that all Jews would certainly be saved. Turretin, to whom we are indebted for this observation, has adduced a passage from the Codex Sanhedrin, which affirmed that *every Jew had a portion in the future world*, and another from the Talmud, in which it is said that *Abraham is sitting near the gates of hell, and does not permit any Israelite, however wicked he may be, to descend into hell.*[1] In opposition to such traditions as these, Jesus Christ thus solemnly warned them:—*Not every man that saith unto me, "Lord, Lord," shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.* (Matt. vii. 24.) This notion was also opposed at length by St. Paul. (Rom. ii. 16. *et seq.*) Once more: it appears from very many passages of the Jewish writers, that the Jews divided the precepts of the law into great and little, and taught that if a man observed *one such grand precept*, that would suffice to conciliate the favour of God, and would outweigh all his other actions. In opposition to this our Lord solemnly declares, that "whosoever shall break one of *these least commandments*, and shall teach men so, he shall be called (*shall be*) least in the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. v. 19.); and Saint James also, "whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend *in one point*, he is guilty of all." (James ii. 10.)

Further, many erroneous tenets were held and promulgated in the time of the apostles, by persons calling themselves Christians. To these "oppositions of science falsely so called" (1 Tim. vi. 20.) there are numerous allusions in the Epistles, where such errors are refuted: for instance, Col. ii. 18. the worshipping of angels; Col. ii. 20, 21. against the pretensions of extraordinary mortifications and abstinence; 1 Cor. viii. and 2 Cor. vi. 16, &c. against idols and eating things offered to them, &c. The beginning of Saint John's Gospel, it is well known, was written to refute the false notions of Cerinthus.

IV. *The doctrinal books of Scripture, for instance, the Epistles, are not to be perused in detached portions or sections; but they should be read through at once, with a close attention to the scope and tenor of the discourse, regardless of the divisions into chapters and verses, precisely in the same manner in which we would peruse the letters of Cicero, Pliny, or other ancient writers.*

This reading should not be cursory or casual, but frequent and diligent; and the Epistles should be repeatedly perused, until we become intimately acquainted with their contents.[2] Want of attention to the general scope and design of the doctrinal parts of Scripture, particularly of the Epistles, has been the source of many and great errors: "for, to pick out a verse or two, and criticise on a word or expression, and ground a doctrine thereon, without considering the main scope of the epistle and the occasion of writing it, is just as if a man should interpret ancient statutes or records by two or three words or expressions in them, without regard to the true occasion upon which they were made, and without any manner of knowledge and insight into the history of the age in which they were written." The absurdity of such a conduct is too obvious to need further exposure.

Having already offered some hints for investigating the *scope* of a particular book or passage,[3] it only remains to notice that there is this general difference observable between the scope of the *Gospels* and that of the *Epistles*; viz. the *former* represent the principles of Christianity *absolutely*, or as they are in themselves; while the *latter* represent them *relatively*, that is, as they respect the state of the world at that particular time.

[1] De Sacr. Script. Interp. p. 316.

[2] Mr. Locke has forcibly illustrated this remark by relating his own practice in studying the Epistles of Saint Paul. After he had found by long experience that the ordinary way of reading a chapter, and then consulting commentators upon difficult passages, failed in leading him to the true sense of the Epistle, he says, "I saw plainly, after I began once to reflect on it, that if any one should now write me a letter as long as Saint Paul's to the Romans, concerning such a matter as that is, in a style as foreign, and expressions as dubious, as his seem to be, if I should divide it into fifteen or sixteen chapters, and read one of them to-day and another to-morrow, &c. it was ten to one that I should never come to a full and clear comprehension of it. The way to understand the mind of him that wrote it, every one would agree, was to read the whole letter through from one end to the other, all at once, to see what was the main subject and tendency of it; or, if it had several parts and purposes in it, not dependent one of another, nor in a subordination to one chief aim and end, to discover what those different matters were, and where the author concluded one and began another; and if there were any necessity of dividing the Epistles into parts, mark the boundaries of them." In the prosecution of this thought, Mr. Locke concluded it necessary for the understanding of any one of Saint Paul's Epistles to read it all through at one sitting, and to observe as well as he could the drift and design of the writer. Successive perusals in a similar way at length gave him a good general view of the apostle's main purpose in writing the Epistle, the chief branches of his discourse, the arguments he used, and the disposition of the whole. This, however, is not to be attained by one or two hasty readings. "It must be repeated again and again, *with a close attention to the tenor of the discourse, and a perfect neglect of the divisions into chapters and verses.* On the contrary, the safest way is, to suppose that the Epistle has but one business and but one aim; until, by a frequent perusal of it, you are forced to see there are distinct independent matters in it, which will forwardly enough show themselves." Locke on the Epistles of Saint Paul, Preface. (Works, vol. ii. pp. 281, 282. 4to.)

See pp. 339, 340. *supra.*

V. *Where any doctrine is to be deduced from the Scriptures, it will be collected better, and with more precision, from those places in which it is professedly discussed, than from those in which it is noticed only incidentally or by way of inference.*

For instance, in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, the doctrine of justification by faith is fully treated; and in those to the Ephesians and Colossians, the calling of the Gentiles and the abrogation of the ceremonial law are particularly illustrated. These must, therefore, be diligently compared together, in order to deduce those doctrines correctly.

VI. *Doctrines peculiar to a certain age are better ascertained from writings belonging to that age, or the times immediately following, than from memorials or writings of a later date.*

Thus, the ideas entertained by the patriarchs are better collected from the writings immediately concerning them—the book of Genesis, for instance—than from books written long afterwards, as the Apostolic Epistles.—Not that these are unworthy of credit (of such an insinuation the author trusts he shall be fully acquitted), but because the apostles deduce inferences from passages of Scripture, according to the manner practised in *their own time*; which inferences, though truly correct, and every way worthy the assent of Christians, were not known at the time when such passages were first committed to writing.[4]

VII. *Although the Scriptures sometimes speak of God after the manner of men, they are not to be understood literally, but must be taken in a sense worthy of God.*

This rule was not unknown to the Jews, with whom it was usual to say that the Scriptures speak of God *with the tongue of the sons of men.* When, therefore, *human members, faculties, senses, and affections, are attributed to the Deity*, they are to be understood in a sense worthy of Him; and the manner in which that sense is to be ascertained is twofold:—1. *From the light of nature*, which teaches us that all ideas of imperfection are to be removed from God, and, consequently, corporeity; and, 2. *From the comparison of other passages of Scripture*, in which it is written, that God is a spirit, that he cannot be represented by any figure, and that he is not a man that he should repent, &c. Numerous illustrations of this remark might be offered, were it necessary; but as this subject has already been discussed in a former chapter, it will be sufficient to give a reference to it.[5]

VIII. *No doctrine is admissible, or can be established from the Scriptures, that is either repugnant to them, or contrary to reason or to the analogy of faith.*

For instance, if the doctrine of transubstantiation were to be admitted, the evidence of our reason, as well as of our senses, could no longer be believed, and the consequence would be, that the arguments for the truth of the Christian religion, arising from the miracles and resurrection of Jesus Christ, would fall to the ground, and become of no effect whatever. Articles of revelation, indeed, may be above our reason; but no doctrine, which comes from God, can be irrational, or contrary to those moral truths, which are clearly perceived by the mind of man. We are sure, therefore, that any interpretation of revealed doctrines that is inconsistent with common sense, or with the established laws of morality, must be erroneous. The several parts of those doctrines, which are dispersed through the Scriptures, ought to be collected and explained so as to agree with one another, and form an intelligible and consistent scheme. The different parts of a revelation, which comes from God, must all be reconcilable with one another, and with sound reason. The prejudices of different denominations unfit them for understanding the passages, which are connected with the subjects of their disputations; but there are general principles that all parties adopt: and no text can be interpreted in a sense inconsistent with those articles which are universally received. This conformity, of every part to first principles, is commonly called the analogy of faith; the nature of which, and the manner in which it is to be applied to the interpretation of Scripture, are stated and explained in pp. 342—344.

IX. *It is of great importance to the understanding of the doctrinal books of the New Testament, to attend to and distinctly to note the transitions of person which frequently occur, especially in Saint Paul's Epistles.*

The pronouns *I*, *We*, and *You*, are used by the apostles in such a variety of applications, that the understanding of their true meaning is often a key to many difficult passages.

Thus, by the pronoun *I*, Saint Paul sometimes means himself; sometimes any Christian; sometimes a Jew; and sometimes any man, &c.

[4] Turretin, p. 324.

[5] See p. 362. *supra*

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if the speaking of himself in the first person singular have these various meanings, his use of the plural *We* is with far greater latitude; for sometimes *we* means himself alone, sometimes those who were with him whom he makes partners to the Epistles (as in the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and in those to the Philippians and Colossians); sometimes with himself comprehending the other apostles, or preachers of the Gospel, or Christians. Nay, he sometimes speaks in this way of the converted Jews, at others, of the converted Gentiles: sometimes he introduces the unregenerate as speaking in his own person; at other times he personifies false teachers or false Christians, whose names, however, he forbears to mention, lest he should give them offence. In all these instances, his application of the above-mentioned pronouns varies the meaning of the text, and causes it to be differently understood. Examples illustrative of this remark may be found in every page of Saint Paul's Epistles. Further, in the current of his discourse, he sometimes drops in the objections of others, and his answers to them, without any change in the scheme of his language, that might give notice of any other person speaking besides himself. To discover this, requires great attention to the apostle's scope and argument; and yet, if it be neglected or overlooked, it will cause the reader greatly to mistake and misunderstand[1] his meaning, and will also render the sense very perplexed. Mr. Locke, and Dr. Macknight, in their elaborate works on the Epistles, are particularly useful in pointing out these various transitions of persons and subjects.

X. *In applying the Scriptures as a proof of any doctrine, it is necessary to ascertain, if all that is meant be expressed; or, if it be not expressed, what is necessarily implied, in order to complete the passage.*

Thus it is common (as we have already shown)[2] for the sacred writers to mention only the principal part of any subject, for the whole.

In Rom. x. 9. Paul says; *If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart* THAT GOD HATH RAISED HIM FROM THE DEAD, *thou shalt be saved.* The resurrection of Christ is the only article which is mentioned here, because, by that miracle, God established the Saviour's authority, as a lawgiver, and confirmed all the doctrines which he taught. But there are other essential articles, which are necessary to be believed, in order to be saved, though they are not stated in the text. It is added (ver. 13.), *for whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.* No *real* Christian can be so ignorant of the Gospel, as to suppose, that no more is necessary, in order to be saved, than to call upon the name of the Lord. In this text, it is evident that the apostle mentions only a principal part of what is meant. Now, from the context may be gathered the following particulars, as implied, though not expressed. *First*, in the ninth verse it is affirmed, that in order to be saved, a man must believe in his heart. Secondly, he must confess with his mouth; *If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.* Confession implies more than profession. A true believer in Jesus Christ openly, and of his own accord, *professes* the articles of his belief; and when he is persecuted, and examined concerning his religion, he readily *confesses* the truth, as an evidence of his sincerity and faithfulness. Even this is not all that is necessary, in order to be saved; for it is added in the tenth verse, *with the heart man believeth* UNTO RIGHTEOUSNESS, *and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.* Faith, acting on the heart, is productive of a righteous life, and thus the believer becomes a sincere worshipper of the Lord; *for whosoever will call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.* (ver. 13.) In these different passages, it is evident that a part is mentioned for the whole; and in order to understand all that is implied, the several parts must be collected and put together.

XI. *No article of faith can be established from metaphors, parables, or single obscure and figurative texts.*

The metaphorical language of the prophets, and figurative expressions which abound in the Scriptures, are calculated to promote the purposes of godliness by acting on the imagination, and by influencing a believer's conduct; but they never were intended to be a revelation of Gospel principles. Instead of deriving our knowledge of Christianity from parables and figurative passages, *an intimate acquaintance with the doctrines of the Gospel is necessary, in order to be capable of interpreting them.*

The beautiful parable of the man who fell among thieves (Luke x. 30—37.) is evidently intended to influence the Jews to be benevolent and kind, like the good Samaritan. Some writers have considered that parable to be a representation of Adam's fall, and of man's recovery, through the interposition and love of Jesus Christ. But those, who embrace this opinion, did not learn these doctrines from the passage itself. No person, who is wholly ignorant of Adam, and of Jesus Christ, could ever learn any thing concerning them, from what is related in this parable. The same observation is equally applicable to every other parable, and typical subject; in which the doctrines of the Gospel cannot be discovered by any person, who has not first learned them from other texts.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE MORAL INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

SECTION I.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE MORAL PARTS OF SCRIPTURE.

HAVING already discussed the interpretation of the figurative, spiritual, typical, prophetical, and doctrinal parts of the Sacred Writings, it now remains that we consider the Moral Parts of Scripture. These, indeed, are to be interpreted precisely in the same manner as all other moral writings; regard being had to the peculiar circumstances of the sacred writers, viz. the age in which they wrote, the nation to which they belonged, their style, genius, &c. For, being natives of the East, they treat moral topics, after the oriental manner, in a highly figurative style, and with similitudes, and figures considerably more far-fetched than is usual among Greek and Latin authors, or even among the moderns. Again, being for the most part persons in the common walks of life, they generally deliver their precepts in a popular manner, adapted to the capacities of those to whom they were addressed. In the examination of the moral parts of Scripture, the following more particular rules will be found useful:—

I. *Moral propositions or discourses are not to be urged too far, but must be understood with a certain degree of latitude, and with various* LIMITATIONS.

For want of attending to this canon, how many moral truths have been pushed to an extent, which causes them altogether to fail of the effect they were designed to produce! It is not to be denied that universal propositions may be offered: such are frequent in the Scriptures as well as in profane writers, and also in common life; but it is in explaining the expressions by which they are conveyed, that just limits ought to be applied, to prevent them from being urged too far. The nature of the thing, and various other circumstances, will always afford a criterion by which to understand moral propositions with the requisite limitations. In order, however, that this subject may be better understood, and applied to the Scriptures, we will state a few of these limitations, and illustrate them by examples.

1. *Universal or indefinite moral propositions often denote nothing more than the natural aptitude or tendency of a thing to produce a certain effect, even although that effect should not actually take place.*

Thus, when Solomon says that *a soft answer turneth away wrath* (Prov xv. 1.), the best method of mitigating anger is pointed out, although the obstinacy or wickedness of man may produce a different result. In like manner, when St. Peter says, *Who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?* (1 Pet. iii. 13.), this expression is not to be understood as implying that good men shall *never* be ill-treated; but it simply denotes the natural effect which a virtuous life will probably produce, viz. many occasions of irritating men will be avoided, and, on the other hand, their friendship and favour will be conciliated.

2. *Universal or indefinite propositions denote only what generally or often takes place.*

As in Prov. xxii. 6. *Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old he will not depart from it.* Here the wise monarch intimates not what always takes place, but what is the frequent consequence of judicious education. To this rule are to be referred all those propositions which treat of the manners, virtues, or vices of particular nations, conditions, or ages. Thus Saint Paul says, that the *Cretans are always liars.* (Tit. i. 12.) Again, when the same apostle, portraying the struggles of an enlightened but unregenerate person, says—*I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing* (Rom. vii. 18.), he does not mean to say that there is nothing morally good in man; but that no man is by nature *spiritually* good, or *good in the sight of God.*[3]

[1] Locke's Preface to the Epistles. (Works, vol. iii. p. 277.)
[2] See p. 371. *supra.*

[3] Similar to this is the language of the Liturgy of the Anglican church:—"O God,....because through the weakness of our mortal nature, we can do no *good* thing, without thou grant us the help of thy grace." (Collect for the first Sunday after Trinity.) On which Bishop Tomline remarks—"I have only to observe, that the good thing here mentioned, must mean *good in the sight of God*: such an action our weak and unassisted nature will, unquestionably, not allow us to perform." (Refutation of Calvinism, pp. 67, 68. 1st edit.) To the same purpose, in another place he observes:—

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3. *Universal or indefinite propositions frequently denote* DUTY, *or what* OUGHT *to be done, not what always does actually take place.*

"It is the way of the Scriptures," says a late writer, "to speak to and of the visible members of the church of Christ, under such appellations and expressions as may seem, at first hearing, to imply that they are all of them truly righteous and holy persons. Thus the apostles style those to whom they write, in general, *saints*; they speak of them as "sanctified in Christ Jesus, chosen of God, buried with Christ in baptism, risen again with him from the dead, sitting with him in heavenly places;" and particularly Saint Paul (Tit. iii. 5.) says, that they were "saved by the washing of regeneration," &c. The reason of which is, that they were visibly, by *obligation*, and by profession, all this; which was thus represented to them, the more effectually to stir them up, and engage them to live according to their profession and obligation."[1]

By this rule also we may explain Mal. ii. 7. "*The priest's lips should keep knowledge:*" which passage the advocates of the church of Rome urge, as asserting the infallibility of the priesthood. A simple inspection, however, of the following verse is sufficient to refute this assertion, and to show that the prophet's words denote only the *duty* of the *Jewish* priesthood, not what the priests really did perform. The application of this rule will likewise explain Prov. xvi. 10. 12, 13.

4. *Many precepts are delivered generally and absolutely, concerning moral duties, which are only to be taken with certain limitations.*

For instance, when we are commanded *not to be angry*, we must understand, without a cause, and not beyond measure: when we are forbidden *to avenge* ourselves, it is to be understood of *privately taking* revenge; for the magistrate *beareth not the sword in vain*, but *is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.* (Rom. xiii. 4.) Public vengeance, or punishment, therefore, is clearly not prohibited. Once more, though we are commanded in the Scriptures to *swear not at all* (as in Matt. v. 34.), and not to *forswear* ourselves (Levit. xix. 12.), yet they do not forbid the use of oaths in cases where they can be made subservient to the support of truth and the interests of justice. Moses says, *Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him, and shall swear by his name.* (Deut. vi. 13.) *Thou shalt swear*, says the prophet Jeremiah, *the Lord liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness.* (Jer. iv. 2.) Our Saviour himself, when adjured by the high-priest, in the name of the living God, to declare whether he was the *Christ the Son of God* (Matt. xxvi. 63, 64. Mark xiv. 61, 62.), did not refuse to answer the question, thus judicially proposed to him; but he certainly would have remained silent if he had disapproved of all asseverations upon oath, or all such solemn invocations of, and appeals to, the name of God, in cases where the truth is doubtful or the testimony is suspected. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says, that *an oath for confirmation is an end of all strife.* (Heb. vi. 16.)[2]

II. *Many things in morals, which are not spoken* COMPARATIVELY, *are nevertheless to be thus understood.*

1. In Matt. ix. 13. and xii. 7. Jesus Christ, citing Hos. vi. 6., says, that God *desired mercy and not sacrifice.* Yet he had prescribed that victims should be offered. This, therefore, must be understood comparatively, *sacrifice* being compared with *mercy*, or with acts of humanity and benevolence; which, the context shows, are here intended. The sense of the passage in question is this:—*I require mercy and not sacrifice*; in other words, I prefer acts of charity to matters of positive institution, when, in any instance, they interfere with each other.

2. In 1 Tim. vi. 8. we read—*Having food and raiment let us be therewith content.* Is no one then to desire a house, or a competence of wealth? These things, therefore, are compared with what are called the luxuries of life.[3]

III. *Principals include their accessaries, that is, whatever approaches or comes near to them, or has any tendency to them.*

Thus, where any sin is forbidden, we must be careful not only to avoid it, but also every thing of a similar nature, and whatever may prove an occasion of it, or imply our consent to it in others; and we must endeavour to dissuade or restrain others from it.

Compare Matt. v. 21—31. 1 Thess. v. 22. Jude 23. Ephes. v. 11. 1 Cor. viii. 13. Lev. xix. 17. James v. 19, 20. So, where any duty is enjoined, all means and facilities, enabling either ourselves or others to discharge it, according to our respective places, capacities, or opportunities, are likewise enjoined. See Gen. xviii. 19. Deut. vi. 7. Heb. x. 23—25. Upon this ground our Lord makes the law and the prophets to depend upon a sincere affectionate love to God and man (Mark xii. 30, 31. Luke x. 27.); because, where this prevails, we shall not *knowingly* be deficient in any duty or office which lies within our power; neither shall we willingly do any thing that may either directly or indirectly offend, or tend to the prejudice of mankind. See Rom. xii. 17, 18. This observation will leave little room for the "evangelical counsels," or "counsels of perfection," as they are called by the Papists, who ground upon them their erroneous doctrine of supererogation.[4] Again, in whatever commandment we are forbidden to do any thing in our persons, as sinful, it equally restrains us from being *partakers* of other men's guilt, who do commit what we know is thereby forbidden. We must not, therefore, be either advising, assisting, encouraging, or in any shape a party with them in it: nay, we must not so much as give any countenance to the evil which they do, by excusing or making light of the crime, or by *hiding* their wickedness, lest by so doing we incur part of the blame and punishment, and thus deserve the character given by the psalmist—*When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst unto him, and hast been partaker with the adulterers.* (Psal. l. 18.)

IV. *Negatives include affirmatives, and affirmatives include negatives:—in other words, where any duty is enjoined, the contrary sin is forbidden; and where any sin is forbidden, the contrary duty is enjoined.*

Thus, in Deut. vi. 13. where we are commanded to serve God, we are forbidden to serve any other. Therefore, in Matt. iv. 10. it is said, Him *only* shalt thou serve; and as honouring parents is required in the fifth commandment (Exod. xx. 12.), so cursing them is forbidden. (Matt. xv. 4.) Stealing being prohibited in the eighth commandment (Exod. xx. 15.), diligence in our calling is enjoined in Eph. iv. 28.

V. *Negatives are binding at all times, but not affirmatives; that is, we must never do that which is forbidden, though good may ultimately come from it.* (Rom. iii. 8.) *We must not speak wickedly for God.* (Job xiii. 7.)

Such things, however, as are required of us, though they never cease to be our duty, are yet not to be done at *all* times: for instance, prayer, public worship, reproving others, visiting the sick, and other works of charity and mercy, will be our duty as long as we live; but, as we cannot perform these at *all* times, we must do sometimes one thing, sometimes another, as opportunity offers. Hence in the observance of negative precepts, Christian courage and Christian prudence are equally necessary; the *former*, that we may never, upon any occasion or pretence, do that which in positive precepts is pronounced to be evil; the *latter*, that we may discern the fittest times and seasons for doing every thing.

VI. *When an action is either required or commended, or any promise is annexed to its performance; such action is supposed to be done from proper motives and in a proper manner.*

The giving of alms may be mentioned as an instance; which, if done from ostentatious motives, we are assured, is displeasing in the sight of God. Compare Matt. vi. 1—4.

VII. *When the favour of God or salvation is promised to any deed or duty, all the other duties of religion are supposed to be rightly performed.*

The giving of alms, as well as visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction (James i. 27.), may be noticed as examples: such promise, therefore, is not to be so understood, as if one single Christian virtue were necessary to salvation: but that the particular virtue in question is one of several necessary and momentous virtues. The application of this rule will illustrate our Lord's declaration concerning a future judgment (Matt. xxv. 34—36.); where, though charitable actions only are mentioned, yet we know, from other passages of Scripture, that every idle word, as well as the secret thoughts of men, besides their actions, will be brought into judgment.

VIII. *When a certain state or condition is pronounced blessed, or any promise is annexed to it, a suitable disposition of mind is supposed to prevail.*

Thus, when the poor or afflicted are pronounced to be blessed, it is because such persons, being poor and afflicted, are free from the sins usually attendant on unsanctified prosperity, and because they are, on the contrary, more humble and more obedient to

"The human mind is so weakened and vitiated by the sin of our first parents, that we cannot by our own natural strength prepare it, or put it into a proper state, for the reception of a saving faith, or for the performance of the spiritual worship required in the Gospel: this mental purification cannot be effected without divine assistance." (Ibid. p. 54.) Again: "The grace of God prevents us Christians, that is, it goes before, it gives the first spring and rise to our endeavours, that we may have a good will; and when this good will is thus excited, the grace of God does not desert us, but it works with us when we have that good will."...."It is acknowledged that man has not the disposition, and, consequently, not the ability, to do what in the sight of God is good, till he is influenced by the Spirit of God." (Ibid. pp. 60, 61.)

[1] Bishop Bradford's Discourse concerning Baptismal and Spiritual Regeneration, p. 37. sixth edit. See also some excellent observations to the same effect in Dr. Macknight's Commentary on 1 John ii. 29.

[2] The reader will find some additional observations illustrative of the canon above given, in Archbp. Tillotson's Works, vol. ii. pp. 62. 158. (London, 1820.)

[3] Mori Acroases Hermeneuticæ, tom. i. pp. 267, 268.

[4] "These '*counsels of perfection*' are rules which do not bind under the penalty of sin, but are only useful in carrying men to a greater degree of perfection than is necessary to salvation. There is not the slightest authority in Scripture for these counsels of perfection: all the rules there prescribed for our conduct are given in the form of positive commands, as absolutely necessary, wherever they are applicable, to the attainment of eternal life; and the violation of every one of these commands is declared to be sin. We are commanded to be 'perfect even as our Father which is in heaven is perfect' (Matt. v. 48.); and so far from being able to exceed what is required for our salvation, the Gospel assures us, that after our utmost care and endeavours we shall still fall short of our whole duty: and that our deficiencies must be supplied by the abundant merits of our blessed Redeemer. We are directed to trust to the mercy of God, and to the mediation of Christ; and to 'work out our salvation with fear and trembling' (Phil. ii. 12.), that is, with anxiety, lest we should not fulfil the conditions upon which it is offered. Upon these grounds we may pronounce that works of supererogation are inconsistent with the nature of man, irreconcilable with the whole tenor and general principles of our religion, and *contrary to the express declarations of Scripture.*" Bishop Tomline's Elements of Christian Theology, vol. ii. pp. 281, 282. (8th edit.)

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God. If, however, they be not the *characters* described (as unquestionably there are many to whom the characters do not apply), the promise in that case does not belong to them. *Vice versâ*, when any state is pronounced to be wretched, it is on account of the sins or vices which generally attend it.

IX. *Some precepts of moral prudence are given in the Scriptures, which nevertheless admit of exceptions, on account of some duties of benevolence or piety that ought to predominate.*

We may illustrate this rule by the often-repeated counsels of Solomon respecting becoming surety for another. (See Prov. vi. 1, 2. xi. 15. xvii. 18. and xx. 16.) In these passages he does not condemn suretiship, which, in many cases, is not only lawful, but, in some instances, even an act of justice, prudence, and charity;[1] but Solomon forbids his disciples to become surety *rashly* without considering for whom, or how far he binds himself, or how he could discharge the debt, if occasion should require it.

X. *A change of circumstances changes moral things; therefore contrary things may be spoken together in moral things, on account of the difference of circumstances.*

Thus, in Prov. xxvi. 4, 5. we meet with two precepts that seem to be diametrically opposite to each other: *Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou be like unto him;* and *Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit.* But if we attend carefully to the *reason* which the sacred writer subjoins to each precept, we shall be enabled satisfactorily to account for the apparent repugnancy in the counsels of the Israelitish monarch; and it will be evident that they form, not inconsistent, but *distinct*, rules of conduct, which are respectively to be observed according to the *difference of circumstances.* The following observations on the two verses just cited will materially illustrate their meaning.

A *fool*, in the sense of Scripture, means a wicked man, or one who acts contrary to the wisdom that is from above, and who is supposed to utter his foolishness in speech or writing. Doubtless there are different descriptions of these characters; and some may require to be answered, while others are best treated with silence. But the cases here seem to be one; both have respect to the same character, and both require to be answered. The whole difference lies in the *manner* in which the answer should be given.

"In the first instance, the term, 'according to his folly,' means *in a foolish manner*, as is manifest from the reason given; 'lest thou also be like unto him.' But in the second instance they mean, *in the manner in which his foolishness requires.* This also is plain from the reason given, 'lest he be wise in his own conceit.' A foolish speech is not a rule for our imitation; nevertheless our answer must be so framed by it, as to meet and repel it. Both these proverbs caution us against evils to which we are not a little addicted; the first, that of saying and doing to others *as they say* and do to us, rather than as *we would* they should say and do; the last, that of suffering the cause of truth or justice to be run down, while we, from a love of ease, stand by as unconcerned spectators. The first of these proverbs is exemplified in the answer of Moses to the rebellious Israelites; the last in that of Job to his wife.—It was a foolish speech which was addressed to the former;—'Would to God, that we had died when our brethren died before the Lord! And why have ye brought up the congregation of the Lord into this wilderness, that we and our cattle should die there?' Unhappily, this provoked Moses to speak unadvisedly with his lips; saying, 'Hear now, ye rebels, must we fetch you water out of this rock?' This was answering folly *in a foolish manner*, which he should not have done; and by which the servant of God became too much *like* them whom he opposed.—It was also a foolish saying of Job's wife, in the day of his distress, 'Curse God, and die!' Job answered this speech, not in the *manner of it*, but in the manner *which it required.* 'What, shall we receive good at the hand of God; and shall we not receive evil?' In all the answers of our Saviour to the Scribes and Pharisees, we may perceive that he never lost the possession of his soul for a single moment; and never answered *in the manner* of his opponents, so as to be *like unto them.* Yet neither did he decline to repel their folly, and so to abase their self-conceit."[2]

XI. *Different ideas must be annexed to the names of virtues or vices, according to different ages and places.*

Thus, *holiness* and *purity* denote widely different things, in many parts of the Old Testament, from what they intend in the New; in the former, they are applied to persons and things dedicated to Jehovah; while in the latter, they are applied to all true Christians, who are called *saints* or holy, being made so through the illumination and renovation of the Holy Spirit, and because, being called with a high and holy calling, they are bound to evince the sincerity of their profession by a pure and holy life.

XII. *In investigating and interpreting those passages of Scripture, the argument of which is moral,—that is, passages in which holy and virtuous actions are commended,—but wicked and unholy ones are forbidden, the nature of the virtue enjoined, or of the sin prohibited, should be explained. We should also consider whether such passages are positive commands, or merely counsels or opinions, and by what motives or arguments the inspired writer supports his persuasions to virtue, and his dissuasives from sin or vice.*

In conducting this investigation, the parallel passages will be found of the greatest service; and in applying the writings of the New Testament as authority for practical institutions, it is necessary to distinguish those precepts or articles, which are circumstantial and temporary, from such as are essential to true religion, and therefore obligatory, in all ages. Not only are all the important laws of morality permanent, but all those general rules of conduct, and institutions which are evidently calculated in religion to promote the good of mankind and the glory of God. The situation of the first Christians, during the infancy of Christianity, required temporary regulations, which are not now binding on the church. The controversy concerning holy days, and particular kinds of food, occasioned Paul to enjoin such temporary precepts as suited the situation of the church when he wrote. Abstinence from the use of unclean beasts, in compliance with the opinions of the Jews, is not now necessary; but a condescension to the very prejudices of weak brethren, in things indifferent, is at all times the duty of Christians. Those doctrines which were evidently adapted to the situation of Christ's disciples, when under persecution, do not apply to their conduct, when enjoying full liberty of conscience. Exhortations, which are restricted to particular cases, must not be applied as rules for general conduct.

Those directions, to be kind and hospitable to one another, in which the customs of eastern countries are mentioned, are not literally to be observed, by those among whom different manners prevail. Paul enjoins the saints *to salute one another with a holy kiss.* (Rom. xvi. 16.) The Jews saluted one another, as an expression of sincere friendship. When Jesus Christ observed to Simon that he was deficient in kindness and affection, he said, *Thou gavest me no kiss, but this woman, since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet.* (Luke vii. 45.) The *disposition* is incumbent on saints, in all ages of the world: but not this *mode* of expressing it. In order to teach the disciples, how they ought to manifest their affection, for one another, by performing every office of friendship in their power, their Lord and Master *took a towel and girded himself, and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded; and said, If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet.* (John xiii. 5. 14.) In those hot countries, after travelling in sandals, the washing of the feet was very refreshing, and an expression of the most tender care and regard: hence it is mentioned as an amiable part of the widow's character, that she hath *washed the saints' feet and relieved the afflicted.* (1 Tim. v. 10.) It is evident, that this mode of expressing our love to one another was not intended as a *permanent law*, but a direction adapted to the prevailing custom of the people to whom it was originally given.

In concluding our remarks on the moral interpretation of the Sacred Writings, it is worthy of observation, that they contain two kinds of moral books and discourses, viz. 1. *Detached sentences*, such as occur in the book of Proverbs, in many of our Lord's sermons, and in several of the moral exhortations at the close of the apostolic Epistles; and, 2. *Continuous and connected discourses*, such as are to be found in the book of Job. In the *former*, we are not to look for any order or arrangement, because they have been put together just as they presented themselves to the minds of their inspired authors; but, in the *latter*, we must carefully attend to the scope. Thus, the scope of the book of Job is specified in the second and third verses of the thirty-second chapter; to this,

[1] Thus Judah became surety to his father, for his brother Benjamin (Gen. xliii. 9. xliv. 32.); and Paul to Philemon for Onesimus. (Philem. 18, 19.)

[2] Fuller's Harmony of Scripture, pp. 17, 18. Bishop Warburton has given an excellent illustration of the passage above explained, in one of his sermons. See his Works, vol. x. Serm. 21. pp. 61—73.

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therefore, the whole book must be referred, without seeking for any mysteries.

The style also of the moral parts of Scripture is highly figurative, abounding not only with bold hyperboles and prosopopœias, but also with antitheses and seeming paradoxes: the former must be explained agreeably to those general rules, for expounding the figurative language of Scripture, which have already been stated and illustrated;[1] and the latter must be interpreted and limited according to the nature of the thing; for instance, the beatitudes as related by St. Matthew (ch. v.) must be compared with those delivered at a different time, as related by Saint Luke (ch. vi. 20. *et seq.*); and from this collation we shall be enabled to reconcile the seeming differences, and fully to understand the antithetic sayings of our Lord.

Lastly, as the moral sentences in the Scriptures are written in the very concise style peculiar to the Orientals, many passages, are, in consequence, necessarily obscure, and therefore admit of various expositions. In such cases, that interpretation which is most obvious to the reader will in general be sufficiently intelligible for all purposes of *practical edification*, and beyond this we need not be anxiously solicitous, if we should fail in ascertaining the precise meaning of every word in a proverb or moral sentence.

SECTION II.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE PROMISES AND THREATENINGS OF SCRIPTURE.

A PROMISE, in the scriptural sense of the term, is a declaration or assurance of the divine will, in which God signifies what particular blessings or good things he will freely bestow, as well as the evils which he will remove. The *promises*, therefore, differ from the *threatenings* of God, inasmuch as the former are declarations concerning good, while the latter are denunciations of evil only: at the same time it is to be observed, that promises seem to include threats, because, being in their very nature *conditional*, they imply the bestowment of the blessing promised, only on the condition being performed, which blessing is *tacitly* threatened to be withheld on noncompliance with such condition. Further, promises differ from the *commands* of God, because the latter are significations of the divine will concerning a *duty* enjoined to be performed, while promises relate to *mercy* to be received. As a considerable portion of the promises relates to the performance of moral and of pious duties, they might have been discussed under the preceding chapter; but, from the variety of topics which they embrace, it has been deemed preferable to give them a separate consideration.

There are four classes of promises mentioned in the Scriptures, particularly in the New Testament; viz. 1. Promises relating to the Messiah: 2. Promises relating to the church: 3. Promises of blessings, both temporal and spiritual, to the pious; and, 4. Promises encouraging to the exercise of the several graces and duties that compose the Christian character.[2] The two first of these classes, indeed, are many of them *predictions* as well as promises; consequently the same observations will apply to them, as are stated for the interpretation of Scripture prophecies;[3] but in regard to those promises which are directed to particular persons, or to the performance of particular duties, the following remarks are offered to the attention of the reader.

I. "*We must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth in the Holy Scriptures.*"[4]

To us "the promises of God are general and conditional. The Gospel dispensation is described as a covenant between God and man; and the salvation of every individual is made to depend upon his observance of the proposed conditions. Men, as free agents, have it in their power to perform or not to perform these conditions: and God foresaw from eternity, who would and who would not perform them, that is, who will and who will not be saved at the day of judgment."[5] If, therefore, the promises of God be not fulfilled towards us, we may rest assured that the fault does not rest with Him "who cannot lie," but with ourselves, who have failed in complying with the conditions either tacitly or expressly annexed to them. We may, then, apply general promises to ourselves, not doubting that if we perform the condition expressed or implied, we shall enjoy the mercy promised: for, as all particulars are included in universals, it follows that a general promise is made a particular one to him, whose character corresponds with those to whom such general promise is made.

Matt. xi. 28. may be cited as an example: the *promise* here made is the giving of rest: the *characters* of the persons to whom it is made are distinctly specified; they are the *weary and heavy laden*, whether with the distresses of life, or with the sense of guilt (see Psal. xxxii. 4. xxxviii 4.), or with the load of ceremonial observances; the condition required is to *come unto Christ* by faith; in other words to believe in him and become his disciples; and the menace *implied* is, that if they do not thus *come*, they will not find rest. Similar promises occur in John iii. 16. and 1 Tim. ii. 4.

II. *Such promises as were made in one case may be applied in other cases of the same nature, consistently with the analogy of faith.*

It is in promises as in commands: they do not exclusively concern those to whom they were first made; but, being inserted in the Scriptures, they are made of public benefit: for *whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our use; that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope.* (Rom. xv. 4.)

Thus, what was spoken to Joshua, on his going up against the Canaanites, lest he should be discouraged in that enterprise, is applied by Saint Paul as a remedy against covetousness or inordinate care concerning the things of this life; it being a very comprehensive promise that God will never fail us nor forsake us. But if we were to apply the promises contained in Psal. xciv. 14. and Jer. xxxii. 40. and John x. 28. as promises of *absolute* and in *defectible* grace to believers, we should violate every rule of sober interpretation, as well as the analogy of faith. A distinction, however, must be taken between such of the promises in the Old Testament, particularly in the book of Psalms, as are of universal application, and such as were made to those Israelites and Jews who obeyed the law of God, which were strictly *temporal*. Of this description are all those promises of peace and prosperity in *this* world, which were *literally* suitable to the Jewish dispensation, God having encouraged them to obey his laws, by promise of peculiar peace and prosperity in the land of Canaan. Whereas now, under the Gospel dispensation, "godliness hath" indeed the "promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come" (1 Tim. iv. 8.), but with an exception of the *cross*, when that may be best for us, in order to our future happiness in

[1] See pp. 355—358. *supra*.

[2] These promises are collected and printed at length, in a useful manual, published early in the eighteenth century, and entitled *A Collection of the Promises of Scripture, arranged under proper Heads*. By Samuel Clarke, D.D. Of this little manual, there are numerous cheap editions extant, which abound in errors of reference to the texts of Scripture. Of the recent editions, that published by Mr. William Carpenter (London, 1825, 18mo.) is one of the most useful: the editor has verified the references, corrected the errors that had crept into former impressions, and has made an addition of about two hundred promises, which enhance the value of this publication.

[3] See pp. 388—390. *supra*.

[4] Art. XVII. of the Confession of the Anglican Church. Similar to this is the declaration of the Helvetic Confession, which in general symbolizes with that of the British Church. "In the temptation concerning predestination, and which, perhaps, is more dangerous than any other, we should derive comfort from the consideration, that God's promises are *general to all that believe*—that he himself says, *Ask and ye shall receive:—Every one that asks receives*. Chap. x. towards the end, or in the valuable work entitled, "Primitive Truth, in a History of the Reformation, expressed by the Early Reformers in their Writings," p. 57.

[5] Bp. Tomline's Elements of Theology, vol. ii. p. 313. Similar to the above sentiments are those contained in the "Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man" (at the close of the introductory observations on "Faith"), a Manual of Christian Doctrine published in the year 1534: the value of which ought not to be lessened in our judgment by the circumstance of its not being purged of popish errors—"Although God's promises made in Christ be immutable, yet He maketh them not to us, but *with condition*; so that His promise standing, *we* may yet fail of the promise *because we keep not our promise*. And therefore, if we assuredly reckon upon the state of our felicity, as grounded upon God's promise, and do not therewith remember, that no man shall be crowned unless he lawfully fight; we shall triumph before the victory, and so shall look in vain for that, which is not otherwise promised but under a condition." On the subject of conditional promises, see also Tillotson's Works, vol. v. pp. 185—193. 205, 206. vol. vi. p. 513. vol. ix. pp. 53, 54. and vol. x. p. 119.; and on the subject of conditional threatenings, see vol. vi. pp. 510, 511. (London, 1820.)

[6] Bp. Horsley has the following animated and practical observations on this promise of our Saviour at the close of his 24th Sermon:—"Come, therefore, unto him, all ye that are heavy laden with your sins. By his own gracious voice he called you while on earth. By the voice of his ambassadors he continueth to call; he calleth you now by mine. Come unto him, and he shall give you rest—rest from the hard servitude of sin and appetite, and guilty fear. *That* yoke is heavy—*that* burden is intolerable; *His* yoke is easy, and *his* burden light. But, come in sincerity;—dare not to come in hypocrisy and dissimulation. Think not that it will avail you in the last day to have called yourselves Christians, to have been born and educated under the Gospel light—to have lived in the external communion of the church on earth—if, all the while, your hearts have holden no communion with its Head in heaven. If, instructed in Christianity, and professing to believe its doctrines, ye lead the lives of unbelievers, it will avail you nothing in the next, to have enjoyed in this world, like the Jews of old, advantages which ye despised—to have had the custody of a holy doctrine which never touched your hearts—of a pure commandment by the light of which ye never walked. To those who disgrace the doctrine of their Saviour by the scandal of their lives it will be of no avail to have vainly called him, 'Lord, Lord!'" Sermons. p. 490. 2d edit.

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heaven. So that the promises in the Old Testament, of a *general* felicity in *this* life, are not so literally to be applied to Christians as they were to the Jews.[1]

III. *God has suited his promises to his precepts.*

By his *precepts* we see what is our *duty*, and what should be the *scope of our endeavours;* and by his *promises* we see what is our *inability*, what should be the *matter or object of our prayers*, and where we may be supplied with that grace which will enable us to discharge our duty. Compare Deut. x. 16. with Deut. xxx. 6. Eccles. xii. 13. with Jer. xxxii. 40. Ezek. xviii. 31. with Ezek. xxxvi. 37. and Rom. vi. 12. with v. 14.

IV. *Where any thing is promised in case of obedience, the threatening of the contrary is implied in case of disobedience: and where there is a threatening of any thing in case of disobedience, a promise of the contrary is implied upon condition of obedience.*[2]

In illustration of this remark, it will be sufficient to refer to, and compare, Exod. xx. 7. with Psal. xv. 1—4. and xxiv. 3, 4. and Exod. xx. 12. with Prov. xxx. 17.

There are, however, two important cautions to be attended to in the application of Scripture promises; viz. that we do not violate that connection or dependency which subsists between one promise and another; and that we do not invert that fixed order which is observable between them.

1. *The mutual connection or dependency subsisting between promises, must not be broken.*

As the duties enjoined by the moral law are copulative, and may not be disjoined in the obedience yielded to them (James ii. 10.); so are the blessings of the promises; which may not be made use of as *severed* from each other, like unstringed pearls, but as *collected* into one entire chain. For instance, throughout the sacred volume, the promises of pardon and repentance are invariably connected together; so that it would be presumptuous in any man to suppose that God will ever hearken to him who implores the one and neglects to seek the other. "He pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent and unfeignedly believe his holy word."

In like manner, in Psal. lxxxiv. 11. the promise of *grace and glory* is so inseparably united, that no person can lay a just claim to the one, who is not previously made a partaker of the other. Bishop Horne's commentary on this verse is not more beautiful than just.[3]

2. *In applying the promises, their order and method should not be inverted, but be carefully observed.*

The promises made by God in his word have not inaptly been termed an ample storehouse of every kind of blessings, including both the mercies *of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.* There is, indeed, no good that can present itself as an object to our desires or thoughts, but the promises are a ground for faith to believe, and hope to expect the enjoyment of it; but then our use and application of them must be *regular*, and suitable both to the *pattern* and *precept* which Christ has given us.

The *Pattern* or example referred to, we have in that most comprehensive prayer, emphatically termed *the Lord's Prayer* (Matt. vi. 9—13.); in which he shows what is chiefly to be desired by us, viz. the sanctification of his name in our hearts, the coming of his kingdom into our souls, and the doing of his will in our lives; all which are to be implored, before and above our daily bread. We are not to be more anxious for food than for divine grace.

The *Precept* alluded to, we have in his sermon on the mount (Matt. vi. 33.): *Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.* The soul is of more worth than the *body;* as the body is more valuable than *raiment;* and therefore the principal care of every one should be, to secure his spiritual welfare, by interesting himself in the promises of life and eternal happiness. Here, however, a *method* must be observed, and the law of the Scripture must be exactly followed, which tells us (Psal. lxxxiv. 11.) that God first gives grace and then glory. "As it is a sin to divide grace from glory, and to seek the one without the other: so it is also a sin to be *preposterous in our seeking*, to look *first* after happiness and *then* after holiness: no man can be rightly solicitous about the crown, but he must first be careful about the race; nor can any be truly thoughtful about his interest in the promises of glory that doth not *first* make good his title to the promises of grace."[4]

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE INTERPRETATION, AND MEANS OF HARMONIZING PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE, WHICH ARE ALLEGED TO BE CONTRADICTORY.

ALTHOUGH the sacred writers, being divinely inspired, were necessarily exempted from error in the important truths which they were commissioned to reveal to mankind, yet it is not to be concealed, that, on comparing Scripture with itself, some detached passages are to be found, which *appear* to be contradictory; and these have been a favourite topic of cavil with the enemies of Christianity from Spinosa down to Voltaire, and the opposers of Divine Revelation in our days, who have copied their objections. Unable to disprove or subvert the indisputable FACTS on which Christianity is founded, and detesting the exemplary holiness of heart and life which it enjoins, its modern antagonists insidiously attempt to impugn the credibility of the sacred writers, by producing what *they* call contradictions. It is readily admitted that *real* contradictions are a just and sufficient proof that a book is not divinely inspired, whatever pretences it may make to such inspiration. In this way we prove, that the Koran of Mohammed could not be inspired, much as it is extolled by his admiring followers. The whole of that rhapsody was framed by the wily Arab to answer some particular exigencies.[5] If any new measure was to be proposed,—any objection against him or the religion which he wished to propagate, was to be answered,—any difficulty to be solved,—any discontent or offence among his people to be removed,—or any other thing done that could promote his designs,—his constant recourse was to the angel Gabriel, for a new revelation: and instantly he produced some addition to the Koran, which was to further the objects he had in view, so that by far the greater part of that book was composed on these or similar occasions to influence his followers to adopt the measures which he intended. Hence not a few real contradictions crept into the Koran; the existence of which is not denied by the Mussulman commentators, who are not only very particular in stating the several occasions on which particular chapters were produced, but also, where any contradiction occurs which they cannot solve, affirm that one of the contradictory passages is revoked. And they reckon in the Koran upwards of one hundred and fifty passages thus revoked. Now this fact is a full evidence that the compiler of that volume could not be inspired; but no such thing can be alleged against the Scriptures. They were indeed given *at sundry times and in divers manners*, and the authors of them were inspired on particular occasions: but nothing was ever published as a part of it, which was afterwards revoked; nor is there any thing in them which *we* need to have annulled. Errors in the transcription of copies, as well as in printed editions and translations, do unquestionably exist: but the contradictions objected are only seeming, not real, nor do we know a single instance of such alleged contradictions, that is not capable of a rational solution. A little skill in criticism in the original languages of the Scriptures, their idioms and properties (of which the modern opposers of revelation, it is well known, have for the most part been and are notoriously ignorant), and in the times, occasions, and scopes of the several books, as well as in the antiquities and customs of those countries, which were the scenes of the transactions recorded, will clear the principal difficulties.

To the person who *honestly* and *impartially* examines the various evidences for the divinity and inspiration of the Bible (and it not only invites but commands investigation), most of the *alleged* contradictions, which are discussed in the following pages, will appear frivolous: for they have been made and refuted nearly one hundred and fifty years since. But as

[1] Collyer's Sacred Interpreter, vol. i. p. 336.

[2] Bp. Wilkins, in his admirable Discourse on the Gift of Preaching, has stated this rule in the following terms:—"Every Scripture does affirm, command, or threaten, not only that which is expressed in it, but likewise all that which is rightly deducible from it, though by mediate consequences." (Dr. Williams's Christian Preacher, p. 22.)

[3] "Jesus Christ is our 'Lord' and our 'God:' he is a 'sun' to enlighten and direct us in the way, and a 'shield' to protect us against the enemies of our salvation. He will give 'grace' to carry us on 'from strength to strength,' and 'glory' to crown us when we 'appear before him in Zion;' he will 'withhold' nothing that is 'good' and profitable for us in the course of our journey, and will himself be our reward, when we come to the end of it." Commentary on the Psalms, vol. ii. (Works, vol. iii. p. 81.)

[4] Dr. Spurstowe's Treatise on the Promises, pp. 62. 65. The whole volume will abundantly repay the trouble of perusing it. There is also an admirable discourse *on the Promises*, in the Sermon published by the Rev. Charles Buck: in which their divine origin, their suitability, number, clearness of expression, the *freeness* of their communication, and the certainty of their accomplishment, are stated and illustrated with equal ability and piety. See also Hoornbeck's Theologia Practica, pars i. lib. v. c. 2. pp. 468—477.

[5] Prideaux's Life of Mohammed, pp. 158, 159.

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they are now reasserted, regardless of the satisfactory answers which have been given to them in various forms, both in this country and on the Continent, the author would deem his work imperfect if he were to suffer such objections to pass unnoticed, particularly as he has been called upon, through the public press, to consider, and to obviate them. Should the reader be led to think, that an undue portion of the present volume is appropriated to the interpretation of passages alleged to be contradictory, he is requested to bear in mind that, although the pretended contradictions, here considered, have for the most part been clothed in a few plausible sentences,[1] yet their sophistry cannot be exposed without a laborious and minute examination.

Wherever, then, one text of Scripture seems to contradict another, we should, by a serious consideration of them, endeavour to discover their harmony; for the only way, by which to judge rightly of particular passages in any book, is, first, to ascertain whether the text be correct, and in the next place to consider its whole design, method, and style, and not to criticise some particular parts of it, without bestowing any attention upon the rest. Such is the method adopted by all who would investigate, with judgment, any difficult passages occurring in a profane author: and if a judicious and accurate writer is not to be lightly accused of contradicting himself for any seeming inconsistencies, but is to be reconciled with himself if possible,—unquestionably the same equitable principle of interpretation ought to be applied in the investigation of Scripture difficulties.

Some passages, indeed, are explained by the Scriptures themselves, which serve as a key to assist us in the elucidation of others.

Thus, in one place it is said that *Jesus baptized*, and in another it is stated that *he baptized not*: the former passage is explained to be intended not of baptism performed by himself, but by his disciples who baptized in his name. Compare John iii. 22. with iv. 1, 2.

Frequently, also, a distinction of the different senses of words, as well as of the different subjects and times, will enable us to obviate the seeming discrepancy.

Thus, when it is said, *It is appointed unto all men once to die* (Heb. ix. 27.); and elsewhere, *If a man keep* Christ's *saying, he shall never see death*, there is no contradiction; for, in the former place, *natural* death, the death of the body, is intended, and in the latter passage, *spiritual* or *eternal* death. Again, when Moses says, *God rested on the seventh day from all his works* (Gen. ii. 2.), and Jesus says, *My Father worketh hitherto* (John v. 17.), there is no opposition or contradiction; for Moses is speaking of the works of creation, and Jesus of the works of providence. So Samuel tells us God *will not repent* (1 Sam. xv. 29.); and yet we read in other parts of the Old Testament that *It repented the* LORD *that he had made man on the earth* (Gen. vi. 6.); and that he had *set up Saul* to be *king*. (1 Sam. xv. 11.) But in these passages there is no real contradiction; repentance in the one place signifies a change of mind and counsel, from want of foresight of what come to pass, and thus God cannot repent; but then he changes his course as men do when they change their minds, and so he may be said to repent. In these, as well as in other instances, where personal qualities or feelings are ascribed to God, the Scriptures speak in condescension to our capacities, after the manner of men; nor can we speak of the Deity in any other manner, if we would speak intelligibly to the generality of mankind.

The contradictions which are alleged to exist in the Scriptures, may be referred to the following classes, viz.—seeming contradictions in historical passages—in chronology—between prophecies and their fulfilment—in points of doctrine and morality—in the quotations from the Old Testament in the New—between the sacred writers themselves—between the sacred writers and profane authors—and, lastly, seeming contradictions to philosophy and the nature of things.

SECTION I.

SEEMING CONTRADICTIONS IN HISTORICAL PASSAGES.

Most of the seeming contradictions in Scripture are found in the historical parts, where their connection with the great subject or scope is less considerable; and they may not unfrequently be traced to the errors of transcribers or of the press. The apparent contradictions, in the historical passages of Scripture, arise from the different circumstances related,—from things being related in a different order by the sacred writers,—from differences in numbers,—and from differences in the relation of events in one place, and references to those events in another.

§ 1. *Seeming Contradictions in the different Circumstances related.*

These arise from various causes, as the sources whence the inspired writers drew their relations, the different designs of the sacred writers, erroneous readings, obscure or ambiguous expressions, transpositions in the order of narrating, and sometimes from several of these causes combined.

1. Apparent contradictions, in the different circumstances related, arise *from the different sources whence the inspired writers drew their narratives.*

For instance, in the brief accounts recorded by Matthew and Mark respecting the birth and childhood of Jesus Christ, from whom could they have derived their information? They could not have become acquainted with those circumstances, unless from the particulars communicated by his relatives according to the flesh; and, as it has been frequently remarked, it is highly probable that they received their information from Mary and Joseph, or others of the family of Jesus. How easy, then, is it for some trifling variations to creep into such accounts of infancy as are preserved by oral relation; all of which, though differing, are nevertheless perfectly consistent with the truth! Again, during our Lord's three years' circuit in Palestine, Matthew and John were constantly his disciples and companions: the source of *their* narratives, therefore, was ocular testimony; while Luke and Mark, not having been Christ's disciples, related things as they were communicated to them by the apostles and others, who *from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word*, as Saint Luke expressly states at the commencement of his Gospel. Under such circumstances, how is it possible that some discrepancies should not appear in the writings of such persons? Yet these discrepancies, as we shall presently see, are so far from affecting their credibility as historians, that, on the contrary, they confirm their veracity and correctness. The same remark will apply to the history of our Lord's death and resurrection, as well as to the account of the sermon delivered on the mount and on the plain.

2. Seeming contradictions, in the different circumstances related, may also arise, *from the different designs which the sacred writers had in the composition of their narratives;* for the difference of design will necessarily lead to a corresponding selection of circumstances.

The consideration of this circumstance will remove the contradiction which modern opposers of the Scriptures have asserted to exist between the first and second chapters of the book of Genesis. The design of Moses, in the *first* chapter, was to give a *short* account of the orderly creation of all things, from the meanest to the noblest, in opposition to the absurd and contradictory notions which at that time prevailed among the Egyptians and other nations. In the *second* chapter, the sacred writer explains some things more at length, which in the preceding were narrated more briefly, because he would not interrupt the connection of his discourse concerning the six days' work of creation. He therefore more particularly relates the manner in which Eve was formed, and also further illustrates the creation of Adam. In thus recapitulating the history of creation, Moses describes the creation through its several stages, as the phenomena would have successively presented themselves to a spectator, had a spectator been in existence. Again, the design of the two books of Samuel, especially the second book, is, to relate the various steps which conduced to the wonderful elevation of David from a low condition to the throne of Judah first, and after seven years and six months to that of Israel, together with the battles and occurrences which led to that great event, and secured to him the possession of his kingdom: and then at the close (2 Sam. xxiii. 8—39.) we have a catalogue to perpetuate the memory of those warriors who had been particularly instrumental in promoting the success and establishing the glory of their royal master. But in the first book of Chronicles the history of David begins with him as king, and immediately mentions the heroes of his armies, and then proceeds to an abridgment of the events of his reign. This difference of design will account for the variations occurring in the two principal chapters containing the history of those heroes; for in 1 Chron. xi. they are recorded in the beginning of David's reign, with Joab introduced at their head, and the reason assigned for his being so particularly distinguished; but in the concluding chapter of Samuel, when the history of David's reign had already been given, *there* the name of Joab is omitted, since no one could forget that he was David's *chief mighty man*, when he had been mentioned, in almost every page, as *captain general* of the armies of Israel.[2]

The difference of design also will satisfactorily explain the seeming difference between the genealogies of our Saviour given by the evangelist Matthew and Luke from the public registers, and which comprise a period of four thousand years from Adam to Joseph his reputed father, or to Mary his mother. The genealogy given by Saint Matthew was principally designed for the *Jews;* and, therefore, it traces the pedigree of Jesus Christ, as the promised seed, down from Abraham to David, and from him through Solomon's line to Jacob the father of Joseph, who was the reputed or *legal* father of Christ. (Matt. i. 1—16.) That given by Saint Luke was intended for the *Gentiles*, and

[1] Bishop Horne, when speaking of the disingenuity of infidels in bringing forward objections against the Scriptures, has the following remarks:—"Many and painful are the researches, usually necessary to be made for settling points of this kind. Perness and ignorance may ask a question in *three* lines, which it will cost learning and ingenuity *thirty pages* to answer. When this is done, the same question shall be triumphantly asked again the next year, as if nothing had ever been written upon the subject. And as people in general, for one reason or other, like short objections better than long answers, in this mode of disputation (if it can be styled such) the odds must ever be against us; and we must be content with those of our friends, who have honesty and erudition, candour and patience, to study both sides of the question." Letters on Infidelity, p. 82. (Works, vol. vi. pp. 447, 448. 8vo. London, 1809.)

[2] Dr. Kennicott's First Dissertation, pp. 13—15. The subsequent part of this very learned volume is appropriated to an elaborate comparison of the discrepancies between 1 Chron. xi. and 2 Sam. v. and xxiii., to which the reader is referred.

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traces the pedigree upwards from Heli, the father of Mary, to David, through the line of his son Nathan, and from Nathan to Abraham, concurring with the former, and from Abraham up to Adam, who was the immediate "Son of God," born without father or mother. (Luke iii. 23—38.)[1]

To this satisfactory answer to the cavils of modern infidels, the Jews object—Why is Mary not mentioned in this genealogy, and Joseph said to be the son of Heli?

"ANSWER. This is a mode of speaking quite warranted by the Old Testament, the authority of which is acknowledged by the Jews themselves. For example, Neh. vii. 63. *And of the priests: the children of Habaiah, the children of Koz*, THE CHILDREN OF BARZILLAI, WHICH TOOK ONE OF THE DAUGHTERS OF BARZILLAI THE GILEADITE TO WIFE, *and was called after their name.* Here it appears that a person of the priestly tribe, or tribe of Levi, took to wife a daughter of Barzillai, *and that he and the issue of this marriage were regarded as children of Barzillai*, though properly the sons of *Levi*, and though the mother's name is not mentioned. So Joseph, taking the daughter of Heli to wife, is called the son of Heli."[2]

That Saint Luke gives the pedigree of Mary, the real mother of Christ, may be collected from the following reasons:—

"1. The angel Gabriel, at the annunciation, told the virgin, that 'God would give her divine Son the throne of *his father David*' (Luke i. 32.); and this was necessary to be proved, by her genealogy, afterwards. 2. Mary is called by the Jews, בת עלי, 'the daughter of Eli,'[3] and by the early Christian writers, 'the daughter of Joakim and Anna.' But Joakim and Eliakim (as being derived from the names of God, יהוה, Iahoh, and אל, Eli) are sometimes interchanged. (2 Chron. xxxvi. 4.) Eli, therefore, or Heli, is the abridgment of Eliakim. Nor is it of any consequence that the Rabbins called him עלי, instead of אלי, the aspirates Aleph and Ain being frequently interchanged. 3. A similar case in point occurs elsewhere in the genealogy. After the Babylonish captivity, the two lines of Solomon and Nathan, the sons of David, unite in the generations of Salathiel and Zorubabel, and thence diverge again in the sons of the latter, Abiud and Resa. Hence, as Salathiel in Matthew, was the son of Jechoniah, or Jehoiachim, who was carried away into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, so in Luke, Salathiel must have been the grandson of Neri, by his mother's side. 4. The evangelist himself has critically distinguished the *real* from the *legal* genealogy, by a parenthetical remark:—Ιησους—ων ὡς ενομιζετο, υἱος Ιωσηφ [αλλ' οντως υἱος] του Ἡλι—"Jesus—being (as was reputed) the son of Joseph, (but in reality) the son of Heli," or his grandson by the *mother's side*: for so should the ellipsis involved in the parenthesis be supplied."[4] This interpretation of the genealogy in Saint Luke's Gospel, if it be admitted, removes at once every difficulty; and (as Bishop Gleig has truly remarked) it is so natural and consistent with itself, that, we think, it can hardly be rejected, except by those who are determined, that "seeing they will not see, and hearing they will not understand."

But the difference in the circumstances related, arising from the difference in design of the sacred writers, is to be found chiefly in those cases, where the same event is narrated very briefly by one evangelist, and is described more copiously by another.

An example of this kind we have in the account of our Lord's threefold temptation in the wilderness, which is related more at length by Matthew and Luke, while Mark has given a very brief epitome of that occurrence. But these variations, which arise from differences of design, do not present a *shadow* of contradiction or discrepancy: for it is well known that Saint Matthew wrote his Gospel a few years after our Lord's ascension, while the church wholly consisted of converts from Judaism. Saint Mark's Gospel, probably written at Rome, was adapted to the state of the church there, which consisted of a mixture of converts who had been Pagans and Jews. He inserts many direct or oblique explanations of passages in Saint Matthew's Gospel, in order to render them more intelligible to the converts from Paganism. The Gospel of Saint Luke was written for the immediate use of the converts from Heathenism; several parts of it appear to be particularly adapted to display the divine goodness to the Gentiles. Hence, he traces up Christ's lineage to Adam, to signify that he was THE SEED of the woman promised to our first parents, and the Saviour of all their posterity. He marks the æra of Christ's birth, and the time when John the Baptist began to announce the Gospel, by the reigns of the Roman emperors. Saint John, who wrote long after the other evangelists, appears to have designed his Gospel to be partly as a supplement to the others, in order to preserve several discourses of our Lord, or facts relating to him which had been omitted by the other evangelists; but chiefly to check the heresies which were beginning to appear in the church, and (as he himself declares, xx. 31.) to establish the true doctrine concerning the divinity and mediatorial character of Christ.[5]

The differences, however, which thus subsist in the respective narratives of the evangelists, do not in any degree whatever affect their credibility. The transactions related are still true and actual transactions, and capable of being readily comprehended, although there may be a trifling discrepancy in some particulars. We know, for instance, that a discourse was delivered by our Lord, so sublime, so replete with momentous instruction, that *the people were astonished at his doctrine*. But whether this discourse was delivered on a mountain or on a plain, is a matter of no moment whatever. In like manner, although there are *circumstantial* differences in the accounts of our Lord's resurrection from the dead, the thing itself may be known, and its truth ascertained.[6] A narrative is not to be rejected by reason of some *diversity* of circumstances with which it is related: for the character of human testimony is, *substantial* truth under circumstantial variety; but a close agreement induces suspicion of confederacy and fraud. Important variations, and even contradictions, are not always deemed sufficient to shake the credibility of a fact; and if this circumstance be allowed to operate in favour of profane historians, it ought at least to be admitted with equal weight in reference to the sacred writers. It were no difficult task to give numerous instances of differences between profane historians. Two or three may suffice. It is well known that Julius Cæsar wrote histories both of the civil war and of the war in Gaul: the same events are related by Dion Cassius, as well as by Plutarch in his lives of Pompey and Cæsar. The transactions recorded by Suetonius are also related by Dion, and many of them by Livy and Polybius. What discrepancies are discoverable between these writers! Yet Livy and Polybius are not considered as liars on this account, but we endeavour by various ways to harmonize their discordant narratives, conscious that, even when we fail, these discordancies do not affect the general credibility of their histories. Again, the embassy of the Jews to the emperor Claudian is placed by Philo in *harvest*, and by Josephus in *seed-time*; yet the existence of this embassy was never called in question. To come nearer to our own times: Lord Clarendon states that the Marquis of Argyle was condemned to be *hanged*, which sentence was executed on the same day: *four* other historians affirm that he was beheaded upon the *Monday*, having been condemned on the *preceding Saturday*; yet this contradiction never led any person to doubt, whether the Marquis was executed or not.

Much of the discrepancy in the Gospels arises from omission, which is always an uncertain ground of objection. Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dion Cassius have all written an account of the reign of Tiberius; and each has omitted many things mentioned by the rest, yet their credit is not impeached. And these differences will be more numerous, when men do not write histories, but *memoirs* (which perhaps is the true name of the Gospels), that is, when they do *not*, undertake to deliver, in the order of time, a regular account *of all* things of importance which the subject of the history said and did, but only such passages as were suggested by their *particular design* at the time of writing.[7] Further, as these seeming discordancies in the evangelical historians prove that they did not write in concert; so from their agreeing in the principal and most material facts, we may infer that they wrote after the truth.

In Xiphilin and Theodosius, the two abbreviators of the historian Dion Cassius, may be observed the like agreement and disagreement; the one taking notice of many particulars which the other passes in silence, and both of them relating the chief and most remarkable events. And since, from their both frequently making use of the very same words and expressions, when they speak of the same thing, it is apparent that they both copied from the *same* original; so, no person was ever absurd enough to imagine that the particulars mentioned by the one were not taken out of Dion Cassius, merely because they were omitted by the other. And still more absurd would it be to say (as some modern opposers of revelation have said of the Evangelists), that the facts related by Theodosius are contradicted by Xiphilin, because the latter says nothing of them. But against the Evangelists, it seems, *all kinds* of arguments may not only be *employed* but applauded. The case, however, of the sacred historians is

[1] The view above given is confirmed and illustrated by Dr. Benson in his History of the first planting of the Christian Religion, vol. i. pp. 258—268. 2d edit.

[2] The Jewish Messenger, No. I. p. 2. London, 1833, 8vo.

[3] Lightfoot on Luke iii. 23.

[4] Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. book ii. pp. 699. 700. In pp. 700—704. he has considered and accounted for particular seeming discrepancies between the evangelists Matthew and Luke. But the fullest discussion of the subject is to be found in Dr. Barrett's Preliminary Dissertation prefixed to his edition of the Fragments of Saint Matthew's Gospel, from a Codex Rescriptus in Trinity College Library at Dublin. (*Evangelium secundum Matthæum ex Codice Rescripto in Bibliotheca Collegii Sanctæ Trinitatis juxta Dublin, &c.* 4to. Dublin, 1801.) In this Dissertation he examines and notices the difficulties of the hypothesis proposed by Africanus, a father of the third century, preserved by Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 7.), and translated by Dr. Lardner (Works, vol. ii. pp. 436—438. 8vo. or vol. i. pp. 416, 417. 4to.), and which Africanus professed to have received from some of our Lord's relatives. As Dr. Barrett's book is scarce, and comparatively little known, it may gratify the reader to learn that a copious and faithful abstract of it is given in the Eclectic Review for 1807, vol. iii. part 2. pp. 586—594. 678—698.; and also with some additional observations by Dr. A. Clarke, at the end of his commentary on Luke iii. See also Mr. R. B. Green's "Table for exhibiting to the View, and impressing clearly on the Memory, the Genealogy of Jesus Christ, with Notes," &c. London, 1822, 8vo.

[5] The topic here briefly noticed is ably illustrated by the late Rev. Dr Townson in his Discourses on the Four Gospels, chiefly with regard to the peculiar Design of each, &c. (Works, vol. i. pp. 1—274.)

[6] An abstract of the evidence for the fact of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ is given in this volume, pp. 105—115.

[7] Mori Acroases in Ernesti Instit. Interp. Nov. Test. tom. ii. pp 26—32. Paley's Evidences, vol. ii. pp 274—279.

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exactly parallel to that of these two abbreviators. The *latter* extracted the particulars, related in their several abridgments, from the history of Dion Cassius, as the *former* drew the materials of their Gospels from the life of Jesus Christ. Xiphilin and Theodosius transcribed their relations from a certain collection of facts contained in one and the same history; the four evangelists, from a certain collection of facts contained in the life of *one* and the *same* person, laid before them by that same SPIRIT, which was to lead them into all truth. And why the fidelity of the *four* transcribers should be called in question for reasons which hold equally strong against the *two* abbreviators, we leave those to determine who lay such a weight upon the objection.[1]

3. A third source of apparent contradictions, in the different circumstances related, arises from *false readings, or from obscure and ambiguous expressions, or from transpositions in the order of relating, and sometimes from several of these causes combined.*[2] The only way by which these seeming repugnancies may be reconciled, is to call in the aid of sacred criticism; which, when judiciously applied, will, in most instances, if not in every case, remove them.

Thus, in Gen. xxix. 1—8. we have a dialogue in which no man is mentioned but Jacob, the only living creatures present being three flocks of sheep: yet these are represented as conversing, rolling away the stone, and watering the sheep. This appearance of contradiction probably originated, first, in some transcriber writing הצרים (HADARIM), *flocks*, for הרעים (HAROIM), *shepherds*, in three places; and, secondly, from verse 3. expressing what *customarily* happened, not what then had actually taken place;[3] and this mistake, having obtained in some copy of high repute, has been transcribed into all the later manuscripts. That the above mistake has actually been made appears from the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch, from the Arabic version in Bishop Walton's Polyglott (which has preserved the true reading in verses 3 and 8.), and from the Greek version. The true reading, therefore, as Houbigant and Dr. Kennicott contend, is shepherds, not flocks, and the third verse should be read parenthetically.[4]

Having thus stated the various causes of apparent contradictions in the different circumstances related by the inspired writers, we shall proceed to illustrate the preceding remarks.

I. *The names of persons and places are respectively liable to change.*

Thus, the name of one person is sometimes given to another, either as they are types of them,—so *Christ* is called *David* (Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24.) and *Zerubbabel* (Hag. ii. 23.)—or, on account of some resemblance between them, as in Isa. i. 10. Ezek. xvi. 3. 46. Mal. iv. 5. compared with Matt. xi. 14. and John i. 21. Rev. ii. 20. and xviii. 2. So *Hell* derives its name, in many languages, from the valley of the children of Hinnom, on account of the wickedness there committed, and the dreadful cries formerly heard in that place. In like manner, the place of the great slaughter (Rev. xvi. 16.) has its name from the place of the memorable battle where Josiah was slain, 2 Kings xxiii. 29.

II. *The name of the head of a tribe or nation is sometimes given to their posterity.*

Thus, Edom or Esau is put for the Edomites, who were the descendants of Esau, in Num. xx. 18. Gen. xxxvi. 1. and Obadiah i. 6. Very numerous similar examples are to be found in the Sacred Writings, which it is unnecessary to specify.

III. *Sometimes names remain after the reason for which they were given, or the thing whence they were taken, has ceased to exist.*

Aaron's rod, for instance, retained its name when changed into a serpent, Exod. vii. 12. So Matthew is called a publican, because he had formerly followed that calling. Simon the leper is so termed because he had formerly been afflicted with the leprosy, Matt. xxvi. 6. So it is said in Matt. xi. 5. that the blind see, and the deaf hear, that is, those who had been blind and deaf. A similar instance occurs in Matt. xxi. 31. *The publicans and harlots enter into the kingdom of heaven*, that is, those who had been such, not those who continue so. (Compare 1 Cor. vi. 9.)

IV. *The same persons or places sometimes have several names.*

Thus, Esau's wife is called Bashemath in Gen. xxvi. 34. and Adah in Gen. xxxvi. 2. Gideon is called Jerubbaal in Judges vi. 32. and vii. 1. Zerubbabel and Sheshbazzar are the same person, Ezra i. 8. and v. 14. compared with Hag. i. 14. and ii. 2. 21. Almost numberless similar instances might be adduced from the Old Testament: nor are examples wanting in the New. Thus, he who was nominated for the apostleship, is called Joseph, Barsabas, and Justus. (Acts i. 25.) Joses and Barnabas are the names of the same apostle. Simon, it is well known, was called Peter and all the other apostles, except Saint John, had more names than one. In like manner, the same *places* are distinguished by several names: as Emishphat and Kadesh, Gen. xiv. 7. Hermon, Sirion, Shenir, Deut. iii. 9. Magdala in Matt. xv. 39. is termed Dalmanutha in Mark viii. 10., and the country of the Gergesenes, in Matt. viii. 28., in Mark v. 1. called that of the Gadarenes.

V. *Many persons and places also have the same name.*

There was one Bethlehem in the tribe of Zebulun, Josh. xix. 15 and another in the tribe of Judah, Matt. ii. 6. Luke ii. 4. There were two towns called *Cana*, Josh. xix. 28. John ii. 1. Several *Cæsareas*, Matt. xvi. 13 Acts ix. 30. and xviii. 22. Several *Zechariahs*, as in 1 Chron. v. 7. xv. 20 xxiv. 25, &c. 2 Chron. xvii. 7. xx. 14. Zech. i. 1. Luke i. 5. Matt. xxiii. 35. The Zechariah in this last cited passage was probably the person mentioned in 2 Chron. xx. 14. and the name of the father has been added since, by some transcriber, who took it from the title of the prophecy. Several *Herods*, as, 1. *Herod the Great*, in whose reign our Redeemer was incarnate, Matt. ii. 1. and by whom the infants at Bethlehem were massacred, Matt. ii. 16. 2. *Herod Antipas*, surnamed the Tetrarch, Matt. xiv. 1. by whom John the Baptist was murdered (verse 10.), and our Saviour was mocked and set at nought, Luke xxiii. 11. 3. *Herod Agrippa*, who slew the apostle James, Acts xii. 2. and miserably perished, verse 23. So, there are some names which appear to have been common to several, if not to all, the successive kings of a country. Thus, Pharaoh was the general name of the kings of Egypt, Gen. xii. 15. xxxix. 1. Exodus i.—xv. *passim*. 1 Kings iii. 1. 2 Kings xxiii. 29. Isa. xix. 11. Jer. xxv. 19. xliv. 30. and xlvi. 17., and very frequently in the prophecy of Ezekiel; and that this was the constant title of the Egyptian kings, is further attested by Josephus[5] and Suidas.[6] Artaxerxes was the common name of the whole race of Persian kings; as Abimelech was of the Philistines, Gen. xx. 2. xxvi. 8. compared with the title to Psal. xxxiv.; and Agag of the Amalekites, as may be inferred from Num. xxiv. 7. compared with 1 Sam. xv. 8.

VI. *The differences in names occurring in the Scriptures are sometimes occasioned by false readings, and can only be reconciled by correcting these;* but the true name may in such cases be distinguished from the erroneous one, by the usage of Scripture in other places, as well as from the Samaritan Pentateuch, the ancient versions, and Josephus.[7]

The following instances will illustrate this remark. *Hadarezer*, 1 Chron xviii. 3. ought to be Hadadezer, as in 2 Sam. viii. 3. a Resh ר being mistaken for a Daleth ד.[8] *Joshebbassebet*, in 2 Sam. xxii. 8. (marg. rend.) should be Jashobeam, as in 1 Chron. xi. 11. and xxvii. 2.[9] *Bathshua, the daughter of Amiel*, in 1 Chron. iii. 5. should be Bathsheba the daughter of Eliam, as in 2 Sam. xi. 3. the two last letters of the father's name being transposed, and the two first put last.[10] *Azariah*, in 2 Kings xiv. 21. should be Uzziah, as in 2 Chron. xxvi. 1. and elsewhere; which reading is adopted, or nearly so, by the Arabic and Syriac versions.[11] *Jehoahaz*, in 2 Chron. xxi. 17. should be Ahaziah, or Ahaziah, as in 2 Kings viii. 24. and elsewhere.[12] The name of the great king Nebuchadnezzar is spelled seven different ways.[13]

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§ 2. *Apparent Contradictions, from Things being related in a different Order by the sacred Writers.*

I. *The Scriptures being as it were a compendious record of important events, we are not to infer that these took place exactly in the order narrated; for frequently things are related together, between which many things intervened while they were transacting. Neither are we to conclude that a thing is not done, because it is not related in the history of other things happening in the same age.*

1. Thus, in Num. xxxiii. we have a particular account of the journeyings of the Israelites, which are not noticed in their proper place in the book of Exodus. In the four Gospels especially, we find that each of the evangelists did not relate every word and thing; but one frequently omits what has been related by the rest, while that which has been briefly noticed by one is recorded at length by the others; and two evangelists, when relating the same fact, do not always observe the order of time.

2. So, in John xii. 1—3. Jesus Christ is said to have been anointed at Bethany *six days before the passover*; yet Saint Matthew (xxvi. 2. 6, 7.) takes no notice of this remarkable circumstance till within two days of the feast. "The reason is manifest. It was at this time that Judas offered to the chief priests and elders to betray him; and the evangelist, intending to relate his treachery, returns to give an account of the event which prompted him to it. The rebuke which he received in the house of Simon, when he complained of the waste of ointment, had irritated his proud disaffected heart, and inspired him with sentiments of revenge. The mention of the unction of our Saviour, which was preparatory to his burial, reminds us of another observation, which is of use in removing difficulties, namely, that two facts may much resemble each other and yet not be the same. Although they differ, therefore, in some circumstances, while they agree in others, it is through haste and inattention that, on this account, we charge the Scriptures with contradiction. The anointing of Christ, six days before the passover, is evidently different from the anointing recorded in the seventh chapter of Luke. The two incidents agree, as both happened at table, and in the house of a person named Simon; but on considering the passages, they appear to have taken place at different times."[14] Apparent contradictions of this kind are so numerous in the Gospels, that it would almost require a harmony of them to be constructed, were we here to specify them; and from these discrepancies have originated harmonies, or connected histories, compiled from the writings of the evangelists, in the

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[1] West's Observations on the History of the Resurrection, pp. 279.

[2] Gerard's Institutes, p. 426. § 1147. Jahn's Enchiridion Herm. Gen. cap. vi. De Compositione Evangeliorum, p. 137.

[3] The Vulgate version so renders verse 3. *Moriaque erat ut cunctis ovibus* (lege *pastoribus*) *congregatis devolverent lapidem*, &c.

[4] Houbigant in loc. Dr. Kennicott's First Dissertation on the Hebrew text, pp. 360—366. The proper version of the passage above referred to will be thus:—"Then Jacob went on his journey, and came into the land of the people of the east. 2. And he looked, and behold a well in a field; and, lo, three *shepherds* were lying by it, for out of that well they watered their flocks; and a great stone was upon the well's mouth. (And there all the *shepherds usually* met together, and rolled the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the sheep; and put the stone again upon the well's mouth, in its place.) 4—7. And Jacob said, &c. &c. 8. And they said, We cannot until all the *shepherds* shall be gathered together, and roll the stone from the well's mouth; then we water the sheep."

[5] Antiq. l. viii. c. 6. § 2.

[6] Suidas, *in voce*.

[7] Gerard's Institutes, p. 427.

[8] Kennicott, Dissert. i. pp. 89, 90.

[9] Ibid. pp. 70—78.

[10] Ibid. p. 463.

[11] Ibid. pp. 478—480.

[12] Ibid. pp. 488, 492.

[13] Ibid. Dissert. ii. pp. 503—505. Concerning the variation of names, see further Kennicott's Remarks on Select Passages of the Old Testament, pp. 23—26.

[14] Dick's Essay on the Inspiration of the Scriptures, pp. 300, 301.

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structure of which different theories of arrangement have been adopted in order to reconcile their seeming discrepancies.[1]

3. Other additional instances of things that are mentioned as having happened, but of which no notice is taken in the sacred histories, occur in Gen. xxxi. 7, 8., the changing of Jacob's wages *ten times*, that is, frequently; in Psalm cv. 18. Joseph's feet being hurt with fetters; in Hosea xii. 4. Jacob's weeping; in Acts vii. 23—30. several things concerning Moses; in Acts xx 35. a saying of our Lord; in 1 Cor. xv. 7. an appearance of Christ to St. James; in 2 Tim. iii. 8. Jannes and Jambres withstanding Moses; in Heb. ix. 19. Moses sprinkling the book as well as the people with blood; and in Heb. xii. 21. a saying of Moses. Jude 9. Michael's contending for the body of Moses; and verse 14. Enoch's prophecy; and in Rev. ii. 14. Balaam teaching Balak to put a stumbling-block before the children of Israel: all which things might be known by revelation, or by personal communication, as in the case of Christ's appearance to James, who was evidently living when Paul mentioned it, or by tradition, or by the history of those times, as some of the circumstances above adverted to are mentioned by Josephus.

II. *Things are not always recorded in the Scriptures exactly in the same method and order in which they were done; whence apparent contradictions arise, events being sometimes introduced by anticipation and sometimes by ὑστεροπροξία, in which the natural order is inverted, and things are related first which ought to appear last.*

1. *Events introduced by anticipation.*

The creation of man in Gen. i. 27.; which, after several other things inserted, is related more at large, particularly the creation of Adam, in Gen. ii. 7. and of Eve, in verses 21—23. The death of Isaac (Gen. xxxv. 29.) is anticipated, as several transactions, especially those in chapters xxxvii. and xxxviii. must have happened during his life: it was probably thus anticipated, that the history of Joseph might not be disturbed. Isaac is supposed to have lived at least twelve years after Joseph was sold into Egypt. In Exod. xvi. 33. we read of the keeping of the pot of manna, which was not done till many years after. David's adventure with Goliath, related in 1 Sam. xvii., was prior to his solacing Saul with his music; and the latter story is recorded in 1 Sam. xvi., the historian bringing together the *effect* of Saul's rejection, and the endowment of David with various graces, among which was, his pre-eminent skill on the harp. "It appears, indeed, from many circumstances of the story, that David's combat with Goliath was many years prior in time to Saul's madness, and to David's introduction to him as a musician. In the first place, David was quite a youth when he engaged Goliath (1 Sam. xvii. 33. 42.): when he was introduced to Saul, as a musician, he was of full age. (xvi. 18.) Secondly, his combat with Goliath was his first appearance in public life (xvii. 56.); when he was introduced as a musician he was a man of established character. (xvi. 18.) Thirdly, his combat with Goliath was his first military exploit. (xviii. 38, 39.) He was a man of war when he was introduced as a musician. (xvi. 18.) He was unknown both to Saul and Abner when he fought Goliath. He had not, therefore, yet been in the office of Saul's armour-bearer, or resident in any capacity at the court. Now, the just conclusion is, not that these twenty verses are an 'interpolation, (as some critics have imagined),[2] but that the last ten verses of 1 Sam. xvi., which relate Saul's madness and David's introduction to the court upon that occasion, are misplaced. The true place for these ten verses seems to be between the ninth and tenth of the eighteenth chapter. Let these ten verses be removed to that place, and this seventeenth chapter be connected immediately with the thirteenth verse of chapter xvi., and the whole disorder and inconsistency that *appears* in the present narrative will be removed."[3] In Matt. xxvi. 21. and Mark xiv. 18. our Saviour is recorded to have intimated by whom he was to be betrayed, *while* eating the passover; which Saint Luke (xxii. 21.) shows to have been *after* the institution of the Lord's Supper: the order of Luke therefore is the true one. The imprisonment of John is set down in Luke iii. 19. *before* the baptism of Christ, whereas it happened *after* he had entered on his public ministry. The same occurrence is related by Saint Matthew and the other evangelists, per anticipationem, on occasion of Herod's consternation.

2. *Events related first which ought to have been placed last.*

The calling of Abraham to depart from Ur in Chaldea, in Gen. xii. 1., for it preceded that departure which is related in ch. xi. 31. Compare Gen. xv. 7. with Acts vii. 3. The history of Judah, in Gen. xxxviii. for most of the particulars related happened before the sale of Joseph. In Luke iv. 9. the carrying and placing of Christ on one of the battlements of the temple is related *after* his being transported to an exceeding high mountain; whereas it certainly preceded it, as appears from Matt. iv. 5. 8. who has distinctly noted the order of the temptations.[4]

III. *A thing is sometimes attributed to one who was formerly an example of any action.* See an instance of this in Jude, verse 11.

IV. *Actions or things are sometimes said to be done, when they are not already done, but upon the point of being accomplished, or (as we usually say) "as good as done."*

And in this language Christ ordinarily spoke a little before his death, as in Matt. xxvi. 24. the son of man *goeth*, &c. verse 45. the son of man *is* betrayed. So Mark xiv. 41. Luke xxii. 19, 20. which *is* given, which *is* shed, and verse 37. the things concerning me *have* an end. A similar expression occurs in Isa. ix. 6. to us a child *is* born; to us a son *is* given, &c. and in Rev. xviii. 2. Babylon *is* fallen, *is* fallen.

V. *So actions or things are said to be done, which are only declared to be done.*

Thus, in Gen. xxvii. 37. we read, *I have made him thy Lord*, that is, I have foretold that he shall be so. Gen. xxxv. 12. *The land which I gave Abraham and Isaac*, that is, promised or foretold should be theirs. See like instances in Num xvi. 7. Job v. 3. Jer. i. 10. xv. 1. and xxv. 15.

VI. *So, actions or things are said to be done, which only seem or are reputed to be done.*

Thus, in Josh. ii. 7. it is said, the men *pursued* after the spies; that is, they believed they were doing so, at the very time when the spies were concealed.

VII. *So, a thing is said to be done by him who only desires or endeavours to accomplish it, or uses proper means for that purpose.*

See examples of this in Gen. xxxvii. 21. Esther viii. 5. Ezek. xxiv. 13. 1 Cor. x. 33., &c.

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§ 3. *Apparent Contradictions, arising from Differences in Numbers.*

Apparent contradictions in the Sacred Writings, arising from the difference of numbers, proceed from the Scriptures speaking in whole or round numbers,—from numbers being taken sometimes exclusively and sometimes inclusively,—from various readings,—and from the writers of the New Testament sometimes quoting numbers from the Alexandrian version, not from the Hebrew text.

I. *The Scriptures sometimes speak in whole, or, as we usually term them, round numbers; though an odd or imperfect number would be more exact.*

Thus, in Gen. xv. 13. it is foretold that his posterity should be enslaved in Egypt four hundred years. Moses (Exod. xii. 40.) states their sojourning to be four hundred and thirty years, as also does Paul, Gal. iii. 17. and Josephus.[5] In Acts vii. 6. Stephen says that the children of Israel sojourned in Egypt four hundred years, leaving out the odd tens. Though the Israelites themselves resided in Egypt only two hundred and some odd years, yet the full time of their peregrination was four hundred and thirty years, if we reckon from the calling of Abraham and his departure from Ur, until the Israelites quitted Egypt; and that this is the proper reckoning appears from the Samaritan copy of the Pentateuch; which in all its printed editions and manuscripts, as well as the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch, reads the passage in Exod. xii. 40. thus: *Now the sojourning of the children of Israel*, and of their fathers, *which they sojourned* in the land of Canaan, and *in the land of Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years*.[6] In Num. xiv. 33. it is denounced to the murmuring Israelites that they should wander forty years in the wilderness; but if we compare Num. xxxiii. with Josh. iv. 19. we shall find that some days, if not weeks, were wanting to complete the number: but, forty years being a round and entire number, and because in so many years a few days were inconsiderable, therefore Moses delivers it in this manner. The same remark applies to Judges xi. 26. relative to the sojourning of the Israelites in the land of the Amorites. The twelve apostles are also mentioned in 1 Cor. xv. 5. though Judas was no more; and Abimelech is said to have slain seventy persons, though Jotham escaped. Compare Judges ix. 18. 56. with verse 5.

II. *Sometimes numbers are to be taken exclusively, and sometimes inclusively.*

Matt. xvii. 1. Mark ix. 2. Luke ix. 28. and John xx. 26. may be mentioned as examples of this remark. See them further explained in p. 405. Obs. V. *infra*.

III. *Differences in numbers not unfrequently arise from false readings.*

As the Hebrews anciently used the letters of their alphabet to denote *numbers*, many of those numbers which to us appear almost incredible in some places, and contradictory in others, are owing to mistakes in some of the similar letters. Thus, in 2 Kings viii. 26. we read that Ahaziah was *twenty-two* years old when he began to reign; but in 2 Chron. xxii. 2. he is said to have been *forty-two years* old, which is impossible, as he could not be born *two years* before Jehoram his father, who was only forty years old. *Twenty-two years*, therefore, is the proper reading, a Kaph כ, whose numeral power is twenty, being put for a Mem מ, whose numeral power is forty. In like manner, in 2 Sam. viii. 4. and x. 18. we read seven hundred, which in 1 Chron. xviii. 4. and xix. 18. is seven thousand, the proper number.[7]

As the Jews anciently appear to have expressed numbers by marks analogous to our common figures, the corruption (and consequently the seeming contradiction) may be accounted for, from the transcribers having carelessly added or omitted a single cipher. In 1 Kings iv. 26. we are told that Solomon had forty thousand stalls for horses, which number, in 2 Chron. ix. 25. is only four thousand, and is most probably correct, a cipher having been added.[8] In 2 Chron. xiii. 3. 17. we meet with the following numbers, four hundred thousand, eight hundred thousand, and five hundred thousand, which in several of the old editions of the Vulgate Latin Bible are forty thousand, eighty thousand, and fifty thousand; the latter are probably the true numbers.[9]

By the application of this rule, some critics have endeavoured to reconcile the difference relative to the hour of Christ's crucifixion, which in Mark (xv. 25.) is stated to be the *third*, and by St. John (xix. 14.) the *sixth* hour; for, as in ancient times all numbers were written in manuscripts not at length, but with numeral letters, it was easy for Γ, three, to be taken for ϛ, six. Of this opinion are Griesbach, in his elaborate edition of the New Testament, Semler, Rosenmüller, Doddridge, Whitby, Bengel, Coccejus, Beza, Erasmus, and by far the greater part of the most eminent critics. What further renders this correction probable is, that besides the

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[1] See an account of the principal Harmonies of the Gospels, pp. 319, 320. *supra*, and for editions of Harmonies, see the BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX to the second Volume, Part I. Chap. II. Sect. II. and III.

[2] Particularly Mr. Pilkington (Remarks on Scripture, pp. 62—68.), and Dr. Kennicott. (Diss. ii. on the Hebrew Text, pp. 419—429.)

[3] Bp. Horsley's Biblical Criticisms, vol. i. p. 331. Mr. Townsend in his Harmony of the Old Testament, has judiciously arranged the above chapters agreeably to Bp. H.'s suggestion, and has thus obviated a seeming contradiction, which has long since called forth the sarcasms of infidels.

[4] Glassii Philologia Sacra, tom. i. pp. 668—671. edit Dathii.

[5] Antiq. l. iii. c. 1. § 9. De Bell. Jud. l. v. c. 9. § 4.

[6] Kennicott, Diss. ii. pp. 396—398.

[7] Ibid. Diss. i. pp. 96—99. 462. 463. Diss. ii. p. 209. Other similar remarks are interspersed in the same elaborate volumes.

[8] Ibid. Diss. i. p. 532. Diss. ii. p. 208.

[9] Ibid. Diss. i. pp. 532—534. Diss. ii. pp. 196—215. Other examples occur in Diss. ii. p. 219. *et seq.*

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Codex Beza, and the Codex Stephani (of the eighth century), there are four other manuscripts which read τριτη, *the third*, in John xix. 14. as well as the Alexandrian Chronicle, which professes to cite accurate manuscripts—even the autograph copy of St. John himself. Such also is the opinion of Severus Antiochenus, Ammonius, and some others cited by Theophylact on the passage; to whom must be added Nonnus, a Greek poet of Panopolis in Egypt, who flourished in the fifth century, and wrote a poetical paraphrase of the Gospel of St. John, and who also found τριτη in the manuscript used by him.[1]

IV. *Apparent contradictions in the numbers of the New Testament arise from the sacred writers sometimes quoting the numbers of the Septuagint or Alexandrian version, not those of the Hebrew text.*

This is evidently the case in Acts vii. 14. where Jacob's family is stated, at the time of his going into Egypt, to have consisted of *threescore and fifteen souls;* whereas Moses, in Gen. xlvi. 27. fixes it at *threescore and ten souls.* What further confirms this remark is, that the Septuagint version of Gen. xlvi. 20. enumerates *five persons* more than the Hebrew, which, being added to the threescore and ten mentioned by Moses, exhibits the exact number, seventy-five.[2] To this we may add (although it does not strictly belong to numbers) the well-known passage, Luke iii. 36. where, in giving the genealogy of Jesus Christ, the evangelist notices a Cainan, whose name does not occur in the pedigree recorded by Moses, but which appears in the Septuagint version of Gen. x. 24.[3] On the subject of quotations from the Old Testament in the New, see pp. 293—319. *supra.*

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§ 4. *Apparent Contradictions in the Relation of Events in one Passage, and References to them in another.*

These contradictions are of two kinds.

1. *Sometimes events are referred to as having taken place, which are not noticed by the inspired historians;* these apparent contradictions have already been considered in § 2. Obs. I. pp. 402, 403.

2. *Sometimes the reference appears contradictory to circumstances actually noticed in the history.*

Thus, in Num. xiv. 30. it is said that none of the Israelites should come into the land of Canaan, *save Caleb and Joshua;* and yet, in Josh. xiv. 1. and xxii. 13. we read, that Eleazar and others entered into that land. But this seeming repugnance will disappear when it is recollected that nothing is more common in the most serious and considerate writers, than to speak of things by way of restriction and limitation, and yet to leave them to be understood with some latitude, which shall afterwards be expressed and explained when they treat of the same matter. So, here we read that none but Caleb and Joshua entered into the land of promise, this being spoken of *the chief leaders*, who had that privilege and honour; but if we consult other passages where this subject is more particularly related, we shall find that a more comprehensive meaning was not excluded. It is not to be supposed that the tribe of Levi were denied entrance into Canaan: because it is evident from the history that *they* did not murmur; and it is equally evident that against the murmurers only was the denunciation made, *that they should not see the land which God sware unto their fathers* (Num. xiv. 22, 23.): therefore, Eleazar and Phineas, being priests, are excepted. Again, the threatening cannot be intended to include those who went as spies into the land of Canaan, for they were not among the murmurers; and, consequently, the denunciation above mentioned could not apply to them. Thus, the statement in the book of Numbers is perfectly consistent with the facts recorded in the book of Joshua.

SECTION II.

APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS IN CHRONOLOGY.

CHRONOLOGY is a branch of learning which is most difficult to be exactly adjusted; because it depends upon so many circumstances, and comprehends so great a variety of events in all ages and nations, that with whatever punctuality the accounts of time might have been set down in the original manuscripts, yet the slightest change in one word or letter may cause a material variation in copies. Besides, the difference of the æras adopted in the computations of different countries, especially at great distances of time and place, is such, that the most exact chronology may easily be mistaken, and may be perplexed by those who endeavour to rectify what they conceive to be erroneous; for that which was exact at first is often made incorrect by him who thought it false before.[4] Chronological differences do undoubtedly exist in the Scriptures, as well as in profane historians; but these differences infer no uncertainty in the *matters of fact* themselves. It is a question yet undetermined, whether Rome was founded by Romulus or not, and it is a point equally litigated, in what year the building of that city commenced; yet, if the uncertainty of the time when any fact was done imply the uncertainty of the fact itself, the necessary inference must be, that it is uncertain whether Rome was built at all, or whether such a person as Romulus was ever in existence. Further, differences in chronology do not imply that the sacred historians were mistaken, but they arise from the mistakes of transcribers or expositors, which may be obviated by applying the various existing aids to the examination and reconciliation of the apparent contradictions in scriptural chronology.

I. *Seeming contradictions in Chronology arise from not observing, that what had before been said in the general, is afterwards resumed in the particulars comprised under it.*

For the total sum of any term of years being set down first, before the particulars have been insisted on and explained, has led some into mistake, by supposing that the particulars subsequently mentioned were not to be comprehended in it, but were to be reckoned distinctly as if they had happened afterwards in order of time, because they are *last* related in the course of the history. Thus, in Gen. xi. 26. it is said, that *Terah lived seventy years and begat* ABRAM: and in verse 32. that *the days of Terah were two hundred and five years; and Terah died in Haran.* But in Gen. xii 4. it is related that *Abram was seventy and five years old when he departed out of Haran;* which is inconsistent, if we suppose Abram to have resided in Haran till the death of his father Terah. But, if we consider that the whole number of years, during which Terah lived, is set down in Gen. xi. 32. and that Abram's departure from Haran, which is related in Gen. xii. 4. happened before his father's death, there will be no inconsistency; on the contrary, if Terah were only seventy years old when Abram was begotten, and if Abram were only seventy-five years old when he departed for Haran, it will be evident that Abram left his father Terah in Haran, where the latter lived after his son's departure, to the age of two hundred and five years; although during Terah's life Abram occasionally returned to Haran, for his *final* removal did not take place until the death of his father, as we learn from Acts vii. 4. Now, if this way of relating the general first, which is afterwards particularly set forth, be attended to in the interpretation of the Scriptures, it will afford a natural and easy solution of many otherwise inexplicable difficulties. Another explanation has been offered for the above apparent chronological difference, viz. that Abram was Terah's youngest son though first mentioned. What renders this solution probable is, that it is no unfrequent thing in Scripture, when any case of dignity or pre-eminence is to be distinguished, to place the *youngest* son before the eldest, though contrary to the usage of the Scriptures in other cases. Thus, Shem, the second son of Noah, is always placed first; Abram is placed before his two elder brothers Haran and Nahor; Isaac is placed before Ishmael; Jacob the youngest son of Isaac has the pre-eminence over Esau; and Moses is mentioned before his elder brother Aaron. Whatever chronological difficulties, therefore, arise upon

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[1] See Griesbach, Rosenmüller, Kuinöel, Doddridge, Whitby, Dr. A. Clarke, and other commentators on the passage in question.

[2] Various other solutions have been given, in order to reconcile this seeming difference between the numbers of Jacob's family, as related in the Old and New Testaments: the most *satisfactory* of all is the following one of Dr. Hales; which by a critical comparison of Gen. xlvi. 27. with Acts vii. 14. completely reconciles the apparent discrepancy.

"Moses," he remarks, "states that 'all the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, *which issued from his loins* (except his sons' *wives*), were sixty-six souls,'" Gen. xlvi. 26., and this number is thus collected:—

Jacob's children, eleven sons and one daughter	12
Reuben's sons	4
Simeon's sons	6
Levi's sons	3
Judah's three sons and two grandsons	5
Issachar's sons	4
Zebulun's sons	3
Gad's sons	7
Asher's four sons and one daughter and two grandsons	7
Dan's son	1
Naphthali's sons	4
Benjamin's sons	10
	66

"If to these sixty-six children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, we add Jacob himself, Joseph and his two sons born in Egypt, or four more, the amount is seventy, the whole number of Jacob's family which settled in Egypt. In this statement the *wives* of Jacob's sons, who formed part of the household, are omitted, but they amounted to nine: for of the twelve wives of the twelve sons, Judah's wife was dead (Gen. xxxviii. 12.), and Simeon's also, as we may collect from his youngest son, Shaul, by a Canaanitess (xlvi. 19.), and Joseph's wife was already in Egypt. These nine wives, therefore, added to the sixty-six, gave seventy-five souls, the whole amount of Jacob's household, that went down with him to Egypt; *critically* corresponding with the statement in the New Testament, that 'Joseph sent for his father Jacob, and *all his kindred*, amounting to *seventy-five* souls:'—the expression, *all his kindred*, including the wives who were Joseph's kindred not only by affinity, but also by consanguinity; being probably of the families of Esau, Ishmael, or Keturah. Thus does the New Testament furnish an admirable commentary on the Old."

From the preceding list, compared with that of the births of Jacob's sons, it appears that some of them married remarkably early. Thus Judah, Er, and Pharez respectively married at the age of about fourteen years: Asher, and his fourth or youngest son (Beriah), under twenty; Benjamin about fifteen; and Joseph's sons and grandsons could not have been much above twenty years old when they married, in order that he should have great-grandchildren in the course of seventy-three years. What further confirms this statement is, that they *must have necessarily* married at a very early age (as we know is practised to this day in the East), to have produced, in the course of two hundred and fifteen years, at the time of their departure, no less than six hundred thousand men, above twenty years of age, exclusive of women and children; so that the whole population of the Israelites, who went out of Egypt, must have exceeded *two millions.* Dr. Hales's New Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. part i. pp. 159—162.

[3] Dr. Hales has proved this second Cainan to be an interpolation in the Septuagint, New Analysis, vol. i. pp. 90—94.

[4] Jenkin on the Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion, vol. ii. p. 151. It would require too extensive an inquiry for the limits of this work, to enter into a detail of the various systems of chronology extant: the most recent is the elaborate *Analysis* of Dr. Hales, in 3 vols. 4to or 4 vols. 8vo., to which we can confidently refer the reader

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this supposition, that the son first named must *necessarily* be the first-born, must consequently proceed from mistake.[1]

II. *Sometimes the principal number is set down, and the odd or smaller number is omitted; which being added to the principal number in some other place, causes a difference not to be reconciled but by considering that it is customary in the best authors not always to mention the smaller numbers, where the matter does not require it.*

Of this we have evident proof in the Scriptures. Thus the Benjamites that were slain, are said in Judges xx. 35. to be 25,100, but in verse 46. they are reckoned only at 25,000. So the evangelist Mark says, xvi. 14., that Jesus Christ appeared to the *eleven* as they were sitting at meat, though Thomas was absent. The observation already made, on the use of round numbers in computations,[2] will apply in the present instance; to which we might add numerous similar examples from profane writers. Two or three, however, will suffice. One hundred acres of land were by the Romans called *centuria;* but in progress of time the same term was given to double that number of acres.[3] The *tribes*, into which the population of Rome was divided, were so denominated, because they were originally *three* in number; but the same appellation was retained though they were afterwards augmented to thirty-five; and in like manner the judges, styled *centumviri*, were at first five more than one hundred, and afterwards were nearly double that number,[4] yet still they retained the same name. Since, then, it is evident that smaller numbers are sometimes omitted both in the Old and in the New Testament, as well as in profane writings, and the principal or great numbers only, whether more or less than the precise calculation, are set down, and at other times the smaller numbers are specified;—nay, that sometimes the original number multiplied retains the same denomination; therefore it is reasonable to make abatements, and not always to insist rigorously on precise numbers, in adjusting the accounts of scriptural chronology.[5]

III. *As sons frequently reigned with their fathers, during the Hebrew monarchy, the reigns of the former are not unfrequently made, in some instances, to commence from their partnership with their fathers in the throne, and in others from the commencement of their sole government after their father's decease; consequently the time of the reign is sometimes noticed as it respects the father, sometimes as it respects the son, and sometimes as it includes both.*

Thus, Jotham is said (2 Kings xv. 33.) to have reigned *sixteen* years, yet in the preceding verse 30. mention is made of his *twentieth* year. This repugnance is reconcilable in the following manner; Jotham reigned alone sixteen years only, but with his father Uzziah (who, being a leper, was, therefore, unfit for the sole government) four years before, which makes twenty in the whole. In like manner we read (2 Kings xiii. 1.) that "in the *three-and-twentieth year* of Joash the son of Ahaziah king of Judah, Jehoahaz the son of Jehu began to reign over Israel in Samaria, and reigned seventeen years:" but in verse 10. of the same chapter it is related that "in the *thirty-seventh* year of the same Joash began Jehoash the son of Jehoahaz to reign over Israel in Samaria." Now, if to the three-and-twenty years of Joash, mentioned in the first passage, we add the seventeen years of Jehoahaz, we come down to the thirty-ninth or fortieth year of Joash; when on the death of Jehoahaz, the reign of Jehoash may be supposed to have begun. Yet it is easy to assign the reason why the commencement of this reign is fixed two or three years earlier, in the thirty-seventh year of Joash, when his father must have been alive, by supposing that his father had admitted him as an associate in the government, two or three years before his death. This solution is the more probable, as we find from the case of Jehoshaphat and his son (2 Kings viii. 16.) that in those days such a practice was not uncommon.[6] The application of the rule above stated will also remove the apparent contradiction between 2 Kings xxiv. 8. and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9. Jehoiachin being eight years old when he was associated in the government with his father, and eighteen years old when he began to reign alone. The application of this rule will reconcile many other seeming contradictions in the books of Kings and Chronicles; and will also clear up the difficulty respecting the fifteenth year of the emperor Tiberius mentioned in Luke iii. 1. which has exercised the ingenuity of many eminent philologers who have endeavoured to settle the chronology of the New Testament. Now, we learn from the Roman historians that the reign of Tiberius had *two* commencements: in the *first*, when he was admitted to a share in the empire (but without the title of emperor), in August of the year 764 from the foundation of the city of Rome, three years before the death of Augustus; and the *second* when he began to reign alone, after that emperor's decease. It is from the *first* of these commencements that the *fifteenth* year mentioned by Saint Luke is to be computed; who, as Tiberius did not assume the imperial title during the life of Augustus, makes use of a word, which precisely marks the nature of the power exercised by Tiberius, viz. in the fifteenth year ἡγεμονίας *of the administration of Tiberius Cæsar*. Consequently, this fifteenth year began in August 778. And if John the Baptist entered on his ministry in the spring following, in the year of Rome 779, in the same year of Tiberius, and after he had preached about twelve months, baptized Jesus in the spring of 780, then Jesus (who was most probably born in September or October 749) would at his baptism be thirty-three years of age and some odd months, which perfectly agrees with what St. Luke says of his being at that time *about thirty years old*.[7]

IV. *Seeming chronological contradictions arise from the sacred historians adopting different methods of computation, and assigning differing dates to the same period.*

Thus, in Gen. xv. 13. it is announced to Abraham that his "seed should be a stranger in a land that was not theirs, and should serve them, and that they should afflict them four hundred years." But in Exod. xii. 40, 41. the sacred historian relates that "the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was *four hundred and thirty* years. And it came to pass at the end of the *four hundred and thirty* years, even the self-same day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt." Between these two passages there is an apparent contradiction: the truth is, that both are perfectly consistent, the computation being made from two different dates. In Gen. xv. 13. the time is calculated from the promise made to Abraham of a son, or from the birth of Isaac; and in Exod. xii. 40, 41. it is reckoned from his departure from "Ur of the Chaldees," his native country, in obedience to the command of Jehovah.[8]

By the application of this rule many commentators reconcile the difference between Mark xv. 25., who says the hour of Christ's crucifixion was the *third*, and John xix. 14. who says it was about the *sixth* hour, that he was brought forth. Notwithstanding the authorities above adduced,[9] they observe that none of the ancient translators read the *third* hour in John: they therefore solve the difficulty (imperfectly it must be confessed), by considering the day as divided into four parts answering to the four watches of the night. These coincided with the hours of three, six, nine, and twelve, or, in our way of reckoning, nine, twelve, three, and six, which also suited the solemn times of sacrifice and prayer in the temple: in cases, they argue, in which the Jews did not think it of consequence to ascertain the time with great accuracy, they did not regard the intermediate hours, but only those more noted divisions which happened to come nearest the time of the event spoken of. Adopting this method of reconciliation, Dr. Campbell remarks, that Mark says *it was the third hour*, from which we have reason to conclude that the third hour was past. John says it was *about the sixth hour*, from which he thinks it probable that the sixth hour was not yet come. "On this supposition, though the evangelists may by a fastidious reader be accused of want of precision in regard to dates, they will not by any judicious and candid critic be charged with falsehood or misrepresentation. Who would accuse two modern historians with contradicting each other, because in relating an event which had happened between ten and eleven in the forenoon, one had said it was past nine o'clock; the other that it was drawing towards noon?"[10] From the evidence before him, we leave the reader to draw his own conclusions as to the reading which is preferably to be adopted. We apprehend that the weight of evidence will be found to preponderate in favour of the solution given in pp. 403, 404. *supra*.

V. *The terms of time in computation are sometimes taken* inclusively, *and at other times* exclusively.

Thus in Matt. xvii. 1. and Mark ix. 2. we read that *after* six days *Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into an high mountain apart*. But in Luke ix. 28. this is said *to come to pass* about an eight days *after;* which is perfectly consistent with what the other evangelists write. For Matthew and Mark speak *exclusively*, reckoning the six days between the time of our Saviour's discourse (which they are relating) and his transfiguration; but Luke *includes* the day on which he had that discourse, and the day of his transfiguration, and reckons them with the six intermediate days. So in John xx. 26. *eight days after* are probably to be understood inclusively; it being most likely on that day se'nnight on which Jesus Christ had before appeared to his disciples. It were unnecessary to subjoin additional examples of a mode of reckoning which obtains to this day in common speech, and in almost every writer, except those who professedly treat on chronology.

This mode of computation is not confined to the evangelical historians. The rabbins also observe, that the very first day of a year may stand in computation for that year;[11] and this way of reckoning mistakes of years *current* for years *complete*, or *vice versâ*, in the successions of so many kings, and in the transactions of affairs for so long a time, as is narrated in the Scriptures, may amount to a considerable number of years. For this reason Thucydides says,[12] that he computes the years of the Peloponnesian war, not by the magistrates who were annually chosen during that time, but by so many summers and winters; whereas Polybius, Josephus, and Plutarch, have been supposed to contradict themselves because they reckon sometimes by *current* and sometimes by complete years.

The preceding, and various other ways by which disputes in chronology may be occasioned, are a sufficient argument to us, that they do not imply that there were, originally, chronological mistakes in the books themselves. And if mistakes might arise in so many and such various ways, without any error in the original writings;—if the same difficulties occur upon so very nice and intricate a subject in any or all the books which are extant in the world;—and if it could by no

[1] Although the observations above given are sufficient to solve the chronological difficulty, it is proper to notice, that, instead of *two hundred and five years*, in Gen. xi. 32., the Samaritan Pentateuch reads *one hundred and forty-five years*, the adoption of which will remove the seeming contradiction. According to the text (Gen. xi. 26.) Terah begat Abram when he was seventy years old, and died in Haran (32.) when he was 205. Abram departed from Haran in his seventy-fifth year (Gen. xii. 4.), and in Acts vii. 4. it is said that Terah died before Abram had departed from Haran. The age of Terah, when Abram was born, added to his age when he left Haran, makes only one hundred and forty-five years. Hence it is concluded that an error has crept into the text; and therefore De Dieu, and Drs. Kennicott, Geddes, and Boothroyd, and Prof. Stuart, adopt the reading of the Samaritan text in preference to that of the Hebrew.

[2] See § 3. Remark I. p. 403.

[3] *Centuriam* nunc dicimus (ut idem Varro ait) *ducentorum* jugerum modum: olim autem ab *centum* jugeribus vocabatur *centuria:* sed mox duplicata nomen retinuit: sicuti *tribus* dictæ primum a partibus populi *tripartito* divisi, quæ tamen nunc multiplicatæ pristinum nomen possident. Columella de Re Rust. lib. v. c. 1. tom. ii. p. 199. ed. Bipont. Ernesti, in his *Index Latinitatis Ciceronianæ*, article *Tribus*, has adduced several similar instances.

[4] In Pliny's time they were *one hundred and eighty* in number. Ep. lib. vi. ep. 33.

[5] Jenkin's Reasonableness of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 157.

[6] Dick's Essay on the Inspiration of the Scriptures, p. 290.

[7] Lardner's Credibility, part i. book ii. chap. iii. (Works, vol. i. pp 339—382. 8vo.) Doddridge's Family Expositor, vol. i. sect. 15. note (*b*) Macknight's Harmony, vol. i. Chronological Dissertations, No. iii. That the solution above given is correct, see Dr. A. Clarke's Chronological Table annexed to his Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, p. ii.

[8] See p. 287. *supra*, where it is shown that the proper reading of Exod xii. 40. is, *Now the sojourning of the children of Israel* and of their fathers, *which they sojourned* in the land of Canaan and in the land of Egypt, *was four hundred* and thirty years. The reader who is desirous of seeing this subject fully discussed is referred to Koppe's Dissertation, in Pott's an Ruperti's Sylloge Commentationum Theologicarum, vol. ii. pp. 265—274.

[9] See pp. 403, 404. *supra*.

[10] Campbell on John xix. 14. vol. ii. pp. 572, 573. 3d edit. 1807.

[11] Lightfoot's Harmony of the New Testament, § ix.

[12] Thucydidis Historia Belli Peloponnesiaci, lib. vi. c. 20. tom. iii. pp. 287 288. edit. Bipont.

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means be necessary, that books of divine authority should be either at first so penned as to be liable to no wrong interpretations, or be ever after preserved by miracle from all corruption, it is great rashness to deny the divine authority of the Scriptures, on account of any difficulties that may occur in chronology.

SECTION III.

APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN PROPHECIES AND THEIR FULFILMENT.

I. "*When both a prediction and the event foretold in it are recorded in Scripture, there is sometimes an appearance of disagreement and inconsistency between them.*

"This appearance generally arises from some difficulty in understanding the true meaning of the prediction: it may be occasioned by any of those causes which produce the peculiar difficulties of the prophetic writings; and it is to be removed by the same means which serve for clearing these difficulties. It may proceed from any sort of obscurity or ambiguity in the expression, or from any uncertainty in the structure of a sentence."[1]

Thus, there is a seeming difference in Matt. xii. 40.[2] between our Lord's prediction of the time he was to be in the grave, and the time during which his body was actually interred. Now this difference is naturally and easily obviated by considering, that it was the custom of the Orientals to reckon *any part* of a day of twenty-four hours for a whole day, and to say it was done after three or seven days, &c. if it were done on the third or seventh day from that last mentioned. Compare 1 Kings xx. 29. and Luke ii. 21. And, as the Hebrews had no word exactly answering to the Greek νυχθήμερον to signify a natural day of twenty-four hours, they used night and day, or day and night, for it; so that to say a thing happened *after three days and three nights*, was the same as to say that it happened after three days, or on the third day. Compare Esther iv. 16. with v. 1. Gen. vii. 4. 12. 17. Exod. xxiv. 28. and Dan. viii. 14.

II. *Apparent contradictions between prophecies and their accomplishment sometimes proceed from the figurative language of the prophets; which is taken, partly from the analogy between the world natural and an empire or kingdom considered as a world politic, and partly from sacred topics.*[3]

Hence it is that the prophets so frequently express what relates to the Christian dispensation and worship in terms borrowed from the Mosaic religion; of which instances may be seen in Isa. ii. 2, 3. xix. 19. and lvi. 7. Jer. iii. 17. Zech. viii. 22. and Mal. i. 11. For the religion of Moses being introductory to that of Jesus, and there being, consequently, a mutual dependency between the two religions, "it is reasonable to suppose that, previous to such an important change of the economy, some intimations would be given of its approach. And yet, to have done this in a way, that would have led the Jews to look with irreverence on a system under which not only themselves but their posterity were to live, would not have harmonized with our notions of the divine wisdom. A method was therefore to be invented; which, while it kept the people sincerely attached to the law, would dispose them, when the time was come, for the reception of a *better covenant* that was to be established on *better promises*. Now the spirit of prophecy, together with the language in which that prophecy was conveyed, fully accomplished both these purposes. By a contrivance only to be suggested by divine prescience, the same expressions, which in their primary and literal meaning were used to denote the fortunes and deliverances of the Jews, for the present consolation of that people, were so ordered, as in a secondary and figurative sense to adumbrate the sufferings and victories of the Messiah, for the future instruction of the church of Christ. Had no expedient of this sort been employed, we should have wanted *one* proof of the connection between the Mosaic and Christian religions; and, on the other hand, had the nature of the Messiah's kingdom been *plainly* described, the design of the national separation would have been defeated. But, when spiritual blessings were promised under the veil of temporal blessings, and in terms familiar to the carnal expectations of the Jews, a proper degree of respect for the old system was preserved, at the same time that matters were gradually ripening for the introduction of the new; and the shadow of good things held forth obscurely in the law prepared them to look forward to that happier day, when the very image itself should be presented in full splendour, and distinctly defined by the Gospel."[4]

III. *Apparent contradictions between the prophecies and their accomplishment "may be occasioned by a prediction relating only to one part of a complex character or event, and on that account seeming to be inconsistent with other parts of it; and the appearance will be removed by taking in such predictions as relate to these other parts, and considering them all in connection."*[5]

Such seeming differences occur in the predictions relative to the exaltation and glory of the Messiah, compared with the prophecies concerning his previous sufferings. On this subject the reader may compare pp. 390—392. of the present volume. in pp. 461—456. *infra*, we have given a table of the chief predictions relative to the Messiah.

IV. *Seeming differences in the interpretation of prophecies, also proceed partly from the difficulty of fixing the precise time of their fulfilment, and partly from the variety of opinions adopted by expositors; who, being dissatisfied with the views taken by their predecessors, are each solicitous to bring forward some new interpretation of his own.*

These differences, however, are no more an objection against prophecy, than they are against the truth of all history; and we may with equal propriety conclude that things never came to pass, because historians differ about the time when they were done, as that they were never predicted, because learned men vary in their modes of explaining the accomplishment of such predictions. Expositors may differ in the niceties of the chronological part, but in general circumstances they are agreed; hence, whoever will consult them may be greatly confirmed in the truth of the prophecies, upon this very consideration—that there is less difference in the explanation of the principal prophecies than there is in the comments upon most ancient profane histories: and that those who differ in other matters must have the greater evidence for that in which they agree. Although there may be a difficulty in calculating the precise time when some predictions were fulfilled, because it is disputed when the *computation* is to begin, or how some other circumstance is to be understood, yet all interpreters and expositors are agreed, concerning these very prophecies, that they are fulfilled. For instance, in Gen. xlix. 10. it is certain that the sceptre has departed from Judah, whether that prophecy is to be understood of the tribe of Judah, or of the Jewish nation who were denominated from that tribe. Although the later Jewish writers deny its application to the times of the Messiah, yet the elder writers *invariably* refer it to him; and it is certain that the city and sanctuary are destroyed, and that the sacrifice and oblation are entirely done away, though interpreters do not agree about the precise time and manner of the accomplishment of *every* particular. In a similar manner the prophecy of Daniel respecting the *seventy weeks* is equally plain, and its accomplishment in the destruction of Jerusalem is certain; notwithstanding the differences of opinion in assigning the precise epocha of time. Plain matter of fact shows that these memorable predictions are fulfilled; and the only difference is concerning a single circumstance. To doubt, therefore (as some of our modern self-styled philosophers do), of the fulfilment of prophecies, merely because we do not certainly know the exact time when each particular was accomplished, though we certainly know that they must have long since been fulfilled, is as unreasonable, as if a man should question the truth of history on account of the uncertainties which are to be found in chronology. The existence of Homer is not denied because it is uncertain when he lived; nor is the reality of the Trojan war the less certain because the time of the capture of Troy has been variously determined. History, it has been well remarked, relates what has happened, and prophecy foretells what shall come to pass; and an uncertainty in point of time no more affects the one than the other. We may be uncertain of the time foretold by the prophet, and as uncertain of the time mentioned by the historian; but when all other circumstances agree, there is no reason why our uncertainty, as to the single circumstance of time, should be alleged against the credibility of either of them.[6]

V. *Some of the prophetic declarations are not predictions concerning things future, but simply commands relative to things which were to be performed, or they are conditional promises and threatenings, not absolute predictions; so that, if it subsequently appear that these were not executed, such non-performance cannot create any difficulty or repugnancy between the supposed prophecy and its fulfilment.*

We may illustrate this remark by reference to the fast observed by the Jews on the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar; these fasts the prophet Zechariah (viii. 19.) in the name of Jehovah declares, are to be abolished, and converted into a joyous festival; but notwithstanding this declaration, we know that they continued afterwards to be observed. Another instance may be seen in 2 Kings viii. 10. Elisha's answer to Hazael; to which we may add the *seeming* assertion, that the last day was near, in Rom. xiii. 11, 12. 1 Cor. x. 11. 1 Thess. iv. 15. Heb. ix. 26. James v. 7, 8. 2 Pet. iii. 12, 13. and 1 John ii. 18.

VI. *Some of the prophetic promises appear to have been made to individuals, which, however, were not fulfilled in them.*

But between such prophecies and their fulfilment there is no real discordance; because they were accomplished in the posterity of the person to whom the promise was made. Thus, in Isaac's prophetic blessing of Jacob, it was announced (Gen. xxvii. 29.) that he should be lord over his brethren. Now we know from the Sacred Writings that this never took effect in the person of Jacob; but it was fully verified in his posterity.

SECTION IV.

APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS IN DOCTRINE.

THESE arise from various causes; as contradictions from a mode of speaking which, to our apprehensions, is not sufficiently clear,—from the same term being used in different senses in different texts,—from the same word being used in apparently contradictory senses,—from the different designs of the sacred writers,—from the different ages in which the various sacred writers lived, and from the different degrees of their knowledge respecting the coming of the Messiah, and the religion to be instituted by him.

§ 1. *Seeming Contradictions from a Mode of Speaking, which, to our Apprehensions, is not sufficiently clear.*

It has been the practice of some writers to assert that the apostles, Saint Paul in particular, have argued both illogically and inconclusively; this assertion, however, falls to the ground of itself, when we consider the violent dislocations

[1] Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism, p. 434.
[2] Doddridge, Macknight, &c. on Matt. xii. 40.
[3] Newton on Daniel, p. 16. edit. 1733.
[4] Bishop Halifax's Sermons on the Prophecies, Serm. 1
[5] Gerard's Institutes, p. 435.
[6] Jenkin on the Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, vol. ii. pp. 178, 179.

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to which writers of the school alluded to have resorted, in order to disprove what is self-evident from the Bible—the divinity and atonement of the Messiah. At the same time it is not to be concealed, that apparent contradictions do sometimes arise from a mode of speaking *which*, to OUR *apprehensions, does not seem sufficiently clear*. For instance, salvation is in one passage ascribed to *grace through faith*, which we are assured *is not of ourselves*, but is *the gift of God;—not of works lest any man should boast* (Eph. ii. 8—10.); and in another Abraham is said to be *justified by faith without works* (Rom. iv. 2—6.); while in a third passage he is said to have been *justified by works*. (James ii. 21.) The apparent difference in these points of doctrine is occasioned by the fruits and effects being put for the cause. A little attention to the argument of the apostle removes all difficulty. Saint Paul's object in the Epistle to the Romans was, to show, in opposition to the objections of the Jews, that how much soever Abraham excelled other men in righteousness during the course of his life, he had no cause for glorying before God; who justified, accepted, and covenanted with him, not for obedience, but for faith in the divine promise. Abraham believed God's word, and God accepted his faith, dealt with him as righteous, and became his God; in like manner as he now conducts himself towards all who truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his Gospel. Saint James, on the contrary, having encouraged the Christian converts to bear with patience the trials they should meet with, and improve them to the purposes of religion, presses upon them meekness and gentleness towards each other, as the *test of their sincerity;* and shows that *faith without love* is of no avail. Thus the doctrine asserted by each apostle is proved to be consistent, and the seeming repugnancy disappears. For the removal of difficulties arising from expressions not appearing sufficiently clear, the following observations will be found useful.

I. *A passage which is ambiguous, or which contains any unusual expression, must be interpreted agreeably to what is revealed more clearly and accurately in other parts of the Scriptures.*

Numerous instances might be adduced in illustration of this remark, in which bodily parts and passions are ascribed to God; which unusual modes of expression are to be explained in conformity with such other passages as remove the appearance of contradiction. Another example we have in Luke xiv. 13, 14. *When thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind, and thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.* From this passage, some have inferred that the resurrection of the just *only* is intended, and, consequently, that the wicked shall certainly perish. There is, it is true, something unusual in this expression: but the doctrine of the resurrection of all mankind from the dead, which is so explicitly revealed in other parts of Scripture, being laid down and acknowledged, we readily perceive that our Saviour was speaking, in the passage under consideration, of acts of kindness done purely for the love of God, and on the recompense which He would bestow on them. But of the universal resurrection no notice is taken, nor is it denied that the wicked will receive *their* reward.

II. *A passage, in which a doctrine is slightly treated, must be explained by one where the subject is more largely discussed: and one single passage is not to be explained in contradiction to many others, but consistently with them.*

For instance, Jesus Christ in one place says, that he judges *no* man; in another, that he *will judge all men:* in one passage that he is *not* come to judge the world; in another, that he *is* come for judgment. These seeming inconsistencies occur in the Gospel of Saint John; it becomes necessary, therefore, to find out some other passage that will reconcile them. Thus, in John xii. 47. he says, *I came not to judge the world;* and in ch. ix. 39. he says, *For judgment I am come into this world.* In the latter passage he adds the cause of his thus coming,—namely, that they whose blindness proceeded from mere ignorance should be taught to see: while they who saw only through pride and prejudice should be left in their wilful blindness. Hence it appears, that our Lord was not speaking of the last judgment, from which we call God the judge of the living and of the dead; but that the tenor of his discourse was, to enable his hearers themselves to determine whether they were ignorant or not; for in the same chapter (verse 16.) it is said that Jesus spoke these words to the Pharisees, who would not perceive their own ignorance, nor judge themselves. In the other passages (John xii. 47.) we read, *I came not to judge* (rather to *condemn*) the world, but to save the world,—not to make its inhabitants wretched, but to make them happy for time and eternity, if they will be so wise as to listen to the proposals which I offer. Here the word *save* is plainly opposed to *condemn:* and that this is the proper meaning of the passage is evident from comparing chapter iii. verses 15—19.

The latter part of this rule the following passage will exemplify. In Gen. xvii. 10—14. the observance of circumcision is commanded; in Acts xv. the observance of that rite is affirmed not to be necessary. These propositions are apparently contradictory; Jesus Christ himself has determined them, Matt. xi. 13. *All the prophets, and the law, until John, prophesied:* intimating, as the context implies, that the observances of the law would thereafter cease.

III. *Between a general assertion in one text, and a restriction of it, or an exception to it, in another text, there is an appearance of contradiction which is sometimes removed by explaining the former with the proper limitations.*[1]

Several general expressions, in all languages, not only admit of, but also require a limitation; without which the true sense and meaning of many passages will not be understood. And, as the eastern nations indulged themselves most freely in the use of strong and figurative expressions, the Scriptures require more limitations, perhaps, than any other book; as it respects the New Testament, Saint Paul mentions principles on which we may build our limitations: *I speak after the manner of men.* (Rom. vi. 19.) *It is manifest that he is excepted.* (1 Cor. xv. 27.)

Thus, in Mark x. 11, 12. and in Luke xvi. 18. divorce is absolutely forbidden: but in Matt. v. 32. and xix. 9. it is allowed for adultery only. Yet in 1 Cor. vii. 15. it seems to be allowed, though the apostle does not authorize a second marriage.

The precept, *Except we become as little children, we shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven* (Matt. xviii. 3.), cannot mean that we are not to speak distinctly, or to walk steadily: but obviously refers to the docility, and freedom from ambition and worldly thoughts, which characterize children.

The observations offered in pp. 371, 372. *supra*, on the figures of speech, termed synecdoche, and hyperbole, may be applied in illustration of the preceding remark.

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§ 2. *Apparent Contradictions from the same Terms being used in different and even contradictory Senses.*

I. *Sometimes an apparent contradiction, in point of doctrine, arises from the same words being used in different senses in different texts.*

In this case the seeming repugnancy is to be removed by restricting the term properly in each text.

Thus, in some passages of the New Testament, we read that the kingdom of Christ is *eternal:* but in 1 Cor. xv. 24. it is said to have an *end:* in the latter passage, the *kingdom of Christ* means his mediatorial kingdom, which includes all the displays of his grace in saving sinners, and all his spiritual influence in governing the church visible on earth. By the eternal kingdom of Christ is intended the future state of eternal blessedness, which is so beautifully described as *an inheritance, incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven*, &c. (1 Pet. i. 4, 5.)

In like manner, *It is appointed unto men once to die* (Heb. ix. 27.), that is, a temporal death: yet if any man keep Christ's sayings he *shall never see death* (John viii. 51.), that is, eternal death. *Hatred* of others is very sinful and odious (Tit. iii. 3.), and yet to *hate* our nearest relations, that is, to love them *less* than we love Christ, is a duty. (Luke xiv. 26. compared with Matt. x. 37.) John the Baptist was *not* Elias (John i. 21.), that is, no the prophet who lived under Ahab; but he was *the Elias* predicted by Malachi (Mal. iv. 5, 6.), that is, one in the spirit and power of the ancient Elijah. (Matt. xi. 11, 12. 14. Mark ix. 11—13. Luke i. 17.)

So we cannot stand before God in the righteousness of our own *persons* (Psal. cxliii. 2.), but we may appeal to him for the righteousness of our *cause*, in matters of difference between ourselves and others. (Psal. xviii 20. xxxv. 27.)

II. *Apparent contradictions, in points of doctrine, sometimes arise from the same word being used not only in different but also in contradictory senses.*

Thus in Joshua, xxiii. 5. the same Hebrew verb ירש (YARASH), which usually signifies to inherit or possess, also means to dispossess or disinherit: *He shall expel them* (from their inheritance) *from before you, and ye shall possess their land*, succeed to their inheritance. In like manner, the word *sin* also denotes a *sin-offering* in Gen. iv. 7. 2 Cor. v. 21. and in many other passages of Scripture. The Hebrew verb ברך (BARAK), to *bless*, has been supposed also to mean *curse;* and, contrary to the authority of ancient versions, the lexicons (as the late eminently learned Mr. Parkhurst has proved) have given it the sense of cursing in the six following passages; 1 Kings xxi. 10. 13. Job i. 5. 11. and especially Job ii. 5. 9. The rendering of which last passage, he observes, should be thus:—

> Then said his wife unto him,
> Dost thou yet retain thine integrity,
> Blessing the Aleim (*God*) and dying, *or* even unto death?[2]

The Greek language presents numerous similar examples of the same words having different senses. Thus Εἴδωλον, in its primitive acceptation, bears a good sense, and simply means any representation or likeness of a thing; but it also most frequently denotes, in the New Testament, an image to which religious worship is given, whether it be intended of the *true* God, as in Acts vii. 41., or of a *false* deity, as in Acts xv. 20. 1 Cor. xii. 2. and Rev. ix. 20. So Περίεργος, which simply means *curious*, and its derivative περιεργάζομαι, are used in a worse sense, and denote impertinent curiosity in other persons' affairs, as in 1 Tim. v. 13. and 2 Thess. iii. 11 So πλεονεκτεῖν, which primarily signifies to have more than another, also means to have more than one ought to possess, *to defraud and circumvent* See 2 Cor. vii. 2. xii. 17, 18. and 1 Thess. iv. 6. (which last text denotes to defraud and injure by adultery, as numerous commentators, ancient and modern, have already observed). And μεθύειν, which (like the Hebrew verb שכר, Gen. xliii. 34.)[3] in its good sense denotes merely to *drink freely and to cheerfulness*, but not to intoxication (as in John ii. 10.), is often taken in an ill sense, and means to be *drunken*. Compare Matt. xxiv. 49. Acts ii. 15. and 1 Thess. v. 7. with Rev. xvii. 2. 6.[4]

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[1] Gerard's Institutes, p. 436.

[2] Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon, p. 84. 5th edition. Dr. Mason Good, in his version of the book of Job, has adopted Mr. P.'s rendering, and confirmed its propriety by various examples; see particularly his notes, pp. 5—9.

[3] They drank and were *merry* (literally *drank largely*) with him.

[4] The Latin language presents us with many examples of the same words which have different meanings. It will suffice to specify two or three. *Sacer*, it is well known, signifies not only that which is holy, but also that which is most cursed and detestable. Thus, we have in Virgil (Æn. iii. 57.) the well known words *auri sacra fames*. In our old English common law writers, *villanus* (villain) denotes a rustic of servile condition, but the English word is now exclusively a term of infamy. So, *missa*, the mass, was at first an innocent word, signifying merely the service of the church; but it has long since degenerated into a widely different meaning and is given exclusively to the worship of the church of Rome.

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§ 3. *Apparent contradictions, in points of doctrine, arising from the different designs of the sacred writers.*

A kind of repugnancy sometimes arises from the different designs which the sacred writers had in view; and this can only be removed by interpreting each passage agreeably to the writer's design.

It is obvious that the same person may express himself in various ways concerning one and the same thing, and in this case regard must be had to his intention. In Saint Paul's Epistles, for instance, we find the apostle frequently arguing, but more or less severely, with those who rigorously urged a compliance with the Mosaic rites and ceremonies; in some passages he expresses himself more gently towards his opponents; in others, with greater severity, calling the opinions thus asserted *doctrines of devils*, and *profane and old wives' fables*. (1 Tim. iv. 1. 7.) To understand these passages aright, then, it is necessary that we distinguish the threefold design of the apostle, according to the three different classes of advocates for the observance of the Mosaic ritual. 1. Against those who maintained the rites prescribed by Moses from *weakness of mind*, and could not persuade themselves that these ought to be abandoned, the apostle argues with great lenity; compare Rom. xiv. throughout. 2. There were others, however, who, while they contended for and urged the external observance of the Mosaic law, expressed the utmost *contempt for the Christian religion*, which they either affirmed not to be true, or to be insufficient unless the observance of the law of Moses were superadded. Against this class of opponents, Saint Paul argues with much more severity, denying altogether the necessity of such observance; compare the Epistle to the Galatians. 3. There was another class of persons, who, to the external observance of the Mosaic ritual, joined certain philosophical notions borrowed from the Alexandrian school of philosophers, and which were received among the Therapeutæ. According to these, the highest wisdom consisted in a state of celibacy, mortification, and abstinence from animal food; against these crude opinions the apostle argues vehemently, terming them profane and old wives' fables, and diabolical, that is, the most pestilent doctrines. The perusal of Philo's treatise on the Therapeutæ will show what pretensions that sect made to wisdom and piety, which consisted in mortification and abstinence, and with what sovereign contempt they regarded all other persons. To this class of Saint Paul's antagonists are to be referred 1 Tim. iv. throughout, and also Col. ii. verse 8. to the end.

On the best mode of ascertaining the design of any book or passage in the Sacred Writings, see pp. 339, 340. *supra*.

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§ 4. *Apparent contradictions, arising from the different ages in which the Sacred Writers lived, and the different degrees of knowledge which they possessed.*

I. There is another class of doctrinal points, in which a species of repugnancy is produced by the *different ages in which the sacred writers lived.*

All expositors of the Scriptures are agreed in the summary of religious truths revealed in them, and that, from the book of Genesis to the Revelation of Saint John, this doctrine is constantly and unanimously delivered, viz. that there is one infinitely wise, gracious, just, and eternal God; and that our salvation is of God through the atonement of the Messiah, &c. &c. But this doctrine is variously expressed, according as the ages, in which the writers lived, were more or less remote from the time when the Son of God was manifested in the flesh. Further, in the Old Testament, there are many very severe precepts relative to revenging of injuries on enemies, as well as many imprecations against the foes of David: no such precepts are to be found in the New Testament. Again, the law of revenge and retaliation, in the Mosaic system, is extremely severe, requiring eye for eye, hand for hand, tooth for tooth, &c. Widely different from this is the spirit of the Christian doctrine.

II. An apparent contradiction likewise is caused by the *different degrees of knowledge possessed by the sacred writers* relative to the happiness to be procured for man by Jesus Christ.

In the Old Testament this happiness is almost constantly described as being *external*; but in the New Testament all external considerations are dismissed, and it is affirmed to be *spiritual* or *internal*. Hence also it happens, that although the same worship of the same Jehovah is treated of in the books of the Old and New Testament, external worship is chiefly, though not exclusively, insisted upon in the former, but internal in the latter; in the Old Testament it is the *spirit of bondage*, but in the New it is the *spirit of adoption*. In this gradual revelation of the divine will we see the wisdom and goodness of God; who graciously proportioned it to the capacities of men, and the disposition of their minds, to receive those intimations which he was pleased to communicate. And, as the sacred writers accommodated themselves to the imperfect or more improved degrees of knowledge which existed at the times they wrote, so it appears that they adapted their precepts to the religious, civil, and domestic or private customs of their countrymen. Hence it happens, that though religion in itself was always one and the same thing, yet the *manner* in which it was made known acquired some tinge,—

1. *From religious customs:* for as all the more ancient people were accustomed to worship their own gods, agreeably to their own peculiar rites, so the Jews after their manner worshipped the only true God.

2. *Civil customs* also imparted some degree of peculiarity to religion. For while one nation was separated from intercourse with others by its own customs, many things were spoken of God, as a national deity, more peculiarly appropriated to that nation: but if that separation be removed, Jehovah is described as the common parent of all mankind.

3. Lastly, in the *domestic or private institutes* contained in the Mosaic law, there are many things derived from the manners and customs of their forefathers; this fact has been shown by Professor Michaelis, in his elaborate "Commentaries on the Law of Moses." In like manner the apostles adapted their instructions to the peculiar customs that obtained in different countries in their own age. How differently do they express themselves towards Jews and Heathens! Not only do they attend to religious, civil, and domestic or private manners and customs, but, in proportion as these underwent gradual changes, they explain many things more copiously, as well as more clearly, rejecting the veil of types, and despising those ceremonies in which the Jewish nation formerly delighted. An attentive consideration of these circumstances will contribute to clear up many apparent contradictions, as well as to solve very many of the objections brought by infidels against the Sacred Writings. Let times and seasons be accurately distinguished, and perfect harmony will be found to subsist in the different books of Scripture.

SECTION V.

SEEMING CONTRADICTIONS TO MORALITY.

NOTWITHSTANDING it is generally admitted that the Holy Scriptures breathe a spirit of the purest and most diffusively benevolent morality; yet there are some passages which have been represented as giving countenance to immorality and cruelty. But these, when duly examined, will be found perfectly in unison with the purest principles of morality. The wide difference which subsists between ancient and modern manners, *if fairly considered*, would alone be a sufficient reply to the indecencies which are asserted to exist in the Bible.

Further, the characters and conduct of men, whom we find in all other respects commended in the Scriptures, are in some respects faulty; but these are, in such instances, by no means proposed for our imitation, and, consequently, give no sanction whatever to immorality: for several of these faults are either expressly condemned, or are briefly related or mentioned as matter of fact, without any intimation that they are either to be commended or imitated. The sacred writers, however, are only answerable for facts, not for the morality of actions. It is true that the Jewish history is stained with blood and cruelty; but so is the history of all other nations (whose chroniclers, annalists, or other historians are not censured for their bare narration of the crimes of the individuals or nations), and without the additional circumstance of being relieved by such histories of true piety and virtue as abound in the Scriptures. But it is worthy of remark, that the moral character of the Jewish nation was by no means so *uniformly* bad as the modern antagonists of divine revelation pretended. In some ages, their morals were much purer, and their piety more fervent, than at others. Such was the generation which first entered Canaan with Joshua, and such also the generations that lived during the reigns of their most pious monarchs. It is, moreover, to be considered, that the *mere* narration of any action, such as we find in the Old and New Testaments, implies neither the approbation nor the censure of it, but only declares that such a thing was done, and in such a manner; and the not concealing of these shows the simplicity and impartiality of the sacred writers, who spare no person whomsoever, not even when they themselves are concerned,—though the thing related should redound to their disgrace;—as in the case of Noah's drunkenness (Gen. ix. 21.), Jacob's deceiving of Isaac (Gen. xxvii.),[1] Peter's denial of Christ (Matt. xxvi. 69—75. and the parallel passages of the other evangelists): Paul's dispute with Peter (Gal. ii. 11—14.): and Paul's excuse of himself. (Acts xxiii. 5.)

[1] From this circumstance God has been represented by infidels, as distinguishing his favourite Jacob, by a system of *fraud and lies*: but the following considerations, by the late Bishop Horne, may assist us to form a right judgment of this matter.

"1st. The proposition of deceiving Isaac originated not with Jacob, but with Rebecca. Jacob remonstrated against it, as likely to bring a curse upon him, rather than a blessing; nor would consent to perform his part, till she engaged to take all the blame on herself—'On me be thy curse, my son; only obey my voice.'

2dly. From this speech, and from the earnestness and solicitude discovered by Rebecca, it may not unfairly be presumed, that she had some special reason for what she did: that Isaac was about to take a wrong step in a concern of great moment, which ought to be prevented, and could be prevented by no other means.

3dly. The rectitude of Rebecca's judgment seems evidently to have been recognised and allowed by Isaac, at the conclusion of the matter. For though he had blessed Jacob, intending to bless Esau, yet, as if recollecting himself, he confirmed and ratified that blessing in the strongest terms 'Yea, and he shall be blessed.' Still farther—at sending him away, he again repeated the benediction, in the most solemn and affecting manner; 'God give thee the blessing of Abraham!' It is hard to assign any other reason why, if so disposed, upon discovering the fraud, he might not have reversed the proceeding. Nay, by the kind meeting of the brothers afterwards, one should be inclined to suppose, that Esau himself acquiesced at length in the propriety of what had been done

4thly. If such were the case, Isaac was only deceived into what was right, and what himself acknowledged to be so in the conclusion. The deception was like those often practised by physicians for the benefit of their patients; and casuists must decide upon it in the same manner. The offence of Jacob is certainly alleviated, if not entirely taken off, by the circumstance of Rebecca pledging herself to bear the blame; as the conduct of Rebecca seems justified by that of Isaac ratifying and confirming to Jacob the blessing originally intended for Esau. Upon the whole, if there were any offence, it was one that might be forgiven; and if God, notwithstanding, continued to bless Jacob, he did forgive it, and had reasons for so doing." Bp. Horne's Works, vol. vi. pp. 477, 478.

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The following are the principal passages which the recent advocates of infidelity have charged with being contradictions to morality; with how little pretext, the reader will be enabled to judge, by the candid examination and consideration of the remainder of this section.

1. *God's command to Abraham, to sacrifice Isaac* (Gen. xxii.), *has been represented as a command to commit murder in its most horrid form, and consequently, as inconsistent with the holiness of God to give.*

But this command may be satisfactorily vindicated, either by regarding it as a symbolical action,[1] or (without this consideration) by resolving it into the divine sovereignty over the lives of his creatures. For, the Supreme Lord and Giver of Life has a right to take it away, and to command it to be taken away, whenever and in whatsoever manner he pleases. To offer a human victim to him, without his express warrant, would be to commit *murder*; but to do so by his command would be an act of obedience. As the Almighty has a right to command, so his perfections lead us to infer that he will command nothing but what is worthy of himself. The design of God, however, was to *prove* Abraham, in order that his faith, love, and obedience might be manifest, and NOT, in fact, that he should offer up Isaac.

2. *Jacob's vow* (Gen. xxviii. 20—22.) *is asserted to be quite conditional, and as implying that if his God would clothe and feed him, he would serve him.*

This representation is not more unjust, than the manner in which it is stated is indecent. In order that this matter may be regarded in its proper light, it must be considered, that, immediately before the account which is given us of Jacob's vow, we are informed of a vision which he had when setting out on his journey to Padan-Aram, when God renewed to him the promises made to Abraham concerning the giving of the land of Canaan to his posterity, and that in his seed all nations of the earth should be blessed: at the same time assuring him, that he would be with him in all places whither he should go, and would bring him again into that land. (12—15.) In consequence of this vision, Jacob made his vow the next morning; the design of which was, to express the sense he had of the divine goodness, and his confidence in God's gracious protection, and to declare his solemn resolution, that if God would be with him and keep him in his way, and would give him *bread to eat* and *raiment to put on* (which shows the moderation of his desires), so that he should come again to his father's house in peace, he would after his return make an open and public acknowledgment of his gratitude and devotion to the Lord as his God; would set apart that place, where God had appeared to him, to his worship: and would devote to His service the tenth of all the substance which God should give him. Now such a conduct as this, instead of being impiously interested and craving (as some opposers of revelation have asserted), will appear to every one, who judges candidly and impartially, a great argument of the simplicity and goodness of Jacob's heart, and of a pious and well-disposed mind: though undoubtedly it appears absurd to those who affirm —what however they cannot prove—that the Almighty does not concern himself with individuals of the human race.

3. *The objection, that God's commanding of the Israelites* (Exod. iii. 22. xii. 35.) *to borrow from the Egyptians what they never intended to restore, is not only an act of injustice, but favours theft,* is obviated by rendering the Hebrew verb שאל (SHAAL), *asked* or *demanded*, agreeably to its proper and literal meaning,[2] which is given to it in all the ancient versions, as well as in every modern translation, *our own excepted.*

4. *The hardening of Pharaoh's heart* (Exod. iv. 21. ix. 16.) *has been a fruitful source of malignant cavil with the adversaries of the Bible; some of whom have not hesitated to affirm that this single chapter is sufficient to destroy the authenticity of the entire Scriptures, while others, more decently and speciously, assert that a just God could not punish the Egyptian monarch for a hardness of heart of which he himself was evidently the cause.* This is the objection in all its force. Let us now see how little foundation there is for it.

"When we meet with an assertion apparently contrary to all the truth and equity in the world, it is but common justice to any writer, human or divine, to suppose, that we mistake his meaning, and that the expression employed to convey it is capable of an interpretation different from that which may at first present itself. We cannot, for a moment, imagine that God secretly influences a man's will, or suggests any wicked stubborn resolution to his mind, and then punishes him for it. We are, therefore, to consider, by what other means, not incompatible with his nature and attributes, he may be said, in a certain sense, and without impropriety, to harden a man's heart. There are many ways by which we may conceive this effect to be wrought, without running into the absurdity and impiety above mentioned. The heart may be hardened by those very respites, miracles, and mercies, intended to soften it; for if they do not soften it they will harden it.—God is sometimes said to do that which he permits to be done by others, in the way of judgment and punishment: as when his people rejected his own righteous laws, he is said to have 'given them' the idolatrous ones of their heathen neighbours, 'statutes that were not good.'—The heart may be hardened by his withdrawing that grace it has long resisted: men may be given up to a reprobate mind; as they *would* not see when they possessed the faculty of sight, the use of that faculty may be taken from them, and they may be abandoned to blindness. But all this is judicial, and supposes previous voluntary wickedness, which it is designed to punish."[3]

Further, no person who *candidly* peruses the history of the transactions with Pharaoh, can deny that what the Almighty did to Pharaoh and the Egyptians had a tendency to soften rather than to harden his heart; especially as it was not until after he had seen the miracles, and after the plagues had ceased, that he hardened himself and would not suffer the Israelites to depart. The threatened plagues were suspended on a condition with which he refused to comply, and then only were they inflicted. It is, moreover, well known that Hebrew verbs in the Hiphil conjugation signify to *permit* or to *suffer* to be done, as well as to *cause* to be done; hence nothing more is meant, than to leave a man to the bent and tendency of his own disposition. Thus Pharaoh was left, and he is said to have made his own heart stubborn against God. HE *sinned yet more and hardened* HIS *heart.* The proper rendering, therefore, of Exod. iv. 21. is—*I will permit his heart to be so hardened that he will not let the people go.* So in Exod. ix. 12. it ought to be translated, *Yet the* LORD *suffered the heart of Pharaoh to be so hardened, that he hearkened not to them.* And a more literal rendering of Exod. ix. 15, 16. would remove the discrepancy which seems at present to exist in our common version, which runs thus:—*For now I will stretch out my hand and smite thee with pestilence: and thou shalt be cut off from the earth. And in very deed for this cause have I raised thee up, for to show in thee my power: and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth.* In the original Hebrew, the verbs are in the *past* tense, and not in the *future*, as our authorized version improperly expresses them, by which means an apparent contradiction is produced: for neither Pharaoh nor his people were *smitten with pestilence*, nor was he by any kind of mortality *cut off from the earth.* The first-born, it is true, were slain by a destroying angel, and Pharaoh himself was drowned in the Red Sea: but there is no reference whatever to these judgments in the two verses in question. If the words be translated as they ought in the subjunctive mood, or in the past instead of the *future*, this seeming contradiction to facts, as well as all ambiguity, will be avoided: For if now I HAD STRETCHED OUT שלחתי (SHALACHTI *had sent forth*) *my hand*, and had smitten thee and thy people with the pestilence, thou SHOULDEST HAVE BEEN *cut off from the earth. But truly on this very account* have I caused thee to SUBSIST, *that I might cause thee to see my power: and that my* NAME *might be declared throughout all the earth*, or *in all this land.*"[4]

Thus God gave this impious king to know that it was in consequence of his especial providence, that both he and his people had not been already destroyed by means of the *past* plagues: but that God had preserved him for this very purpose, that he might have a further opportunity of showing Pharaoh His power in the remaining plagues, and of manifesting that He, Jehovah, was the only true God, for the full conviction of the Hebrews and Egyptians.[5]

Lastly, our authorized translation of Exod. vii. 13. (*and he* [that is, God] *hardened Pharaoh's heart*) is incorrect. It ought to have been, AND THE HEART OF PHARAOH WAS HARDENED, as the original is rendered by all the ancient versions, without exception, and by the most judicious modern translations. The same phrase is *correctly* translated in our authorized version, in Exod. vii. 22. viii. 19. and ix. 7.

The objections, therefore, which the opponents of the Bible have raised against it from the passages we have been considering, are thus proved to be utterly destitute of foundation.

5. *Again, visiting the sins of the fathers upon their children* (Exod. xx. 5.) *has been charged as injustice.*

But this objection disappears, the moment we are convinced that the reward and punishment here intended, are confined to the outward circumstances of prosperity and distress in the *present* life; because if (as was the case) such a sanction were necessary in the particular system by which God thought fit to govern the Jewish people, it is evident, that any inequality as to individuals, would be certainly and easily remedied in a future life (as in the particular instances recorded in Num. xvi. 27—33. and Josh. vii. 24, 25.); so that each should receive his final reward exactly according to his true appearance in the sight of God, and "thus the Judge of all the earth do right." It is only when children copy and improve on the crimes of their wicked parents, that they draw down upon their heads redoubled vengeance: so that the innocent *never* suffer for the guilty, except in such temporal calamities as necessarily result from their parent's crimes. As, when the profligacy of one generation involves the next in poverty, or the like. On the contrary, so benevolent is the God of Israel, that the eminent piety of one man is sometimes rewarded with blessings on thousands of his descendants. This was the case with Abraham and his descendants. Yet this is the God whom deists represent as cruel and vindictive.[6]

6. The extirpation of the Canaanites by the Jews, according to the divine command, is urged as an act of the greatest cruelty and injustice; but this objection falls to the ground when it is considered—

FIRST, That the Canaanites were unquestionably a most depraved and idolatrous race; and to have suffered them to remain and coalesce with the Israelites, would have been to sanction idolatry by encouraging their union with idolatrous nations. It *must* be admitted that God has a right to punish wicked nations by the infliction of judgments, such as pestilence or famine, or by employing the sword of enemies; because we see that he actually does so in the course of his Providence; and we cannot see what essential difference there is between this and his giving a command to the Israelites to destroy the wicked Canaanites; for it is a notorious fact, that these latter were an abominably wicked people. "It is needless to enter into any proof of the depraved state of their morals; they were a wicked people in the time of Abraham; and even then were devoted to

[1] This is Bp. Warburton's mode of solving the difficulty.

[2] It is the very word used in Psal. ii. 8. שאל (SHAAL). ASK *of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.*

[3] Bp. Horne's Letters on Infidelity Lett. xiv. (Works, vol. vi. p. 481.)

[4] Ainsworth, Houbigant, Dathe, Schott and Winzer on Exod. ix. 15, 16. It is worthy of remark that the Septuagint Greek version of the Pentateuch (which confessedly is the best executed part of all that version), renders these two verses subjunctively, and is followed in this respect by Dr. Boothroyd, who thus translates them:—*Yea now* COULD *I stretch out my hand and smite thee and thy people with pestilence: so that thou* SHOULDEST *be cut off from the earth. And in very deed for this purpose have I preserved thee*, (Sept. ἕνεκεν τούτου διετηρήθης, *On this account thou hast been preserved*), *that I may show to thee my power. and that my name* MAY *be declared through all the earth.* The case of Pharaoh is fully considered by Mr. Twopenny in his "Dissertations on some parts of the Old and New Testaments," &c. Diss. iv. pp. 38—54.; and in Dr. Graves's Discourses on Calvinistic Predestination, pp. 295—304.

[5] Dr. A. Clarke on Exod. ix. 15.

[6] Dr. Graves's Lectures on the Pentateuch, vol. ii. pp. 172—185. See also Michaelis's Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, vol. i. pp. 45—47 Age of Infidelity, in answer to the Age of Reason, p. 52.

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destruction by God; but their iniquity was not then full, that is, they were not yet arrived to such a height of profligacy and impiety as required their destruction. In the time of Moses, they were idolaters; sacrificers of their own crying and smiling infants; devourers of human flesh; addicted to unnatural lusts; immersed in the filthiness of all manner of vice. Now, it will be impossible to prove, that it was a proceeding contrary to God's moral justice to exterminate so wicked a people. He made the Israelites the executors of his vengeance: and, in doing this, he gave such an evident and terrible proof of his abomination of vice, as could not fail to strike the surrounding nations with astonishment and terror, and to impress on the minds of the Israelites what they were to expect, if they followed the example of the nations whom he commanded them to cut off. '*Ye shall not commit any of these abominations, that the land spue not you out also, as it spued out the nations which were before you.*' (Lev. xviii. 28.) How strong and descriptive this language! the vices of the inhabitants were so abominable, that the very land was sick of them, and forced to vomit them forth, as the stomach disgorges a deadly poison."[1]

SECONDLY, After the time of God's forbearance was expired, they had still the alternative either to flee elsewhere, as, in fact, many of them did, or to surrender themselves, renounce their idolatries, and serve the God of Israel: in which case it appears that there was mercy for them. Compare Deut. xx. 10—17. That the utter destruction here mentioned was to take place only in cases of obstinacy and resistance, may be inferred both from the reason of the denunciation, and also from the several facts attending its execution.

(1.) The *reason* why they were to be cut off, is stated (Deut. xx. 18.) to be *that they teach you not to do after all their abominations;* which reason would not hold good in case of their repentance, and turning from their idols to worship the God of Israel.

(2.) The *facts*, from which we argue, are the following. After the conquest of the country, we are told (Josh. xi. 19, 20.) that *There was not a city that made peace with the children of Israel, save the Hivites the inhabitants of Gibeon; all other they took in battle. For it was of the Lord to harden their hearts, that they should meet Israel in battle, that he* (i. e. Israel) might destroy them utterly, and *that they might have no favour, but that he* (Israel or the Israelites) *might destroy them.*[2] Now this passage certainly implies that the Canaanites might have had peace, if they had thought proper to accept the proposed terms. They rejected the first offers of peace, and were punished by Jehovah refusing them any further opportunities. The case of the Gibeonites seems to confirm this,[3] in as much as it is difficult to conceive that the oath and covenant, made to them under the circumstances of deception, should have been so valid and sacred, if the order for their extinction admitted of no limitation. The preservation of Rahab also (Josh. ii. 12—14. vi. 22, 23.), and a family of Bethel (Judg. i. 25.), with some other instances (1 Kings ix. 20, 21, &c.), incline strongly to this exposition; nor does it want the sanction of very respectable names among the critics and commentators, Jewish and Christian.[4]

In the THIRD PLACE, The destruction is not to be attributed to Israel *wholly*, even as instruments. The Lord himself, partly by storms and tempests, partly by noxious insects, and partly by injecting terror into the minds of the inhabitants, perhaps expelled and destroyed more than the Israelites themselves; the wonderful, and we may add the miraculous power of God, co-operating with them. (Compare Exod. xxiii. 27, 28. Josh. x. 11, &c.) Doubtless God might have destroyed these nations by earthquake, fire, storm, or plague, and no man surely would have disputed his justice or authority. Then why should men dispute his equity in destroying them by the sword of war? Or, if we admit for a moment the existence of invisible spirits, he might have sent an angel to destroy them; and would it be unworthy of an angel to be the minister of his displeasure? Why, then, are Joshua and the Israelites to be *abused* on the same ground?

LASTLY, The Almighty has, in fact, executed judgments on mankind far more severe than this. Though the inhabitants of Canaan are reckoned seven or eight nations, their whole country was much less than England, and what is this to the drowning of the world? a fact, attested by all ancient histories, divine and human, and confirmed by innumerable monuments.

These considerations will sufficiently justify Joshua and the other Hebrew worthies, who engaged in this war in obedience to the divine command: and unless we admit them in a great degree, we know not how any war at all can be justified, however necessary. If many of the people engaged in it from baser motives, we are not required to answer for their conduct. There will always be bad characters in an army, and we do not reckon the Jews to be a nation of pure saints.[5] But the fact is, that it nowhere appears (nor can it be proved) that the Israelites in general contracted ferocious habits by this exterminating war. Few nations, if any, ever engaged less frequently, or in fewer offensive wars than Israel; and their agricultural habits, together with other circumstances, operated against such wars of ambition and conquest. If any individuals, or even the nation in some instances, did gratify a ferocious spirit, they proportionately violated their own laws, which enjoined love to neighbours, strangers, and enemies. The most remote shadow of proof cannot be adduced that Moses carried on war, under the pretext of religion. He made no proselytes by the sword; and neither he nor any other person mentioned with approbation in Scripture, made war on any nation beyond the borders of the promised land because they were idolaters.

7. The narrative of the death of the rebels, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and their associates, contained in Num. xvi. 23—35. *has met with peculiar treatment from the critics of the new school in Germany.*

One class have suggested that Moses probably caused the tents of the rebels to be *undermined;* and as he knew at what hour of the day the mine would be sprung, so he could predict when the rebels would be swallowed up in the earth! Eichhorn is somewhat more expert in his explanation. He attempts to show, that Moses ordered the rebels to be *buried alive*, with all that appertained to them. As to the two hundred and fifty men consumed by fire, he thinks that they were first slain, and then their bodies consumed by fire; and this by the orders of Moses!!

To argue against conjectures of such a nature would, indeed, be almost in vain. It is not possible for any one, who reads the narration of Moses, really to suppose that the writer did not regard the event in question as *miraculous*. Now the object of an interpreter is, to explain the meaning of the author whom he interprets. The question whether such an event as is related in Num. xvi. 23—35. is possible or credible?—may be raised by critics or sceptics, and may be answered by them in the negative; but those who believe that the Creator of the world has it at all times under his control, and that the authors of the sacred volume are worthy of full credit, will not be anxious to explain away the obvious meaning of the Scriptures, nor to free themselves from the obligation to believe in certain references of a supernatural kind. To wonder or to scoff at this (so named) *credulity*, is not difficult; but to argue it down, with grounds of reasoning that will abide the test of careful, extensive, and sober investigation, is quite a different task.[6]

8. The severity of Moses in ordering the extermination of the Midianites (Num. xxxi.) *can only be justified by the command. This the history asserts: but that assertion* (it has been insisted) *is contradicted by the nature of the case, because it is abhorrent from the Deity to require the destruction of his creatures, and more especially to require them to destroy one another.*

This is the objection in all its strength; only in this instance there is supposed to be equal cruelty in sparing as in destroying, because, while all the males were destroyed (children as well as adults), the female children and virgins were all to be spared, as it has been *said*, for prostitution. For the latter assertion, however, there is no foundation either in fact or in probability. It only proves that the objectors find it necessary to exaggerate, in order to produce the desired effect upon their readers; for the books of Moses nowhere allow the Israelites to debauch their female slaves. His law prohibited an Israelite even from marrying a captive, without delays and previous formalities; and if he afterwards divorced her, he was bound to set her at liberty "because he had humbled her." (Deut. xxi. 10—14.) They were, then, simply allowed to retain these captives as slaves, educating them in their families, and employing them as domestics. The destruction of the other Midianitish women, who were either married or debauched, is accounted for, by recollecting that they had enticed the Israelites to sin. It is a fact too well known to require additional proof in this place, that in the early heathen nations, numbers of lewd women were consecrated to fornication and idolatry, vestiges of which are still to be found among the dancing girls of Egypt and of India. Such, probably, were many of these women, and such, therefore, was their punishment. As to the males, they were appointed to destruction, that the nation might be extirpated, which was impossible while any of the male issue were preserved.

9. It is asserted that some of the Levitical laws have a manifest tendency to corrupt and defile the imagination; and the regulations in Deut. xxii. 13—21. *have been particularly urged as an instance of this sort.*

With regard to these regulations, and others of a similar kind, we may remark that what they require might be needful in the then situation of the Israelites, and yet it is not necessary that *we* should now curiously or impertinently scrutinize them. The people of Israel were naturally disposed to be jealous of their wives, and to defame them without any just cause, that they might have an excuse for putting them away, which would tend to produce many public mischiefs and disorders. In this case, therefore, it was a wise and merciful institution, to provide a remedy by such sort of injunctions by which the innocent might be vindicated. Such signs of trial might never fail in that climate, though they might in some others. So far indeed was it from being unworthy of God to leave such things upon record, that it may heighten our admiration both of his great wisdom and benignity in his management of that people, who were so extremely perverse, and so addicted to the extremes of lust and jealousy. If, therefore, the perusal of the passage in question excite improper thoughts in any one, the fault is in them, and not in the Scripture. Scarcely any thing can be mentioned, of which a bad use may not be made: things the most sacred and divine may in this respect be strangely abused. Nor is it a better argument that the Scriptures were not written by inspiration of God, that there are some parts and passages of it, which may be abused by persons who are lasciviously disposed, than it is that the sun was not created by the Almighty, because its light *may* be used by wicked men as an auxiliary in perpetrating the crimes which they have meditated.

10. The Mosaic law (Deut. xiii.) *which punished idolatry with death, has been represented as cruel and unjust, and giving countenance to persecution for religious opinions.*

But it is manifest to any one, who will peruse the chapter in question with attention, that this law commanded only such Israelites to be put to death, as apostatized to idolatry and still continued members of their own community. And as their government was a *theocracy* (in other words, God was the temporal king of Israel, and their kings were only his vicegeroys), idolatry was, strictly, the political crime of *high-treason*, which in every state is justly punishable with death. It is further to be observed, that the Israelites were never commissioned to make war upon their neighbours, or exercise any violence towards any of them, in order to *compel* them to worship the God of Israel, nor to force them to it even after they were conquered (Deut. xx. 10.); nor were they empowered to thus forcibly to attempt to recover any *native Israelite*, who should revolt to idolatry, and go to settle in a heathen country.

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[1] Bp. Watson's Apology for the Bible, in reply to the Age of Reason, Letter I. p. 9. (London edit. 1820, 12mo.) The late Dr. Paley has some admirable observations on the same topic, in his *Sermons on several subjects*. Serm. xxix. pp. 429—443. And Dr. Graves has treated it at great length, and with his wonted accuracy. Lect. on Pentateuch, vol. ii. pp. 4—64.

[2] The twentieth verse may, more literally, be rendered:—*For it was of Jehovah* (or the will of Jehovah) *that they should be so courageous as to meet Israel in battle: that they might utterly destroy them; that they might show to them no favour, but destroy them as Jehovah commanded Moses.*

[3] It may be objected, if the Israelites were to proclaim peace, whence the need of such policy in the Gibeonites? The answer is easy: though they were to spare their lives, they were not to enter into any treaty of alliance with them. Here was their object,—to preserve their liberties and their city, which was not permitted; hence they were made slaves, i. e. domestics, to attend the menial offices of the tabernacle.

[4] Maimonides, Samson Micosi, Moses de Kotzri, and Ben Nachman, among the Jews; among the Christians, Junius, Cunæus, Grotius, Placette, Selden and Le Clerc. See Findlay's Vindication of the Sacred Books against Voltaire, pp. 131—136., and Twopenny's Dissertations, pp. 103—113.

[5] Age of Infidelity, pp. 26—31.

[6] Stuart's Hebrew Chrestomathy, pp. 182, 183.

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11. *The law in* Deut. xxi. 18—21. *has been stigmatized as being both inhuman and brutal, but with as little justice as any other part of the Mosaic institutes.*

The passage in question is as follows:—"*If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father, nor the voice of his mother, and that when they have chastened him, will not hearken unto them; then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him, and bring him out unto the elders of his city and unto the gate of his place; and they shall say unto the elders of his city, This our son is stubborn and rebellious; he will not obey our voice; he is a glutton and a drunkard. And all the men of the city shall stone him with stones, that he die.* On this clause, we are to take notice, in the *first* place, of the character of the culprit, it is a *son*,—not a daughter;—a *stubborn* and *rebellious* son, a *glutton* and a *drunkard*;—in a word, a most profligate and abandoned character. *Secondly*, his parents must reprove and correct him, *repeatedly*, and until there is *no* hope of amendment. *Thirdly*, the parents were the *only allowed prosecutors*; and it was required that they should *both* concur in bringing him to the magistrate, the power of life and death not being intrusted to the parents, as it afterwards was among the Greeks and Romans. *Lastly*, the magistrates were to investigate the case, which must be *fully proved*, so as to induce them to condemn the criminal, and order him to be put to death. Natural affection would almost always prevent the prosecution: the required proof would secure all, but the most atrociously criminal, from the hasty rage, or the deliberate malice of those few parents, who were capable of such desperate wickedness, as combining to murder their own children. We do not read of any instance, in the whole Jewish history, of this law having been carried into execution. If, however, such an extraordinary event at any time occurred, it could not fail to excite general notice, and to produce a deep and lasting impression on the minds of both parents and children. So that the solemn execution of one incorrigible criminal would be a most salutary warning to tens of thousands. The very existence of such a law would confirm greatly the authority of parents, and give energy to their admonitions; as well as fortify the minds of young persons against various temptations, and so *prevent* crimes. And it would constantly excite all parents, who attended to the law of Moses, to restrain, correct, and watch over their children, when young; to give them good instruction, set them a good example, and pray for them without ceasing; and to keep them as much as possible out of bad company, and from contracting bad habits.

This law, therefore, so harmless and beneficial in its operations, yet so contrary to human policy, proves, instead of invalidating, the divine original of that code, in which alone it is found.[1]

12. *From the conduct of Ehud* (Judges iii. 15—26.), *of Jael* (iv. 17—20.), *and from David's advice to Solomon concerning Joab and Shimei* (1 Kings ii. 5, 6. 8.), *it has been asserted that the Scriptures inculcate assassination.*

Nothing can be more false than this assertion. For, in the first place, the cases of Ehud and Jael are simply recorded as matters of fact, without any comment or observation whatever; and, therefore, they neither can nor ought to be represented as encouraging assassination.[2] With regard to the conduct of Jael in particular, we must judge of it by the feelings of those, among whom the right of avenging the blood of a relative was so strongly rooted, that even Moses could not take it away. Jael was an ally, by blood, of the Israelitish nation; their chief oppressor, who had mightily oppressed them for the space of twenty years, now lay defenceless before her: and he was moreover one of those whom Israel was bound by divine command to extirpate. Perhaps, too, she felt herself called to be the instrument of God in working out for that nation a great deliverance, by thus exterminating their heathen oppressor. At least, Israel viewed it in this light: and in this view we cannot reproach the heroine with that as a crime, which both she and Israel felt to be a deed performed in accordance with the mandate of heaven.[3]

The advice of David to Solomon when on his death-bed, demands a more distinct consideration. And, in the FIRST place, with regard to Joab, we remark that no attentive reader of the history of David, after his accession to the throne of Israel, can help observing how often it is noticed that the sons of Zeruiah were too strong for David; in other words, that they had so much power with the army for him to venture to punish their atrocious deeds; reasons of state deferred the punishment, and when those reasons were removed, it was proper to punish a deliberate murderer according to a express law. David also knew that a man like Joab, who could brook no superior, might endanger the peace of the kingdom. He was now engaged to support Adonijah, and so far in actual rebellion. But it is to be observed that the Hebrew monarch does not advise Solomon to put Joab *absolutely* and *unconditionally* to death: he charges him to *do according to his wisdom*, and the sum of his advice is in effect this:—"Though you have now pardoned Joab through policy, as I was myself compelled to do by the exigency of the times, and the predominant influence of the sons of Zerniah; yet, should he offend *again*, act according to discretion, and then punish him, as a hoary-headed and confirmed traitor, with death." SECONDLY, with respect to Shimei, David had fulfilled his promise. He had only engaged that he would not put him to death on the day when Abishai had requested permission to do it (compare 2 Sam. xix. 23. with 1 Kings ii. 9): and he left it to Solomon to treat him as he thought just, in reference to his future conduct. David knew that he was Shimei still, and would so act as to bring on himself due punishment. Solomon accordingly sent for Shimei, and commanded him to reside in Jerusalem, and not to depart thence, under pain of death on the day when he should pass over the brook Kishon, a condition to which Shimei thankfully acceded. (1 Kings ii. 37, 38.) Three years afterwards, the latter transgressed this convention and went to Gath (verse 40.), a suspicious quarter, in consequence of which Solomon, after charging him with the violation of his oath, commanded him to be put to death. (41—46.)[4]

13. Again, *it has been asserted by some, that the law of Moses* (Lev. xxvii. 28.), *concerning devoted things to be put to death, authorized human sacrifices: and Jephthah's sacrificing his daughter* (Judg. xi. 34, &c.), *Samuel's hewing Agag in pieces before the Lord* (1 Sam. xv. 33.), *and David's delivering seven of Saul's posterity to the Gibeonites to be put to death by them* (2 Sam. xxi. 2, &c.), *have been represented as instances of human sacrifices according to that law.*

But as there are express prohibitions of sacrificing their children in Deut. xii. 30, 31. Psal. cvi. 37, 38. Jer. vii. 31. and Ezek. xvi. 20, 21.; so there not only is no direction to sacrifice any other human creature, nor are there any rites appointed for such sacrifice, but also it would have rendered the priest unclean, by touching a dead body; and the sacrifice of a man is expressly declared to be abominable in Isa. lxvi. 3. As no devoted thing could be sacrificed at all, the law in question cannot possibly relate to sacrifice, and is capable of a very different meaning. For, although Josephus, and many commentators after him, are of opinion that Jephthah did really immolate his daughter, the probability is that she was not sacrificed. And this will appear from the rendering of the conversive particle ו (*vau*), which the preceding considerations require to be taken disjunctively, and translated on instead of AND, both in Lev. xxvii. 28.[5] and also in Judges xi. 30, 31.[6] What further confirms this rendering, and consequently reconciles these two passages, is, that Jephthah's rashness had time to cool, as his daughter went two months to bewail her *virginity*, that is her consecration to God, which obliged her to remain single without posterity. It is further said that she went to bewail her *virginity*, not her *sacrifice*. Besides the Israelitish women went four times in every year to mourn or talk with (not *for*) the daughter of Jephthah, to lament her seclusion from the world, and the hardship of her situation as cut off from every domestic enjoyment. Now, if in the course of two months no person could have suggested to Jephthah a ransom for his daughter, yet surely she must have been alive, though dead to him and his family (as his only child), and to the world by her seclusion, if the Israelitish women went to condole with her. It is further worthy of remark, that it is not afterwards said, that he actually *sacrificed* her, but that "*he did with her according to his vow.*" The sacred historian subjoins, *she knew no man*: if she *were* sacrificed this remark is frivolous; but if she were devoted to perpetual virginity, this idea coincides with the visits of the Israelitish women. On the whole, we may safely conclude, that Jephthah's daughter was *not* sacrificed, but consecrated to a state of celibacy.[7]

With respect to the two other cases above mentioned, viz. the hewing of Agag in pieces before the Lord, and the delivery of seven of Saul's posterity to the Gibeonites, they have no reference whatever to sacrifices. Agag, in particular, was put to death as a *criminal*, and not as a sacrifice.[8] The "seven descendants of Saul, who were partly the children of a concubine and partly of a daughter of Saul, were not pretenders to the crown: and David cannot be suspected of having embraced such an opportunity to put them out of the way. Neither is to be supposed that David delivered up the innocent to death contrary to the law. (Deut. xxiv. 16.) They were therefore delivered up to the avengers of blood, and punished with death, not on account of the crimes of Saul, but for the murders which they themselves, with the connivance of Saul, had committed on the Gibeonites, and for which they had hitherto remained unpunished. They themselves constituted the bloody house, which was generally notorious as such. Saul is mentioned with them, merely because he took under his protection the murderers, who were so nearly related to him, and delivered them from the hand of the avengers of blood."[9]

14. In 1 Sam. xiii. 14. David is called the *man after God's own heart.* And this phrase, as applied to him, has been a fertile source of sarcasm and reproach to many infidel writers, as if the Scriptures sanctioned adultery and murder.

But do they authorize those crimes? By no means. They are there reprehended, and the severest denunciations are pronounced against those who perpetrate them. In what sense then was he a *man after God's own heart?* ANSWER.—In his strict attention to the law and worship of God; in his recognising, throughout his whole conduct, that Jehovah was king in Israel, and that he himself was only his vicegerent; in never attempting to alter any of those laws, or in the least degree to change the Israelitish constitution. In all his *public official conduct* he acted according to the Divine Mind, and fulfilled the will of his Maker. But the phrase itself, will, perhaps, be the best explained by the case of Samuel. Eli was rejected, and Samuel chosen in his place, just as David superseded Saul. On this occasion God said, *I will raise me up a faithful priest*, that *shall do according to* that *which is in mine heart.* (1 Sam. ii. 35.) And is not he, who acts agreeably to the Divine Will, *a man after God's heart?* Further, it is worthy of remark, that this expression is never used in reference to his private or personal moral conduct. It is used wholly in reference to his uniform regard to the promotion of the interests of pure religion, notwithstanding all temptations to idolatry and persecution.[10] The numbering of the people (2 Sam. xxiv.), in order, as it would seem, to push conquests into foreign countries, and the flagitious adultery with Bathsheba, together with the consequent murder of Uriah (2 Sam. xi.) are the only instances in which

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[1] Age of Infidelity, p. 24. Scott's Reply to Paine's Age of Reason, p. 18. London, 1820, 12mo.

[2] The cases of Ehud and of Jael are fully considered in Twopenny's Dissertations, pp. 133—140.

[3] Prof. Robinson's Interpretation of Judges, chap. v., in the Biblical Repository, vol. ii. p. 607. (Andover, 1831.)

[4] See Dr. Chandler's Life of David, vol. ii. pp. 444—481., where that monarch's conduct to Joab and Shimei is fully vindicated.

[5] That this passage should be so rendered, has been proved by Dr. Hales. It will then run thus:—*Notwithstanding, no devoted thing, which a man shall devote unto* THE LORD, *of all that he hath*, [either] *of man* or *of beast*, or *of land of his own property, shall be sold or redeemed. Every thing devoted is most holy unto the Lord.* New Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. p. 320. See the subject also treated, in an admirable manner, in Dr. Randolph's Sermon entitled Jephthah's Vow, considered in the second volume of his "View of our blessed Saviour's Ministry," &c. pp. 166—195.

[6] Which verses are to be translated thus:—"*And Jephthah vowed a vow unto* THE LORD, *and said, If thou wilt surely give the children of Ammon into my hand, then it shall be that whatsoever cometh out of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon shall either be the Lord's*, or *I will offer it up* [for] *a burnt-offering.*" New Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. p. 320.

[7] Hales, vol. ii. pp. 320—323. Calmet's Dictionary, vol. ii. pp. 158, &c. 4to. edit. Additions to Calmet. Waterland's Scripture vindicated, on Judg. ix. 13. (Works, vol. vi. pp. 133—136.)

[8] Hales, vol. ii. pp. 321. Du Voisin, Autorité des Livres de Moyse, p. 405.

[9] Jahn's History of the Hebrew Commonwealth, vol. i. pp. 111, 112.

[10] See the Rev. Wm. Cleaver's Sermon on the Character of David, King of Israel, in four Sermons annexed to Bp. Cleaver's Seven Sermons on Select Subjects, pp. 377—389. and especially Dr. Chandler's Life of David, vol. i. pp. 321—330.

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David seems to have forgotten himself and his God. With regard to the two last shocking crimes, more particularly, so far was David from excusing them, that he confesses and laments them with the greatest horror. "But how earnest was his repentance! And with what submission to the will of God did he bear those calamities which were sent for his punishment, and which, as they were caused by his own children, must have been so much the more distressing to his paternal feelings! (2 Sam. xi. Psa. li. 2 Sam. xii. 1—23. xiii. 1—20. xv.—xviii.) Do we not here again see the soul entirely and steadily devoted to God? David, indeed, was no ideal model of human perfection; he was not without the blemishes incident to human nature: but, on the whole, he was an example worthy of the imitation of his successors; and, according as they appear on comparison with him, the sacred writers estimate their characters."

15. *The conduct of David towards the Ammonites, in putting them* under *saws and harrows of iron, &c. on the capture of Rabbah, has been represented as an instance of diabolical and unparalleled cruelty.* (2 Sam. xii. 31.)

The cavils of the objectors, in this as in every other instance, are utterly unfounded: for if, instead of deducing their objections from translations, they had consulted the original passage, they would have seen that there was no ground whatever for their charges. The Hebrew prefix ב (beth), which is used throughout the verse in question, it is well known, signifies *to* as well as under; and to put the people to saws, harrows, axes, and the brick-kilns, means no more than to employ them as slaves in the most menial and laborious offices, such as sawing, making iron harrows, hewing wood and making bricks. This form of expression is an Anglicism as well as a Hebraism; and we still say, to put a person *to* the plough, *to* the anvil, &c. The passage objected to may be thus rendered. *He* (David) *brought forth the people that were therein, and put them to saws, and to harrows of iron* (or to *iron-mines*, for the original word means both), *and to axes of iron, and made them pass through the brick-kiln.* The erroneous interpretation of this verse appears to have been taken from 1 Chron. xx. 3. where David is said to have *cut them with saws and with harrows of iron, and with axes:* on which place it is to be observed that, instead of וישׂר (VAYASER) *he sawed* or *cut with saws*, seven of the manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott have וישׂם (VAYASEM) he put them. 1 Chron. xx. 3., therefore, must be rendered in the same manner as 2 Sam. xii. 31.

16. *It has been asserted from* 1 Kings xxii. *that Jehovah kept false prophets, as well as true ones.*

The most common attention to the context will show that this assertion is as false as it is malignant. For, *in the first place*, the four hundred prophets mentioned in that chapter (verse 6.) were pretended prophets whom the wicked king of Israel had in his pay, and who knew how to suit his humour and to flatter his vanity, all agreeing in the same fawning compliances and in the same treacherous counsels which pleased for the present, but ultimately proved fatal. They are emphatically termed by Micaiah (verse 23.) *Ahab's prophets*, notwithstanding they professed to be the Lord's prophets, prophesying in his name. And, *secondly*, the address of Micaiah to the two confederated kings in verses 19—23. is not a real representation of any thing done in the heavenly world, as if the Almighty were at a loss for expedients, or had any hand in the sins of his creatures; but it is a mere parable, and only tells in figurative language what was in the womb of providence, the events which were shortly to take place, and the *permission*[1] on the part of God, for these agents to act. Micaiah did not choose to call the angry and impious Ahab, that all his prophets were liars; but he represents the whole by this parable, and says the same truths in language equally forcible but less offensive.

17. The Scriptures represent the Almighty as a God of truth and faithfulness: but he is charged by the opposers of divine revelation with being guilty of falsehood, by *inspiring prophets with false messages*, and by *violating his promises*. The grossness of such assertions is sufficiently disgusting, but it is the duty of a Christian advocate fully to meet them, and to expose all their falsehood.

In the first place, With regard to the charge of *inspiring prophets with false messages* (which is founded on 1 Kings xxii. 22, 23. Jer. iv. 10. and Ezek. xiv. 9.), we remark, that it is a known idiom of the Hebrew language, to express things in an imperative and active form, which are to be understood only permissively. So where *the devils besought* CHRIST *that he would suffer them to enter into the herd of swine, he said unto them, Go* (Matt. viii. 31.); he did not command, but permitted them. And so in John xiii. 27., where our Saviour says to Judas, *What thou dost, do quickly*, we are not to understand that he commanded him to betray him, though that seemed to be expressed in the form. So, likewise, here, where an evil spirit offered himself to be a lying spirit in the mouth of the prophet, and God says, *Go forth and do so:* this only signifies a permission, not a command. And so (Jer. iv. 10.) where the prophet complains that God had greatly deceived the people, *saying, they should have peace when the sword reacheth to the soul;* we are to understand this no otherwise, but that God permitted the false prophets to deceive them, prophesying peace to them, as appears by the history. (Ezek. xiv. 19.) *I the* LORD *have deceived that prophet*, that is, permitted him to be deceived, and to deceive the people, as a just judgment upon them for their infidelity with respect to his true prophets. This he threatens at the 5th verse, *I will take the house of Israel in their own heart, because they are all estranged from me through their idols;* because they have chosen to themselves false gods, I will suffer them to be deceived with false prophets; and that this is the meaning, appears by the threatening added, *and I will stretch out my hand upon him, and I will destroy him from the midst of my people:* now God will not punish that of which he is the author.

That text (Jer. xx. 7.) *Thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived*, signifies no more, but that he had mistaken the promise of God to him, who when he gave him his commission, told him he would be with him, by which he understood that no evil should come to him, and *now he was become a derision and the people mocked him;* and in his passion and weakness, he breaks forth into this expression, *Thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived;* whereas it was his own mistake of the meaning of God's promise, which was not, that he should not meet with scorn, and opposition, and persecution, but that they should not prevail against him, as we may see at the latter end of the first chapter.[2]

Secondly, With respect to the assertion that the Almighty violates his promises, it has been objected that God did not give the children of Israel all the land which he promised to Abraham, as will appear by comparing Gen. xviii. 19, 20. with Josh. xiii. 1. &c. and Judg. ii. 20, 21. In Gen. xv. 18. God promised *to give Abraham and his seed such a land*, the bounds of which he describes in Josh. xiii. 1. It is there said that *there remained very much land* yet unconquered, of which they had not got possession. And in Judg. ii. 20. it is said, that the people having not performed their part of the covenant, God would suspend the further performance of his promise, and *would not drive out* any more of the nations before them, and it is probable, that the Israelites never were possessed of the promised land in the full latitude and extent of the promise.

Answer.—The covenant of God with Abraham was upon consideration of his past faith and obedience, though it seems that the full performance of it did likewise depend upon the future obedience of his posterity. In performance of his covenant, notwithstanding all the murmurs and rebellions of that people, God did bring them into the promised land, though they provoked him to destroy them many a time; because he remembered his covenant with Abraham. When they were possessed of it, God gave them a title to the rest, and would have assisted them in the conquest of it, if they had performed the condition required on their part, that is, continuing faithful and obedient to him; but they did not, and thereby discharged God from any further performance of his promise; and God, when he had done this, had fully performed the covenant he made with Abraham, so far as concerned his part, as appears by the acknowledgment of Joshua, even in a time when a great part of the land was unconquered (Josh. xxi. 44.) and of Solomon (1 Kings viii. 56.); yea, and had it not been that God had made this covenant, as well upon consideration of Abraham's faith and obedience, as upon condition of the future obedience of his posterity, the rebellions and disobedience of the people in the wilderness had released God wholly from the promise, and he would not have been unfaithful if he had utterly destroyed that people, and made a full end of them, and they had never entered into that land; because a failure of the condition makes the obligation to cease; and that this condition was implied in the covenant with Abraham appears from Deut. vii. 12, 13. xi. 22, 23. and Judg. ii. 20. God gives this reason why he suspended the complete performance of his promise: *The anger of the* LORD *was hot against Israel, and he said, Because that this people hath transgressed my covenant which I commanded their fathers, and have not hearkened to my voice, I also will not henceforth drive out any of the nations which Joshua left when he died.*[3]

18. The destruction of *forty-two little children*, by Elisha, whom they had in sportive playfulness called *a bald head* (it is said), was an act of cruelty and revenge.

It was no such thing. The original word in 2 Kings ii. 23, 24. נערים (NEARIM), which in our version is rendered little children, also means young persons who are grown up. Thus Isaac was called נער (NAER) a lad, when he was *twenty-eight* years old; Joseph when he was *thirty*; and Rehoboam when he was *forty* years of age. The town of Beth-el was one of the principal seats of Ahab's idolatry; and it is probable that these men came out of that city and insulted the prophet, at the instigation of the priests of Baal, exclaiming—*Ascend, too, thou bald head; ascend, too, thou bald head* in allusion to Elijah's ascension to heaven; of which they had heard, but which they did not believe. Elisha, it is said, *cursed them;* but he did not this from any petulant temper of his own. He *cursed them in the name of the Lord*, that is, he declared in his name and authority the punishment which he would inflict upon them. Thus Elisha acted as a minister of the Supreme Governor of the world; and by his order and in his name he foretold the punishment which was about to be inflicted upon these profligate idolaters. Had this denunciation proceeded from the angry resentment of the prophet only, and not from a divine impulse, such a signal event as the destruction of these profane young men of Beth-el would not have been the immediate consequence of it.

19. It is objected that many passages of the Old Testament ascribe to the Almighty human affections, passions, and actions, even those of the worst kind.

But these objections cease, when such passages are interpreted *figuratively*, as they ought to be, and when all those other passages of the Bible are duly considered, which most evidently convey the sublimest ideas of the Divine Majesty. The Holy Scriptures, it is true, in condescension to our limited capacities, and to the imperfections of human creatures and of human language, represent God as having the body, the passions, and the infirmities of a man. Thus, they make mention of his eyes and ears, his hands and feet, his sleeping and waking; they ascribe to him fierce anger and jealousy, grief and repentance, joy and desire. The simple language of the Hebrews might also be another reason for its abounding with such expressions. But that no man might be so weak or so perverse as to take those expressions according to the letter, and entertain mean and unworthy thoughts of his Maker, the same Scriptures often add to those very descriptions something which manifestly shows us how they are to be understood, and reminds us that if God has a body, the heaven is his throne, and the earth his footstool; if he has hands, they are hands which reach to the ends of the creation; if he has eyes, the darkness to them is no darkness; and from them nothing is hidden; and in other places we are told that he is perfect; that he is blessed or happy; that he is unchangeable; that he is every where present; that he is a spirit; that no man hath seen him or can see him; that he is incomprehensible; and that the most exalted notions which we can possibly frame of him, falls infinitely short of the truth.[4] One or two examples will illustrate the preceding remarks.

Thus, when God is said to *repent*, the expression simply means, that he does not execute that which seemed to *us* to have been his purpose; that he is pleased to do otherwise than his threatenings seemed openly to express, on account of some tacit condition implied in them. And this does not derogate either from the truth, or sincerity, or constancy, of God in his word. It does not derogate from his *truth*, because he speaks what he really intends, unless something intervened to prevent the judgment threatened, upon which he resolved when he threatened to take off and stop his judgments. Nor does it derogate from his *sincerity*, for he has told us that his threatenings have such conditions implied in them:—nor from his *constancy* and immutability, because God does not change his counsel and purpose, but takes off the sentence, which he had passed with reserved conditions.

[1] That this is the meaning of 1 Kings xxii. 22. is proved in the next remark.

[2] Tillotson's Works, vol. vi. p. 506. London, 1820.

[3] Ibid. p. 507. See also Waterland's Scripture Vindicated, on Exod. xiv. 4 (Works, vol. vi. pp. 257—264.)

[4] Jortin's Sermons, vol. i. p 227.

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20. It has also been objected, that the book of Ecclesiastes contains some passages which savour of irreligion, and others which savour of immorality.

But the passages, thus excepted against, are either innocent when rightly interpreted; or else they express,—*not* the sentiments of Solomon, but the *false opinions* of others, whom he personates in order to confute them;—or, however, not his deliberate sentiments, but such hasty and wrong notions, as during the course of his inquiry after happiness arose successively in his mind, and were on mature consideration rejected by him, that he might fix at last on the true basis,—the *conclusion of the whole matter*; which is, to *fear God and keep his commandments: for God will bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.* (Eccl. xii. 13, 14.)

21. It has likewise been objected that the Song of Solomon, and the sixteenth and twenty-third chapters of Ezekiel's prophecy, contain passages offensive to common decency.

But this objection will fall to the ground by interpreting those parts allegorically, as almost all the commentators, from the earliest times, have unanimously done: and, likewise, by considering that the simplicity of the eastern nations made these phrases less offensive to them than they appeared to us; as, on the other hand, many things which are perfectly correct in our view, would appear far different in eastern climates. With respect to the Song of Solomon, in particular, it is to be remarked, 1. That most of the forms of speech, against which exceptions have been made, are mistranslations, and do not exist in the original;—and, 2. Admitting the correctness of these remarks, it may also be shown, that this book abounds with beautiful poetic images. There is, therefore, no just exception to supposing it allegorical, provided the allegory be not extravagant and inconsistent.

22. It is asserted, *that the imprecations contained in some of the prophetic parts of Scripture, and in the book of Psalms* (especially in the fifty-fifth, sixty-ninth, hundred and ninth, hundred and thirty-seventh, and some other Psalms), *breathe a spirit of malice, are highly inconsistent with humanity, and highly vicious.*

"It must be confessed that, at first sight, they appear cruel and vindictive, irreconcilable with the gentle spirit of piety and religion; and some, unhesitatingly acknowledging them to be indefensible on Christian principles, rest the defence solely on their accordance with the character of the Jewish dispensation; which, they say, did not inculcate that cordial forgiveness of injuries, and even love of our enemies, which form an essential and peculiar doctrine of the Gospel. In this representation the inquirer will not be disposed to acquiesce, when he reflects that the Hebrew Scriptures do forcibly enjoin the duties of forgiving injuries, Exod. xii. 49. xxiii. 4, 5. Lev. xix. 17, 18 Deut. xxxii. 35. Prov. xi. 17. xix. 11. xx. 22. xxiv. 29. Zech. vii. 10.; of doing good to enemies, Exod. xxiii. 4, 5. Prov. xxv. 21. Jer. xxix. 7.; and of cultivating mutual kindness and good will, Exod. xxii. 21—24. Lev. xix. 17, 18. 34. xxv. 35. Deut. x. 19. Prov. xv. 17. xvii. 17. xviii. 24. xxvii. 10. David, the sweet Psalmist of Israel, exists and recommends benevolence and mercy, forgiveness and kindness to enemies, Psal. xv. 25. xxvii. 2. *et seq.* xxxiv. 14. xxxvii. 1, 8. 21. 26. xxxviii. 12, 13, 14. xxxix. 1. xl. 1. 3. xciv. 1. ci. 5. cix. 4, 5. cxii. 5. 9. cxx. 6, 7. cxxxiii. 1, 2, 3.; and his own conduct afforded a noble exemplification of these virtues, as will be apparent by consulting the following passages; Psal. xxxv. 12—15. 1 Sam. xxiv. 1. *et seq.* xxvi. 1. *et seq.* 2 Sam. i. 4. *et seq.* iv. 8—12. xvi. 7—11. xix. 21—23. It cannot then be credited that one so distinguished for tenderness and benevolence of heart, as well as for pre-eminent piety, could utter any thing in direct opposition to those feelings of mercy and forgiveness, which he both highly recommended, and exhibited in his own practice. Independently of this we may rest assured that no unmerciful and revengeful sentiment was ever suggested by the Holy Spirit, or ever found entrance into a work of inspiration.

"From these observations we may with certainty infer that the passages in question, however they may *appear*, were undoubtedly *not intended* to convey any bitter and unrelenting malediction. Nor will they be deemed to do so, provided due allowance be made for the bold phraseology of Oriental poetry, which must generally be received with considerable abatement; and provided also they be understood with the reservation, which ought to accompany all our wishes and addresses to the Deity, namely, that he would grant them only so far as may be consistent with His will and providence. If the imprecative parts of the book of Psalms be taken with these limitations, as in reason they ought, they will be found in substance merely to express a wish that the wicked men spoken of might receive the just recompense of their deeds, and that the punishment they deserved might speedily overtake them, if such were the will of God. The impious and transgressors are those alone upon whom the Psalmist imprecates the Divine vengeance; and there is nothing of vindictive feeling in praying for that which he believed the Divine justice as well as the Divine promise were engaged to inflict; while at the same time his entire confidence in the absolute perfections of the Supreme Being affords ample evidence that he calls for this vengeance only so far as might be accordant with the Divine attributes of wisdom, goodness, and equity. A strong confirmation of this reasoning is supplied by Psal. xxviii. 4, 5. where he prays the Almighty to '*give them according to their deeds, according to the wickedness of their endeavours; to give them after the work of their hands; to render them their desert*;' and he immediately subjoins as a reason for the petition, and a vindication of it, '*because they regard not the works of the Lord, nor the operation of his hands, he shall (will) destroy them, and not build them up.*' Such imprecative addresses are in reality the expression of an earnest desire that the will of God may be done in earth as it is in heaven, and that, if it seemed good unto Him, He would assert his own honour as well by the punishment of the iniquitous as by the preservation of the righteous.

"The persons, to whom the imprecations refer, were inveterate adversaries, plotting against the life of the Psalmist, and maliciously intent upon effecting his ruin. To pray to be rescued from their wicked devices was clearly lawful; and, considering their numbers and persevering malignity, his escape might seem utterly impracticable without their entire overthrow or extirpation; a prayer for their destruction, therefore, was equivalent to a prayer for his own preservation and deliverance. Besides, they were for the most part not only personal enemies, but hostile to the people of Israel, rebels to their heavenly King, and violators of His commands. To desire the punishment of such characters arose, it may fairly be presumed, not from personal vindictive feelings, but from a regard to religion, and hatred of iniquity; and was in fact tantamount to desiring the Almighty to vindicate His glory by inflicting the chastisements, which they deserved, and which he has denounced against the proud contemners of His laws.

"By many writers the passages objected to are explained as predictions: and this is not at variance with the Hebrew idiom; which admits, under some circumstances, the use of the imperative for the future, as Psal. xxxvii. 27. Gen. xx. 7. xlii. 18. xlv. 8. Prov. iii. 4. iv. 4.; and the employment of the imperative mood, when declaring future events, is not unusual with the sacred writers, as in Isa. vi. 10. viii. 9, 10. ix. 3. xvii. 1. xxix. 9. Jer. i. 10. Ezek. xliii. 3. In some instances, a prayer or wish for the punishment of sinners may be nearly equivalent to a prediction, inasmuch as it is founded on the belief, and meant to imply, that, according to God's moral government of the world, punishment most certainly awaits them. Some of the imprecations in the Psalms may, then, be understood as *declarative* of the just judgments of God, which would inevitably fall upon the implous; but in others, and perhaps most of them, both the natural construction of the sentences, and the full force and propriety of the expressions, require them to be taken in an *imprecative sense*. To explain them in any other sense is doing violence to the laws of grammatical interpretation; yet even in this light, considered as imprecations, they amount to no more than a wish that the implous may be dealt with according to the eternal and unalterable laws of Divine justice, that they may openly and before the world receive the penalties of crime, provided it be the will of God; which surely is neither an unnatural nor unreasonable wish in those, who anxiously seek the punishment of vice, and the maintenance of true religion and virtue. In the Psalmist, moreover, it is a wish not proceeding from a desire to gratify a personal vindictive feeling, but partly from a desire of self-preservation, and partly from anxiety to see the worship and glory of God triumphant over all enemies. Imprecations, therefore, made with the limitations, and originating in the motives just mentioned, so far from being liable to the charge of maliciousness and revenge, are in accordance with the purest spirit of religion, and with the exercise of the most extensive charity."[4]

Of all those tremendous imprecations which appear in our common English version of Deut. xxvii. 15—26., there is not one authorized by the original. The Hebrew texts express no kind of *wish*, but are only so many denunciations of the displeasure of God against those who either were or should be guilty of the sins therein mentioned, and of the judgments which they must expect to be inflicted upon them, unless prevented by a timely and sincere repentance. And agreeably to this view, the sacred text should have been rendered "cursed they," or, "cursed *are* they," and not "cursed *be* they," in the sense of *Let them be* cursed; the word *be*, though inserted in our translation, having nothing answerable to it in the Hebrew.

The same idiom, which appears in the prophetic writings and Psalms, is also to be found in 1 Cor. xvi. 22. and 2 Tim. iv. 14.

The former passage runs thus:—*If any man love not the Lord Jesus, let him be anathema maranatha.* From 1 Cor. xii. 3. we find that the Jews, who pretended to be under the Spirit and teaching of God, called Jesus Christ ἀνάθεμα or *accursed*, that is, a person devoted to destruction. In 1 Cor. xvi. 22. Saint Paul retorts the whole upon themselves, and says, *If any man love not the Lord Jesus, let him be* (that is, *he will* be) *accursed; the Lord will come.* This is not said in the way of imprecation, but as a *prediction* of what would certainly come upon the Jews if they did not repent; and of what *actually came* upon them, because they did not repent, but continued to *hate* and *execrate* the Saviour of the world, as well as a prediction of what still lies upon them because they continue to *hate* and *execrate* the Redeemer.

In 2 Tim. iv. 14. we read *Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil; the Lord reward him according to his works*; which has the appearance of an imprecation. But instead of ἀποδῶη *may* the Lord *reward*, ἀποδώσει *will reward* is the reading of the Codices Alexandrinus and Ephremi (which are of the best authority), the Codices Claromontanus, San Germanensis, Augiensis, also of those numbered by Griesbach, 6. 17. 31. 37. 67ᵉᵒ. 71. 73. 80. and of the MS. by Matthæi noted with the letter f.;—of the Coptic, Armenian, and Vulgate versions—and of Chrysostom, Theodoret, Eulogius as cited by Photius, Johannes Damascenus, Oecumenius, Augustine, and others among the fathers of the Christian church. The reading of ἀποδώσει makes the sentence declaratory,—*The Lord* WILL REWARD *him according to his works*; and as it is supported by such satisfactory evidence, Griesbach has inserted it in his inner margin, as being nearly equal, if not preferable, to the common reading. An additional proof that this is the preferable lection is furnished by the fact, that it is in unison with the spirit and temper of the intrepid apostle, Saint Paul; who, in the sixteenth verse, when speaking of his being deserted by every one, when (during his second imprisonment at Rome) he was first summoned to vindicate himself before the sanguinary emperor Nero, says, *Let it not be placed to their charge*, that is, Let them not have to reckon for it with the Supreme Judge, at the great day. This passage furnishes an additional example of canon 9., concerning various readings, which is given in p. 291. *supra*.

23. The preceding examples, with two exceptions, have been taken from the Old Testament. So pure, indeed, is the morality of the New Testament, that the advocates of infidelity can find no other fault with it, than this,—that it carries the principle of *forbearance* too far, because, among other things, it inculcates the love of our enemies. Notwithstanding this involuntary testimony to its inimitable excellence, two passages have been singled out, as inculcating immorality, viz. Luke xvi. 8. and 1 Cor. ix. 5

(1.) In Luke xvi. 8. we read, that *The lord commended the unjust steward* (who in the parable had been represented as having defrauded his master), *because he had done wisely*; and hence Jesus Christ has been unjustly charged with countenancing dishonesty. The whole of the context, however, shows, that it was the *master* or *lord of the steward*, and NOT Christ, who is represented as commending his conduct, and it is in consequence of his master's so commending him, that Jesus made the reflection that *the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light.* The parable in question is to be interpreted *solely* in reference to the principal idea contained in it; and that idea is, from the conduct of a worldly minded man, to enforce upon the followers of Jesus Christ the necessity of their being at least as assiduous in pursuing the business of

[4] For the preceding observations the author is indebted to the Rev. George Holden: they will be found in the first volume of his "Christian Expositor."

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the next world,—the salvation of their souls,—as worldly minded men are in *their* management of the affairs of this world.

(2.) The interrogatory (1 Cor. ix. 5.) has been distorted into a charge of adultery against the apostle Paul. It would be a sufficient reply to this falsehood, to state that the whole of his conduct and sentiments completely disproves it. The purest benevolence, the severest reproofs of all sin, and the most exemplary discharge of all the civil, social, and relative duties pervade all his justly admired epistles. Let us, however, briefly consider this passage. It is sufficiently evident from the context, that at Corinth there were false teachers of Christianity, who questioned Paul's apostleship; and that he was obliged to conduct himself in the most circumspect manner, in order that they might not find any occasion against him. Having vindicated his apostolic character and mission, and proved his right to have the necessaries of life supplied to him, if he had demanded them of those among whom he had laboured gratuitously, he says,—*Have we not power (authority* or *right) to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord and Cephas?* What is there in this passage, which can be construed into a sufficient proof of adultery in an English court of law?—When the apostle speaks of his right to take with him a sister, a wife, he means, *first*, that he and all other apostles, and, consequently, all ministers of the Gospel, had a RIGHT to marry; for it appears that James and Jude, who were *the brethren* or kinsmen *of the Lord*, were married: and we have infallible evidence that Peter (surnamed Cephas) was a married man, not only from this verse, but also from Matt. viii. 14. where his *mother-in-law* is mentioned as being cured by Jesus Christ of a fever. And, *secondly*, we find that their wives were persons of the same faith; for less can never be implied in the word *sister*. It is further worthy of notice that Clement of Alexandria has particularly remarked that the apostles carried their *wives* about with them, "not as wives but as SISTERS, that they might minister to those who were mistresses of families; that so the doctrine of the Lord might, *without reprehension or evil suspicion*, enter the apartments of the women." And in giving his finished picture of a perfect Christian, he says,—"Εσθιει και πινει, και ΓΑΜΕΙ....ΕΙΚΟΝΑΣ εχει τους ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥΣ—*He eats and drinks and* MARRIES....*having the* APOSTLES *for his* EXAMPLE!"[1]

SECTION VI.

APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE SACRED WRITERS.

THERE are some facts recorded in one part of the Sacred Writings which seem to be repugnant to the statements contained in other parts of the Scriptures; and these apparent contradictions are to be found between different writers of the Old Testament, and also between the Old and the New Testament.

1. *In the Old Testament the following passages are objected to as contradictory.*

1. Gen. i. and Gen. ii. have been affirmed to contradict each other.

They are perfectly consistent. In the first chapter, Moses gives a *general* account of the *whole* creation in six days; and then, carrying on his history, he proceeds to describe particularly the formation of Adam and Eve. In Gen. ii. 3. it is said, that God *had rested from all his works which he had created and made;* that is, he ceased to make any more creatures; consequently, Adam was NOT made after this.

2. Gen. vii. 12. *And the rain was upon the earth* forty days and forty nights.	is said to be contradicted by	Gen. vii. 17. *The flood was* forty days *upon the earth.*

The words "*and forty nights*," in Gen. vii. 17. are lost from the Hebrew copies, but they are found in the Septuagint Greek version, and also in many MSS. of the Latin Vulgate version. They ought to be restored to the text, which will read as follows, in perfect unison with Gen. vii. 12.—*The flood was forty days and forty nights upon the earth.*

3. Gen. vii. 24. *And the waters prevailed upon the earth an hundred and fifty days.*	is said to be contradicted by	Gen. viii. 3. *The waters returned from off the earth continually; and after the end of the hundred and fifty days, the waters were abated.*

Gen. viii. 3. ought to be rendered:—*The waters continually subsided from off the earth; and at the end of the hundred and fifty days, the waters were much abated.* This rendering (which Dr. Boothroyd has adopted in his new version of the Bible) completely removes the alleged contradiction.

4. Gen. viii. 4, 5. are affirmed to be repugnant.

Dr. Boothroyd renders them thus, which obviates that repugnancy:—The waters were much abated, *so that in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, the ark rested upon* one of the *mountains of Ararat. And the waters were continually decreasing until the tenth month; and on the first day of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were visible.*

5. Gen. vi. 19. vii. 2, 3. 8, 9. and 15. and viii. 20. are charged with being direct contradictions. A little attention to the context and connection of the passages in question will show their perfect consistency.

In Gen. vi. 19—21. general orders are given to Noah to take into the ark with him animals of every kind, *pairs of each.* In Gen. vii. 2. the number of pairs is stated, viz. *seven pairs* of clean beasts, and *two pairs* of beasts that are not clean; and (verse 3.) *of the fowls of the air that are clean, seven pairs, the male and the female, and of fowls that are not clean, two pairs, the male and his female.*[2] In vii. 8, 9. and 15. the historian, relating what was done in obedience to the divine command, says generally, that *pairs* went with Noah into the ark; and in viii. 20. it is stated, also, in general terms, that he offered sacrifices of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl. There is, therefore, no real contradiction between these several numbers. As animals were not used for food before the Deluge, it is probable that the distinction of beasts and fowls into clean and unclean was made with respect to sacrifices; the former being offered while the latter were not.

6. On the alleged contradiction between Gen. xv. 13. Exod. xii. 40, 41. and Acts vii. 6. see p. 405. *supra.*

7. Gen. xxii. 1. *It came to pass after these things, that God did tempt Abraham.*	apparently contradicts	James i. 13. God cannot be tempted with evil, neither *tempteth He any man.*

Temptation signifies nothing more than trial; any opposition or difficulty that may exercise our virtues, and make them known. In this sense God may be said to *tempt* men, that is, he tries and proves them, and thus he tempted Abraham. Sometimes temptation means dangerous trials and enticements to sin, under which we are more likely to sink, than to overcome them. In this sense God *tempteth not any man;* nor, if we trust them, will He *suffer us to be tempted above what we are able.* (1 Cor. x. 13.)

8. From Gen. xxxi. 38. and 41. compared with Gen. xxxiv. it has been asserted that Dinah was only *six* years of age (instead of *sixteen*), when she was forcibly defiled by Shechem, and hence it is insinuated that the narrative is so contradictory as to be unworthy of credit.

This pretended difficulty, concerning the age of Dinah, originated in the supposition that that disastrous circumstance took place in the very same year when Jacob returned into Palestine. So far, however, is the book of Genesis from dating it in that year, that, on the contrary, we learn from it, that Jacob resided in that country a long time. (Compare Gen. xxiii. 11. 18. xxxiv. 1. 30. and xxxv. 1. 28, 29.) The best chronologists compute that the patriarch's residence, both at Succoth and at Shechem, was about ten years; and there is not a single word in the book of Genesis that affords any ground of contradiction or difficulty against this computation. Dinah, therefore, was about sixteen, or between sixteen and seventeen, years of age; and her brothers Simeon and Levi, about twenty-two or twenty-three (instead of twelve, as the opposers of the Bible falsely assert), when the disastrous occurrence at Shechem obliged Jacob to quit that district in canton, and go to Bethel, whence he repaired to Mamre to his father Isaac. It is true, that Isaac's death, which is recorded at the close of Gen. xxv. was subsequent to Joseph's departure into Egypt, though the latter is not related until the thirty-seventh chapter; but that patriarch's decease was noticed in this place by anticipation, in order that the history of Joseph might not be interrupted. This mode of narrating facts, it is well known, is pursued by all historians who do not wish to be mere annalists, and by no means affects the date of the account of Dinah, which took place previously to Isaac's death, as well as the sale of Joseph. *The days of Isaac were a hundred and fourscore years;* he was one hundred and seventy three years old when Dinah was violated, and one hundred and seventy four when Joseph was sold into Egypt.

9. The land of Rameses, in Gen. xlvii. 11. means, the land of Goshen, and not the capital of that district; it was probably so called in the time of Moses, from the city of Rameses, which the Israelites had built for Pharaoh. The Hebrew historian used an appellation well known to them. There is no improbability or contradiction whatever between Gen. xlvii. 11. and Exod. i. 11.

10. Gen. xlviii. 8. and 10. In the first of these verses it is said, that *Israel beheld Joseph's sons;* and in the other, that *his eyes were dim, so that he could not see.*

The meaning is, not that he could not see at all, but only that he could not plainly and distinctly see the objects which were before him. Therefore, though he beheld Ephraim and Manasseh, yet he could not *distinguish* them, until they were brought nigh to him. The declaration of Jacob to Joseph, in xlviii. 22. is *not* prophetic of the future, as a scoffing writer of the present day has asserted. From Gen. xxxiii. 19. we learn, that Jacob bought a piece of land from Hamor at Shechem; to which he doubtless alludes in Gen. xlviii. 22. *I have given to thee one portion above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow.* It should seem that this spot had afterwards fallen into the hands of an Amorite family or tribe, after the destruction of the Shechemites, and that Jacob had retaken it from them by force of arms, though this transaction is nowhere else mentioned.

11. Reuel in Exod. ii. 18. is the same as *Raguel* in Num. x. 29.

The Hebrew is the same in *both places;* consequently there is no contradiction. The reason of the seeming difference is, that the ע (oin or ain) in רעואל, is sometimes used merely as a vowel, and sometimes as *g*, *ng*, and *gn;* and this is occasioned by the difficulty of the sound, which scarcely any European organs can enunciate. As pronounced by the Arabs, it strongly resembles the first effort made in the throat by gargling. *Raguel* is the worst method of pronouncing this word; Re-u-el, the first syllable being strongly accented, is nearer to the true sound. On a comparison of all the places where these relations of Moses are mentioned, it is evident that Re-u-el or Raguel was the father of Jethro, whose daughter Zipporah Moses married; and it is most probable that Hobab was the son of Jethro who accompanied the Israelites through the wilderness. (Compare Exod. iii. 1. iv. 18. and Num. x. 29.) No solid objection can be made against this explanation from Reuel being called "*their father*" (Exod. ii. 18.), as this appellation frequently denotes any remote ancestor.[3] Aged men, uncles, and grandfathers are in the Scriptures sometimes called fathers. Thus in Gen. xxxi. 43. Laban calls his *grand*-children his children, and considers himself as their *father*, and in 2 Kings xiv. 3. David is called the father of Amaziah, though he was his remote ancestor.

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[1] Clementis Alexandrini Stromata, lib. vii. c. 2. cited by Dr. A. Clarke in his Commentary on 1 Cor. ix. 5.—Clement was one of the most learned Greek Christian writers in the close of the second century. His Stromata were written A. D. 193.

[2] The above is the reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and of the Septuagint and Syriac versions. The rendering of the Hebrew text is imperfect—*Of fowls of the air also by sevens, the male and the female.* Bishop Newton's Works, vol. i. p. 163.

[3] Dr. A. Clarke and Dr. Boothroyd on Exod. ii. 18.

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12. Exod. iii. 2. *And the angel of the* LORD *appeared unto him* (Moses) *in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush.*	is said to contradict	Exod. iii. 4. *And when the* LORD *saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the bush.*

In these two verses there is *no* contradiction whatever. On the subject of this and other divine appearances related in the Old Testament (which both Jews and Christians believe, on the solid evidence of facts, though infidels, unable to refute them, dismiss them with scoffing), the solid and incontestable solution is laid by Jesus Christ himself, who perfectly understood the whole affair of divine appearances, in John v. 37. *And the Father himself which hath sent me hath borne witness of me. Ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his shape.* (John i. 18.) *No man hath seen God at any time.* He is *the invisible God, whom no man hath seen, nor can see.* It is often said, that the Lord, the Most High God, *appeared* to the patriarchs, to Moses and to the prophets, the ancestors of the Jews: but, according to Jesus Christ's rule, the appearance, form, or shape which they saw, was not the appearance of the Lord God himself; for never, at any time, did they see his shape. Again, it is often said, that the Most High God spake to the patriarchs, to Moses, and to the prophets; but our Lord affirms, that they never heard his voice at any time. How shall we reconcile this seeming inconsistency? The true solution, according to the Scriptures, is this:—That the Lord God never spake or appeared in person, but always by a proxy, *nuncius*, or *messenger*, who represented him and spake in his name and authority. It was this messenger of Jehovah (or angel of Jehovah), who appeared unto Moses (Exod. iii. 2.), and who is called, in verse 4. JEHOVAH or Lord (whence it is evident that he was no created human being); and who spake to Moses, in verse 5. saying, *Draw not nigh hither, &c. I am the God of Abraham* (ver. 6.), and I AM THAT I AM. (ver. 14.) All which words were pronounced by an angel, but are true, not of the angel, but of God, whom he represented. So a herald reads a proclamation in the king's name and words, as if the king himself were speaking. The word ANGEL, both in the Greek language and in the Hebrew, signifies a *messenger* or *nuncius*, an *ambassador*; one who acts and speaks, not in his own name or behalf, but in the name, person, and behalf of him who sends him. Thus the word is frequently rendered in our authorized translation; and if it had always been rendered the *messenger* of the Lord, instead of *the angel* of the Lord, the case would have been very plain. But *angel*, being a Greek word, which the English reader does not understand, throws some obscurity upon such passages.[1]

13. Exod. vii. 19—21. is apparently contradicted by Exod. vii. 22.

Both are reconciled by comparing verse 24. The Egyptians *digged round about the river for water to drink*: and it seems that the water *thus obtained* was not bloody like that in the river; on this water, therefore, the magicians might operate. Again, though Moses was commissioned to turn into blood, not only the waters of the river Nile, but also those of their streams, rivers, ponds, and pools; yet it seems evident from verse 20. that he did not proceed thus far, at least in the *first instance*, for it is there stated, that only the waters of the river were turned into blood. Afterwards, doubtless, the plague became *general*. At the commencement, therefore, of this plague, the magicians might obtain other water, to imitate the miracle; and it would not be difficult for them, by juggling tricks, to impart to it a bloody appearance, a fetid smell, and a bad taste. On either of these grounds there is no contradiction in the Mosaic account.

14. Exod. ix. 6. ALL THE CATTLE OF EGYPT DIED; *but of the cattle of the children of Israel died not one.*	is said to contradict	Exod. ix. 20. *He that feareth the word of the Lord among the servants of Pharaoh made* . . . . HIS CATTLE *flee into the houses.*

Nothing can be more evident than that universal terms are used in all languages in a limited sense; so that the word ALL, in verse 6. means, that all the cattle that did die belonged to the Egyptians, and died in the field, while those in the houses escaped; or else that a great many of all sorts of cattle died; or, if we understand that all the cattle of the Egyptians perished, as asserted in ix. 6., what was there to hinder them from obtaining others from the Israelites, not one of whose cattle died in the land of Goshen? This justifies the supposition that there was some respite or interval between the several plagues.

15. It has been asserted, that Exod. xx. 11. and Deut. v. 15. (both which passages enjoin the observance of the Sabbath) are at variance; and hence it has been inferred that Moses could not be the author of the Pentateuch.

But the enforcement of the *same* precept by *two different motives* does not constitute two discordant precepts; and this is the case with the passage in question. In Exod. xx. 11. Moses urges the observance of the Sabbath, by a motive taken from the creation; and in the latter, by another derived from their exode or departure from bondage in Egypt.

16. Exod. xxxiii. 11. The LORD *spake unto Moses face to face.*	apparently contradicts	John i. 18. 1 John. iv. 12. *No man hath seen God at any time.*

The Almighty is said to have conversed with Moses, and Jacob to have seen him. (Gen. xxxii. 30.) But this only signifies that God revealed himself to them in a more particular manner than to others; for *God is a Spirit whom no one hath seen or can see* (1 Tim. vi. 16.), that is, as he is in heaven. And when Moses besought this favour of God, he refused him, saying, *Thou canst not see my face, for there shall no man see me and live.* (Exod. xxxiii. 20.) The apostle John, might, therefore, say, that *no man hath seen God at any time.* The ancient Christian writers (who certainly were more likely to understand the subject than we are) were generally agreed, that the person who appeared to Adam, Abraham, Moses, and the Prophets, was the Word of God, the Son of God, Jesus Christ.

17. In Lev. xvii. 1—7. the Israelites were prohibited from slaughtering any clean animal, which they were permitted to eat, in any other place except upon the altar at the door of the tabernacle, whither they were to bring it, and to immolate it. The reason assigned for this prohibition in verse 7. is, that they should no longer offer sacrifice unto idols. But in Deut. xii. 15. 20—22. the Israelites, just before they entered Palestine, were permitted to slaughter oxen, sheep, or other clean animals at pleasure, in any part of the country, provided they did not regard them as sacrifices, and abstained from their blood, which the heathens, in their sacrifices, were accustomed to drink.

Between these two passages there is an apparent contradiction; but it may be readily accounted for, when we consider that the laws of Moses were necessarily regulated by the circumstances of the Israelites, and that they were not intended to be absolutely unalterable. The law in question might be observed in the wilderness, where the Israelites kept near together, and, from their poverty, ate but little animal food; but in Palestine, and when their circumstances were improved, it would have been an intolerable grievance, for many of them lived at the distance of several days' journey from the sanctuary, at which alone offerings could be made; and they must, consequently, either have altogether denied themselves the use of the flesh of oxen, sheep, and goats, or else have travelled long journeys to present them at the altar before they could taste it. But, in fact, Moses himself shows that Lev. xvii. 1—7. was a *temporary law intended only for their situation in the wilderness*, by the phrase "without or within the camp." And in the law last promulgated (Deut. xii. 15. 20—22.), in the fortieth year of their pilgrimage, just before their entrance into Palestine, he explicitly declares it repealed, as soon as they should abide there, permitting them to kill and eat the flesh of oxen, sheep, &c. any where, as already noticed. He tells them, that they might then eat them even *as the hart and the roe*, that is, with as full liberty, and likewise without the smallest idea of offering them; for the hart and the roe were not allowed to be brought to the altar.[2]

18. The promulgation of the Levitical law is said (Lev. i. 1.) to have been made from the *tabernacle*, and in Lev. xxvii. 34. we read, *These* are *the commandments which the Lord commanded Moses in Mount* SINAI.

But there is no real contradiction here. The Hebrew preposition ב (beth) signifies *near* as well as *in*; the meaning, therefore, is, that these were added to the foregoing commandments, before the Israelites removed from the wilderness of Mount Sinai, or while they were *near* Mount Sinai. And if the objector had distinguished the time and place when the Levitical law was given, from the time when the moral law was promulgated he would not have asserted the existence of a contradiction. The latter was given on Mount Sinai, in the *third* month of the *first* year after the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. (Exod. xix. xx.) The tabernacle was raised on the first day of the first month of the *second* year after their departure: on which occasion Aaron and his sons were set apart to the sacerdotal office. (Exod. xl. 2. 17—32.) To the ceremonies attendant on this consecration, the chief part of Leviticus belongs; and from the manner in which this book begins, it is plainly a continuation of the preceding. Indeed, the whole is but one law, though divided from a very ancient period into five portions.

19. Num. iv. 3. *From* THIRTY *years old and upwards even until fifty years old.*	apparently contradicts	19. Num. viii. 24. *From* TWENTY AND FIVE *years old and upwards, they shall go, &c.*

These texts may be reconciled in two ways, either by recollecting that the Levites were obliged to spend five years in learning the duties of their ministry, before they were admitted to officiate; or that in the time of Moses their consecration began at the twenty-fifth year of their age, but afterwards, during the time of David, at their twentieth year.

20. Num. xiv. 25. (Now the Amalekites *dwelled in the* VALLEY.)	is said to contradict	Num. xiv. 45. Then the Amalekites CAME DOWN, and the Canaanites which dwelt in that hill.

The twenty-fifth verse should be read without a parenthesis, and in the present tense *dwell*. The meaning simply is, that they at present lie in wait for you, at the bottom on the other side of the mountain. God, having consented not to destroy the people, suddenly gave them notice of their danger from the neighbouring people, who were lying in wait to give them battle. The Israelites presumed (verse 44.) to go up into the hill-top; whence they were driven and discomfited by the Amalekites and Canaanites, who had posted themselves there. A detachment of the Amalekites, who were encamped on the opposite foot of the hill, might easily ascend to succour their Canaanitish allies.

21. Num. xxi. 2, 3. is said to be contradicted by the subsequent history of the conquest of Canaan.

But there is no reason why we should not understand the destruction of the Canaanites, and their cities as limited to those which they then took; for Joshua afterwards took the king of Arad. (Josh. xii. 14.) See also Judg. i. 16, 17.

22. In 1 Cor. x. 8. St. Paul tells us, that the number of persons who were cut off in the plague was *twenty-three thousand*; but in Num. xxv. 9. Moses makes them not less than *twenty-four thousand*, because in this number he includes the thousand who were found guilty of idolatry, and were in consequence slain with the sword; whereas the apostle speaks only of those who died of the pestilence.

23. From the law being mentioned in the book of Exodus as delivered on Mount *Sinai*, and from Mount *Horeb* being mentioned as the place where it was delivered, in the book of Deuteronomy, without any notice being taken of Mount Sinai, it has been insinuated, that neither of these books is worthy of credit, especially because some injudicious persons have represented them in maps as two *distinct* mountains.

It is, however, well known that Sinai and Horeb are two different peaks of one and the *same range* of mountains; and hence it is, that what is in one passage of Scripture related as having been done at Horeb, is in another place said to have been done at Sinai, or in the wilderness of Sinai.

[1] Dr. J. Taylor's Scheme of Scripture Divinity ch. xv. (Bp. Watson's Collection of Theological Tracts, vol. i. p. 65.)

[2] Michaelis's Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, vol. ii. pp 414, 415. vol. i. pp. 28—33.

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24. Deut. i. 9—18. is said to contradict Exod. xviii. 13—23. and Moses is asserted to have *conceived* the idea of setting judges and rulers over the people.

A little attention to the two passages would have satisfied the objector that Moses did *not* conceive any such idea. In Exod. xviii. 13—23. Jethro, his father-in-law, having observed the great personal fatigue to which the Jewish legislator daily exposed himself, suggested to him the appointment of magistrates over thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, men of integrity and piety, to hear and determine minor questions between the people, subject, however, to the approbation of God. In verses 24—27. we read generally that Moses *hearkened to the voice of his father-in-law*, followed his counsel, with the approbation of God, and appointed the necessary officers. In the first chapter of Deuteronomy, Moses is represented as alluding to this fact, but with this remarkable difference, that he not only says nothing of Jethro, but instead of representing himself as the person who selected those magistrates, he states that he had appealed to the people, and desired that they would elect them. "There is a great and striking difference between these statements, but there is no contradiction. Jethro suggested to Moses the appointment; he, probably after consulting God, as Jethro intimates, *if God shall thus command thee*, referred the matter to the people, and assigned the choice of the individuals to them; the persons thus selected he admitted to share his authority as subordinate judges. Thus the two statements are perfectly consistent. But this is not all: their difference is most natural. In first recording the event, it was natural Moses should dwell on the first cause which led to it, and pass by the appeal to the people as a subordinate and less material part of the transaction; but in addressing the people, it was natural to notice the part they themselves had in the selection of those judges, in order to conciliate their regard and obedience. How naturally also does the pious legislator, in his public address, dwell on every circumstance which could improve his hearers in piety and virtue. The multitude of the people was the cause of the appointment of these judges. How beautifully is this increase of the nation turned to an argument of gratitude to God! How affectionate is the blessing with which the pious speaker interrupts the narrative, imploring God, that the multitude of his people may increase a thousand fold! How admirably does he take occasion, from mentioning the judges, to inculcate the eternal principles of justice and piety, which should control their decisions! How remote is all this from art, forgery, and imposture! Surely here, if any where, we can trace the dictates of nature, truth, and piety."[1]

25. Deut. x. 6, 7. is affirmed to contradict Num. xx. 28—29. and xxxiii. 30. 37, 38.

But Dr. Kennicott has shown that verses 6—9. of Deut. x. are an interpolation, and ought to be inserted after Deut. ii. 11.[2] For reconciling this passage, where Aaron is said to have died at Moserah, with Num. xxxiii. 31, 32. where his death is said to have taken place on Mount Hor, it is sufficient to remark that the same place frequently had different names; just as (we have seen) Horeb and Sinai were two peaks of the same ridge, so Moserah might have been a peak of Mount Hor, and interchanged with it. In Deut. x., as it stands in our printed copies, there are several things omitted, which are preserved in the Samaritan copy, and remove the difficulty we otherwise find respecting the time and place of Aaron's death. The Samaritan copy may be thus translated: "*Thence they journeyed, and pitched their camp in Gudgodah; thence they journeyed, and pitched in Jobbatha, a land of springs and water. Thence they journeyed, and pitched in Abarnea. Thence they journeyed, and pitched in Ezion-geber. Thence they journeyed, and pitched in the desert of Sin, which is Kadesh. Thence they journeyed, and pitched in Mount Hor, and there Aaron died,*" &c.

26. Deut. x. 22. is apparently contradicted by Acts vii. 14.

The family of Jacob are differently reckoned at their going into Egypt. In Deut. x. 22. Moses says, that they were *threescore and ten*, that is to say, all who *came out of Jacob's loins* (Gen. xlvi. 26.) *were threescore and six*, besides himself, Joseph, and his two sons who were in Egypt before; which make threescore and ten. But in Acts vii. 14. Stephen adds to these nine of his son's wives, and thus makes the number threescore and fifteen. The latter, though not of Jacob's blood, were of his *kindred*, as Stephen justly expresses it, being allied to him by marriage.

27. There is *no* "strange inconsistency" between Deut. xxxii. and Deut. xxxiii.

The former is a sublime ode, which contains a defence of God against the Israelites, and unfolds the method of the divine judgments. In the latter chapter Moses takes his leave of the people, by pronouncing a blessing upon them generally, and upon each tribe in particular.

28. In Joshua x. 23. and 37. the Israelitish general is charged with killing the same king of Hebron *twice*.

The historian relates no such thing. Hebron was a place of considerable note; and its inhabitants, finding that their king had fallen in battle, elected another in his place. The second king was he whom Joshua slew, after he had taken the city and its dependencies, as related in verse 37.

29. Josh. x. 15. is apparently contradicted by verse 43. of the same chapter.

In the former place he is said to have *returned and all Israel with him to Gilgal*; which he certainly did not do until the end of the expedition (verse 43.), where it is properly introduced. It is therefore either an interpolation, or must signify that Joshua *intended* to have returned, but changed his resolution, when he heard that the five kings had fled and hidden themselves in a cave at Makkedah. So Balak, king of Moab, is said (Josh. xxiv. 9.) to have *warred against Israel*, that is, he intended to war against them.

30. Josh. xi. 19. *There was not a city that made peace with the children of Israel, save the Hivites, the inhabitants of Gibeon; all* other *they took in battle.*	is said to contradict	Josh. xv. 63. *As for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out; but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah unto this day.*

There is no contradiction here. Although Jerusalem was taken and its king vanquished by Joshua, together with the land surrounding it (Josh. x. 5. 23. 42.), the fortress or stronghold of Zion continued in the hands of the Jebusites. And the Israelites not being able immediately to people all the cities they had taken, the Jebusites recovered possession of the city, whence the children of Judah expelled them after the death of Joshua. (Judg. i. 8.) But the fortress of Mount Zion remained in their hands until the reign of David.

31. Josh. xxi. 43, 44. we read, *The Lord gave unto Israel all the land which he sware to give unto their fathers; and they possessed and dwelt therein. And the Lord gave them rest round about, according to all that he sware unto their fathers: and there stood not a man of all their enemies before them; the Lord delivered all their enemies into their hand.* This is asserted to be a direct contradiction to the preceding parts of this book; but it is assertion without proof.

The whole country was now divided by lot unto them; and their enemies were so completely discomfited, that there was not a single army of the Canaanites remaining to make head against them; and those who were left in the land served under tribute; and the tribute so paid by them was the amplest proof of their complete subjugation.[3] Add to this, that the Israelites had as much of the land in *actual* possession as they could occupy; and as they increased, God enabled them to drive out the ancient inhabitants, but in consequence of the infidelity of the Israelites, their enemies were often permitted to straiten them, and sometimes to prevail against them. It is also to be recollected, that God never promised to give them the land, or to maintain them, but upon condition of obedience; and so punctually did he fulfil this intention, that there is not a single instance upon record in which they were either straitened or subjugated, while they were obedient and faithful to their God. In this sense, therefore, it might most correctly and literally be said that *there failed not aught of any good thing which the Lord had spoken unto the house of Israel: all came to pass.*—Nor will one word of his ever fail, while sun and moon endure.

32. In Judg. i. 19. we read, *The Lord was with Judah, and he drove out the inhabitants of the mountain; but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron.*

From this passage M. Voltaire and his copyists in this country have taken occasion to remark that it is difficult to conceive how the Lord of heaven and earth, who had so often changed the order and suspended the established laws of nature, in favour of his people, could not succeed against the inhabitants of a valley, because they had chariots of iron.

A little consideration, however, of the context of the passage will show that this mighty difficulty has as little foundation as all the rest which the ingenuity of the enemies of the Bible have imagined to exist. In the first place, then, it is to be observed, that when it is said *he drove out the inhabitants of the mountain, but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley;* the antecedent is Judah, not Jehovah; because Jehovah had often displayed much more eminent instances of his power; and he that effected the greater, could certainly have effected the less. In the second place, though it pleased God to give success to Judah in one instance, it does not necessarily follow, that therefore he should give it in all. So that there is no more absurdity in the passage, than there would be in the following speech, if such had been addressed to the sovereign by one of his commanders returned from America:—"By the blessing of God upon your majesty's arms, we overcame General Greene in the field; but we could not attack General Washington, because he was too strongly entrenched in his camp." There is no reason, therefore, for supposing, that "the Jews considered the God of Israel their protector as a local divinity; who was, in some instances, more, and in others less powerful, than the gods of their enemies."[4]

33. Judg. vi. 1. is said to contradict Num. xxxi. 10.

In the latter place, however, it is not said that *all* the Midianites were extirpated. Those who engaged the Israelites were discomfited, and their country was laid waste, that those who fled might have no encouragement to return thither. In the course of *two hundred years*, however, they might increase and become sufficiently formidable (as we read that they did in Judg. vi. 1.) to oppress the northern and eastern Israelites, especially when joined by the Amalekites and Ishmaelites, or *children of the east*, as their allies are termed in the third verse. This remark will serve also to remove the contradiction alleged to exist between 1 Sam. xv. 7, 8, where the Amalekites are said to have been discomfited by the Israelites under Saul, and 1 Sam. xxx. 1, 2., where they are said, twenty-three years afterwards, to have made a predatory incursion against Ziklag. The latter were, doubtless, a travelling predatory horde, similar to those who to this day live in the country where the Amalekites formerly dwelt, viz. Arabia.

34. The account of Saul's death, related in 1 Sam. xxxi. 1—6. (whence it is copied, with some trifling difference, in 1 Chron. x.) is said to be contradicted by the account of the Amalekite, narrated in 2 Sam. i. 10.

The historian relates the fact as stated by the Amalekite himself, whose story bears every mark of being a fiction, formed in order to ingratiate himself with David as the next probable successor to the crown. (Compare 2 Sam. iv. 10.) There are always men of this description about camps, whose object is plunder, and for which they will strip the dead.

35. 2 Kings xxiv. 13. and xxv. 8—12. are stated to be contradictory.

If the objector had attended to the difference of *times*, he would have found the Scriptures perfectly consistent. Nebuchadnezzar carried away the riches and furniture of the temple at *three* different times: *first*, in the third year of Jehoiachim (Dan. i. 2.); these were the vessels which his son Belshazzar profaned (Dan. v. 2.), and which Cyrus restored to the Jews (Ezra i. 7.), to be set up in the temple, when rebuilt: *secondly*, in

[1] Dr. Graves's Lectures on the Four last Books of the Pentateuch, vol. i. p. 87.

[2] Mr. Townsend has accordingly placed them so in his excellent Harmony of the Old Testament. See vol. i. p. 379.

[3] If payment of tribute be not an absolute proof of subjugation, the objector to the sacred historian might with equal truth have affirmed, that during the war, in which Great Britain was engaged for her existence as an independent nation and government, her forces did not subdue the French West India Islands and the Dutch settlement at Batavia in 1811, because the ancient inhabitants continued to remain in them, and to pay tribute.

[4] Bishop Horne's Works, vol. vi. p. 468.

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the reign of Jehoiachim he again took the city, and cut to pieces a great part of the vessels of gold which Solomon had made (2 Kings xxiv. 13.): and, *thirdly*, in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, as related in 2 Kings xxv. 13—17., he once more pillaged the temple.

36. Ezra ii. is apparently at variance with Nehemiah vii.

On the discrepancies occurring throughout these two chapters, the commentators must be consulted: it may suffice here to remark that the account contained in Ezra was taken in Chaldæa *before* the Jews commenced their return; and that which is related in Nehemiah vii. *after* their arrival in Jerusalem. Some of them altering their minds and staying behind after they had given in their names to go, and others dying on the way, lessened part of the numbers in Nehemiah; as on the contrary, some of them coming to them afterwards, made the numbers mentioned in the latter appear the greater.

But the principal and most numerous contradictions are to be found in the Old Testament between some parts of the second book of Samuel and the books of Kings and Chronicles; and chiefly relate to numbers, dates, names, and genealogies. The means by which some of these repugnancies may be reconciled have already been indicated;[1] in addition to which we may remark, that although the commentators generally present satisfactory solutions, yet many of the seeming differences may be easily reconciled on the principle that the books of Chronicles are *supplementary* to those of Kings; and hence they are termed in the Septuagint Παραλειπομενα, or things omitted. Besides, the language was slightly changed, after the captivity, from what it had previously been. The various places had received new names, or undergone sundry vicissitudes; certain things were now better known to the returned Jews, under other appellations than those by which they had formerly been distinguished; and from the materials before him, which often were not the same as those used by the abridgers of the histories of the kings, the author of the books of Chronicles takes those passages which seemed best adapted to his purpose, and most suitable to the time in which he wrote. It must also be considered, that he often elucidates obsolete and ambiguous words, in former books, by a different mode of spelling them, or by a different order of the words employed even when he does not use a distinct phraseology of narration, which he sometimes adopts. The following are the most material passages of these books, which have been the subject of cavil to the modern advocates of infidelity.

37. In 1 Chron. xix. 7. the children of Ammon are said to have hired *thirty-two thousand chariots, and the king of Maachah and his people*; which appears an incredible number.

But the original word here rendered chariots does not always bear that meaning: it is a collective noun signifying *cavalry* or *riders*. The meaning, therefore, is, that they hired thirty-two thousand Syrian auxiliaries, who were usually mounted on chariots or horses, but who occasionally also served as foot soldiers, which is perfectly in unison with 2 Sam. x. 6., where the Syrian auxiliaries engaged by the Ammonites amount exactly to thirty-two thousand, besides a thousand men, whom they hired of the king of Maachah; and whom we may presume to be infantry.

38. 2 Sam. xxiv. 1. *Again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel;* and he moved David against them, *to say, Go number Israel and Judah.*	is said to contradict	1 Chron. xxi. 4. *Satan stood up and provoked David to* number *Israel.*

It is not usual to mention the anger of God, without stating its cause: but as the first of these texts now stands, God is stated to be angry, and his anger leads him to move David to number the people. This numbering of the people, however, was not the cause, but the effect of his anger; the cause is stated in the second passage, which may be rendered—*an adversary* (perhaps one of David's wicked counsellors, for the Hebrew word שטן (satan) signifies an adversary) *stood up against Israel, and moved David to number Israel.* At the time referred to, David probably coveted an extension of empire; and having through the suggestions of an adversary given way to this evil disposition, he could not well look to God for help, and, therefore, wished to know whether the thousands of Israel and Judah might be deemed equal to the conquest which he meditated. His design was, to force all the Israelites to perform military service, and engage in the contest which his ambition had in view; and, as the people might resist this census, soldiers were employed to make it, who might not only put down resistance, but also suppress any disturbances that might arise. Concerning the difference of numbers in this census, see Sect. VIII. Obs. 6. p. 421. *infra.*

39. In 2 Kings xvi. 9. it is said, that the king of Assyria *hearkened* unto Ahaz, but in 2 Chron. xxviii. 20. we read that he *distressed him, but strengthened him not.*

Both statements are true. He *did* help him against the king of Syria, took Damascus, and delivered Ahaz from the power of the Syrians. But this service was of little value; for the Assyrian monarch did *not* assist Ahaz against the Edomites or Philistines; and he distressed him by taking the royal treasures and the treasures of the temple, and rendered him but little service for so great a sacrifice.[2]

The preceding are the chief passages in the Old Testament, in which differences have been imagined to exist; but with how little propriety the reader will be enabled to judge from a careful examination of the various passages themselves. It remains only that we notice a few passages in the New Testament which have also been the subject of cavil.

40. Matthew xxvii. 9, 10. disagrees with Zechariah xi. 13.

Both may be reconciled by supposing the *name* of the prophet to have been originally omitted by the evangelist, and that the name of Jeremiah was inserted by some subsequent copyist. Jeremiah is *omitted* in two manuscripts of the twelfth century, in the Syriac, the later Persian, and modern Greek versions, and in some later copies. What renders it likely that the original reading was δια του προφητου *by the prophet*, is, that Saint Matthew frequently omits the name of the prophet in his quotations. On this passage, see further p. 296. note 5. in this Volume.

41. Mark ii. 26. is at variance with 1 Sam. xxi. 1.

Abiathar was not high-priest at that time: but the expression may easily signify, in *the days of Abiathar*, who was afterwards high-priest. Or, probably, both Ahimelech and Abiathar might officiate in the high-priesthood, and the name of the office be indifferently applied to either.

42. The different manner in which the four evangelists have mentioned the superscription which was written over Jesus Christ when on the cross was objected as a want of accuracy and truth by Dr. Middleton; and his objection has been copied by later writers.

But it is not improbable that it varied in each of the languages in which that accusation or superscription was written: for both Luke (xxiii. 38.) and John (xxix. 20.) say that it was written in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. We may then reasonably suppose Matthew to have recited the Hebrew:

THIS IS
JESUS THE KING OF THE JEWS.

And John the Greek:

JESUS THE NAZARENE THE KING OF THE JEWS.

If it should be asked, Why *the Nazarene* was omitted in the Hebrew, and we must assign a reason for Pilate's humour; perhaps we may thus account for it. He might be informed, that *Jesus* in Hebrew denoted *a Saviour*;[3] and as it carried more appearance of such an appellative or general term by standing alone, he might choose, by dropping the epithet *the Nazarene*, to leave the sense so ambiguous, that it might be so thus understood:

THIS IS
A SAVIOUR THE KING OF THE JEWS.

Pilate, as little satisfied with the Jews as with himself on that day, meant the inscription, which was his own, as a dishonour to the nation; and thus set a momentous verity before them, with as much design of declaring it as Caiaphas had of prophesying, *That Jesus should die for the people.*[4] The ambiguity not holding in Greek, *the Nazarene* might be there inserted in scorn again of the Jews, by denominating their king from a city which they held in the utmost contempt.[5]

Let us now view the Latin. It is not assuming much to suppose, that Pilate would not concern himself with Hebrew names, nor risk an impropriety in speaking or writing them. It was thought essential to the dignity of a Roman magistrate in the times of the republic not to speak but in Latin on public occasions.[6] Of which spirit Tiberius the emperor retained so much, that in an oration to the senate he apologizes for using a Greek word; and once, when they were drawing up a decree, advised them to erase another that had been inserted in it.[7] And though the magistrates in general were then become more condescending to the Greeks, they retained this point of state with regard to other nations, whose languages they esteemed barbarous, and would give themselves no trouble of acquiring. Pilate, indeed, according to Matthew, asked at our Lord's trial, *Whom will ye that I release unto you, Barabbas, or Jesus which is called Christ?* And again, *What shall I do then with Jesus which is called Christ?* But we judge this to be related, as the interpreter by whom he spake delivered it in Hebrew.[8] For if the other evangelists have given his exact words, he never pronounced the name of Jesus, but spake of him all along by a periphrasis: *Will ye that I release unto you* The king of the Jews? *What will ye then that I shall do unto him whom ye call* The king of the Jews? Thus he acted in conference with the rulers, and then ordered a Latin inscription without mixture of foreign words, just as Mark repeats it:

THE KING OF THE JEWS:

Which is followed by Luke; only that he has brought down *This is* from above, as having a common reference to what stood under *it*:

THIS IS
THE KING OF THE JEWS.

Thus it is evident that there were variations in the inscription, and that the Latin was the shortest; but it is equally evident that these variations are not discrepancies or contradictions in the narratives of the evangelists.[9]

43. The alleged discrepancies in the genealogies recorded by Matthew (i.) and Luke (iii.) have already been considered in pp. 400, 401. *supra.* In addition to the observations there adduced, the following solution of the supposed contradiction, by Professor Hug (founded on the law of the levirate),[10] is highly deserving of consideration, both from its novelty and its probability.

By that law one and the same son might have two different fathers, one *real* and the other *legal*. Most of the apparent contradictions in the genealogies of Matthew and Luke disappear, since Salathiel might be declared to

[1] See pp. 400—404. of the present Volume.

[2] This seeming contradiction is illustrated by what happened in our own nation. The Britons invited the Saxons to help them against the Scots and Picts. The Saxons accordingly came and assisted them for a time, but at length they made themselves masters of the country.

[3] Pearson on the Creed, art. ii. at the beginning.

[4] John xi. 49—51.

[5] John i. 46.

[6] Valerius Maximus, b. ii. c. 2. § 2.

[7] Sueton. in Tiberio, c. 71. The two words were *Monopoly* and *Emblem.*

[8] See Wolfius on Matt. xxvii. 2.

[9] Dr. Townson's Works, vol. i. pp. 200—202.

[10] By the *jus leviratus*, or law of the levirate, when a man died without issue, his nearest male relative was obliged to *raise up seed to him*; accordingly, he married his widow, and the first-born son, of that marriage, was reputed to be the son of the deceased, to whose name and rights he succeeded.

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be the son of Jechonias as well as Neri, and since Zorobabel might appear in one filiation as the father of Abiud and in the other as the father of Rhesa. Thus, since one genealogy makes Jacob to be the father of Joseph, and the other makes Heli to be his father, he might be the son of *both*, viz. of one by *nature*, and of the other by *law*. According to this solution, the design of the two evangelists, in giving the genealogy of Jesus Christ, would have been to prove to the Jews, that the man who called himself the Messiah was by his legal father Joseph inscribed as a descendant of David in the genealogical tables, to which that nation attached so much importance and authority. Indeed, in a country where a *legal* descent was the same as a *real* descent, and where an inscription in the genealogical tables was every thing, the Jews, to whom the apostles addressed themselves, were to be the sole judges, from the ancestors of Joseph, of the fulfilment of the prophecies relative to the family of the Messiah; and the descent of Mary was of no importance to them.[1]

The following additional remarks of the late Bishop Horne, on the subject of the Jewish Genealogies, are likewise highly deserving of attention.

In the *first place*, Genealogies in general, and those of the Jews in particular, with their method of deriving them, and the confusion often arising from the circumstance of the same person being called by different names, or different persons by the same name, are in their nature, and must be to us, at this distance of time, matters of very complicated consideration, and it is no wonder they should be attended with difficulties and perplexities. *Secondly*, The evangelists, in an affair of so much importance, and so open then to detection, had there been any thing wrong to be detected, would most assuredly be careful to give Christ's pedigree as it was found in the authentic tables, which, according to the custom of the nation, were preserved in the family, as is evident from Josephus, who says, "I give you this succession of our family, as I find it written in the public tables." *Thirdly*, As it was well known the Messiah must descend from David, the genealogical tables of that family would be kept with more than ordinary diligence and precision. *Fourthly*, Whatever cavils the modern Jews and others now make against the genealogies recorded by the evangelists, the Jews their contemporaries never offered to find fault with, or to invalidate, the accounts given in the Gospels. As they wanted neither opportunity, materials, skill, nor malice to have done it, and it would have offered them so great an advantage against the Christians, this circumstance alone, as Dr. South well remarks, were we not now able to clear the point, ought with every sober and judicious person to have the force of a moral demonstration.[2]

44. Matt. xxvii. 5. apparently disagrees with Acts i. 18.

Matthew simply says, that Judas went and hanged himself; and this he thought sufficient to say of the traitor, without adding the other circumstances of his death. Luke parenthetically states those circumstances only which followed *after* he had hanged himself; viz. that, *falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out.* He hanged himself; and whether the cord or rope with which he committed suicide broke, or that to which it was fastened gave way, he fell with his face to the ground, and the violence of the fall ruptured the abdomen, so that his intestines were dashed upon the ground.[3]

45. Heb. ix. 4. is apparently contradictory to 1 Kings viii. 9.

From the text of the former book, it appears that the ark contained several things therein specified: whereas, we learn from the latter, that it contained only the two tables of stone. The word Εν ῃ, *in which* (*wherein* in the authorized translation), therefore, refer to the tabernacle, and not to the ark; and thus the difference is removed.

Lastly, Some of the differences between the Old and New Testaments arise from numbers and dates, and may be explained on the principles already laid down in pp. 403, 404. *supra*; and others arise from the variances occurring in the quotations from the Old in the New Testament. But as these require a distinct consideration, the reader will find them fully discussed in pp. 293—318. of this volume.

SECTION VII.

SEEMING INCONSISTENCIES BETWEEN SACRED AND PROFANE WRITERS.

It is not to be denied that the sacred Scriptures contain facts which appear to be contradictory to the relations of the same facts by profane historians. But the objections which some would derive from these seeming inconsistencies lose all their force, when the uncertainty and want of credibility in heathen historians are considered, as well as their want of authentic records of the times.[4] It may further be added, that the silence of the latter, concerning facts related by the inspired writers, cannot be regarded as contradicting them; because many of these facts are either too ancient to come within the limits of profane histories, or are of such a description that they could not take notice of them.[5] The silence or omission even of many historians ought not to overturn the testimony of any one author, who positively relates a matter of fact: if, therefore, a fact related in the Scripture be contradicted by an historian who lived many centuries *after* the time when it took place, such contradiction ought to have no weight.

1. Justin, the abbreviator of Trogus Pompeius, who wrote at least eighteen hundred years *after* the time of Moses, relates that the Israelites were expelled from Egypt, because they had communicated the itch and leprosy to the Egyptians, who were apprehensive lest the contagion should spread; and that the Israelites, having clandestinely carried away the sacred mysteries of the Egyptians, were pursued by the latter; who were compelled to return home by tempests.[6]

It is scarcely necessary to remark, how contrary this statement of the Roman historian is to that of the Jewish legislator; and when Justin's credulity and want of information are properly weighed, the contradiction falls entirely to the ground. The same remark is applicable to the account of the Jewish nation given by the prejudiced historian Tacitus; which evidently betray the injurious representations of their avowed enemies. Bp. Gray, who has given these accounts (for which we have not room), has observed that many of them had been *distinctly refuted* in the time of Tacitus by Josephus and other historians. They contain in themselves sufficient to show how full of errors they are; and while they exhibit most truth blended with falsehood, they tend to establish the former, without conferring any shadow of probability on the latter.[7]

2. It has been thought impossible to raise so vast an empire as that of Assyria is described to have been by Herodotus and Ctesias (whose accounts contradict the relation of Moses), so early as within one hundred and fifty years after Noah.

But their accounts are, probably, exaggerated, and in many instances fictitious; and, according to the chronology of the LXX. as well as of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the origin of the Assyrian empire is carried to a much greater distance from the flood.[8]

3. Joseph's division of the land of Egypt, which is recorded by Moses (Gen. xlvii.) has been represented as contradictory to the account of that country by Diodorus Siculus.

But on comparing the two narratives together it will be found that the latter fully *supports* the sacred historian. Diodorus[9] expressly affirms that *the lands were divided between the king, the priests, and the soldiery*; and Moses expressly says, that *they were divided between the king, the priests, and the people.* "Moses tells us that before the famine, all the lands of Egypt were in the hands of the king, the priests, and the people; but that this national calamity made a great revolution in property, and brought the whole possessions of the people into the king's hands; which must needs make a prodigious accession of power to the crown. But Joseph, in whom the office of high-priest and patriot supported each other, and jointly concurred to the public service, prevented for some time the ill effects of this accession by his farming out the new domain to the old proprietors on very easy conditions. We may well suppose this wise disposition to have continued, till that *new king arose that knew not Joseph* (Exod. i. 8.); that is, would obliterate his memory, as averse to his system of policy. He, as it appears from Scripture, greatly affected a despotic government; to support which he first established a standing militia, and endowed it with the lands formerly belonging to the people, who now became a kind of villains to this order, and were obliged to personal service; this and the priesthood being the orders of nobility in this powerful empire: and so considerable were they, that out of them, indifferently, their kings were taken and elected. Thus the property of Egypt became divided in the manner the Sicilian relates; and it is remarkable that from this time, and not till now, we hear in Scripture of a standing militia, and of the king's six hundred chosen chariots," &c.[10]

4. The destruction of Sennacherib's army, which is ascribed to divine ageney by the sacred historian (2 Kings xix. 35. 2 Chron. xxxii. 21. and Isaiah xxxvii. 36.) was probably the *blast* or hot pestilential south wind called the *Simoom*, so well described by Mr. Bruce.[11]

The destruction of the same army before Pelusium, in the reign of Sethos king of Egypt, is attributed by Herodotus[12] to an immense number of mice, that infested the Assyrian camp by *night*, so that their quivers and bows, together with what secured their shields to their arms, were gnawed in pieces. It is particularly to be remarked that Herodotus calls the Assyrian king Sennacherib, as the Scriptures do; and that the time referred to in both is perfectly accordant. Hence it appears that it is the same fact to which Herodotus alludes, although much disguised in the relation; and thus the seeming contradiction between the sacred and profane historians is easily removed. The difference between them may be readily explained, when it is considered that Herodotus derived his information from the Egyptian priests, who cherished the greatest aversion from the nation and religion of the Jews, and, therefore, would relate nothing in such a manner as would give reputation to either.[13]

5. There are many, apparently considerable, contradictions of the Scriptures in the writings of Josephus.

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[1] Cellérier. Introd. au Nouv. Test. pp. 332—334. Hug's Introd. to the New Test. vol ii. pp. 266—272.

[2] Bishop Horne's Works, vol vi. p. 513.

[3] Biscoe on the Acts, vol. ii. p. 639.

[4] Bishop Stillingfleet has largely proved this point in the first book of his *Origines Sacræ*, pp. 1—65. (edit. 1709, folio.)

[5] On this subject, see the present Volume, pp. 85—87.

[6] Justin. Hist. Philipp. lib. xxxvi. c. 2. p. 308. ed. Bipont.

[7] See Bp. Gray's Connection between Sacred and Profane Literature, vol. i. pp. 435—443. And also Du Voisin's Autorité des Livres de Moyse, pp. 180—199.

[8] Doddridge's Lectures, vol. ii. Lect. 146. § x. (Works, vol. v. p. 127.) See also Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. pp. 48—52.

[9] Bib. Historic. l. i. c. 73.

[10] Bishop Warburton's Divine Legation, book iv. § 3. in fine. (Works, vol. iv. pp. 115, 116.)

[11] Travels, vol. v. pp. 80. 295. 322, 323. 350—353.

[12] Book ii. c. 141.

[13] Prideaux's Connection, book i. sub anno 710. (Part i. p. 25. edit. 1718.) It is remarkable that the blast, which destroyed the Assyrians, happened at night; whereas the Simoom usually blows in the daytime, and mostly about noon, being raised by the intense heat of the sun. Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. p. 467.

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But these, as well as his *omissions*,[1] may be accounted for by his peculiar situation. His country was now in great distress; its constitution was overturned, and his countrymen in danger of extirpation, from the circumstance of their being confounded with the Christians, who were reputed to be a sect of the Jews, and at that time were suffering persecution. Josephus's deviations from Scripture, therefore, were made in order to accommodate his work to the taste of the Greeks and Romans.[2]

6. In consequence of this Jewish historian having omitted to notice the massacre of the infants at Bethlehem, which is related in Matt. ii. 16., the evangelical narrative has been pronounced a "fabrication," and "a tale that carries its own refutation with it."

This assertion was first made, we believe, by Voltaire, whose disregard of truth, especially in matters connected with the sacred history, is sufficiently notorious. But the evidence for the reality of the fact, and, consequently, for the veracity of Matthew, is too strong to be subverted by any bold and unsupported assertions. For,

In the *first* place, The whole character which Josephus ascribes to Herod is the most evident confirmation of the barbarous deed mentioned by the evangelist.

Secondly, The Gospel of Matthew was published about the year of our Lord 38, at which time there doubtless were persons living who could, and (from the hostility then manifested against the Christian faith) who would, have contradicted his assertion if it had been false or erroneous: their silence is a tacit proof that the evangelist has stated the fact correctly.—But,

Thirdly, The reality of the fact itself (though mentioned in his usual scoffing manner) was *not denied* by the philosopher Celsus, one of the bitterest enemies of Christianity, who lived towards the close of the second century; and who would most unquestionably have denied it if he could.[3]

Fourthly, Matthew's narrative is confirmed by Macrobius, a heathen author, who lived about the end of the fourth century, and who mentions this massacre in the following terms:—"Augustus," says he, "having been informed that Herod had ordered a son of his own to be killed, *among the male infants about two years old*, whom he had put to death in Syria," said, "it is better to be Herod's HOG than his SON."[4] Now, although Macrobius is far too modern to be produced as a valid evidence in this matter, unsupported by other circumstances, and although his story is magnified by an erroneous circumstance; yet the passage, cited from him, serves to prove how universally notorious was the murder of the children in Bethlehem, which was perpetrated by the orders of Herod.

Fifthly, With regard to the silence of Josephus, we may further remark, that no historian, not even an *annalist*, can be expected to record every event that occurs within the period of which he writes: besides, his silence may be satisfactorily accounted for. "Josephus was a firm Jew, and there was, therefore, a particular reason for his passing over this event; because he could not mention it, without giving the Christian cause a very great advantage. To write, that Herod, at the latter end of his reign, had put to death all the infants at Bethlehem, under two years of age, on occasion of a report that the king of the Jews had been lately born there, would have greatly gratified the Christians, whom Josephus hated; since it was well known that, about thirty years after the slaughter, and the latter end of Herod's reign, Jesus (who was said to be born at Bethlehem), being about thirty years of age, styled himself King of the Jews, and did many things, to say no more in proof of it." It seems utterly impossible that Josephus could have been ignorant of this event: his silence was more likely to have been, in this as in other instances, wilful and interested.[5]

Sixthly, Contemporary historians do not relate the same facts: Suetonius tells us many things which Tacitus has omitted; and Dion Cassius supplies the deficiencies of both.

Seventhly, It is unreasonable to make the silence of the Jewish historian an objection to the credibility of the sacred writer, while there is equal and even superior reason to confide in the fidelity of the latter.

Eighthly, Herod would naturally be disposed to take such precautions as he might think necessary without being scrupulous concerning the means.

Ninthly, Voltaire, either from ignorance or dishonesty, asserts that fourteen thousand children must have lost their lives in this massacre. If this were true, the silence of Josephus would indeed be a very important objection to the veracity of Matthew's narrative; and with this view Voltaire makes the assertion, who every where shows himself an inveterate enemy of revealed and not seldom of natural religion also. But as the children, whom Herod caused to be put to death (probably by assassins whom he kept in his pay), were only *males* of *two years old and under*, it is obvious, according to this statement, that more children must have been born annually in the village of Bethlehem, than there are either in Paris or London. Further, as Bethlehem was a very small place, scarcely two thousand persons existed in it and in its dependent district; consequently, in the massacre, not more than fifty at most could be slain. In the description of the life of such a tyrant as Herod was, this was so trifling an act of cruelty, that it was but of small consequence in the history of his sanguinary government.

Lastly, As the male infants that were to be slain could easily be ascertained from the public tables of birth or genealogies, that circumstance will account for the reputed parents of our Saviour fleeing into Egypt rather than into any city of Judæa.[6]

Any of these arguments would be sufficient to vindicate the evangelist's narrative; but, altogether, they form a cloud of witnesses, abundantly sufficient to overbalance the negative evidence attempted to be drawn from the silence of Josephus.

7. Luke ii. 2. is said to be contrary to historical fact, Saturninus and Volumnius being at that time the Roman presidents of Syria, and Cyrenius not being governor of that province until eleven years after the birth of Christ.

A slight attention to the situation of Judæa at that time, and a more correct rendering of the passage than is to be found in our English version, will easily reconcile the seeming difference between the sacred historian and Josephus.

Towards the close of his reign, Herod the Great (who held his kingdom by a grant from Mark Antony with the consent of the senate, which had been confirmed by Augustus), having incurred the emperor's displeasure, to whom his conduct had been misrepresented, Augustus issued a decree reducing Judæa to a Roman province, and *commanding* an enrolment, or register, to be made of every person's estate, dignity, age, employment, and office. The making of this enrolment was confided to Cyrenius or Quirinius, a Roman senator, who was collector of the imperial revenue; but Herod having sent his trusty minister, Nicholas of Damascus, to Rome, the latter found means to undeceive the emperor, and soften his anger, in consequence of which the actual operation of the decree was suspended. *Eleven* years afterwards, however, it was carried into effect, on the deposition and banishment of Archelaus (Herod's son and successor), for maladministration, by Augustus, upon the complaint of the Jews; who, weary of the tyranny of the Herodian family, requested that Judæa might be made a Roman province. Cyrenius was now sent as president of Syria, with an armed force, to confiscate the property of Archelaus, and to complete the census, to which the Jewish people submitted. It was *this* establishment of the assessment or taxing under Cyrenius which was necessary to complete the Roman census, to which the evangelist alludes in the parenthetical remark occurring in Luke ii. 2., which may be more correctly written and translated thus:—"*It came to pass in those days*," that is, a few days before our Saviour's birth, "*that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the land*" [of Judæa, Galilee, Idumæa, &c. under Herod's dominion] "*should be enrolled*"[7] preparatory to a census or taxing ("*The taxing itself was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria*:")[8] *And all went to be enrolled, every one to his own city.* (Luke ii. 1—3.)

By the preceding construction, supported by the emendation in the note, the evangelist is critically reconciled with the varying accounts of Josephus, Justin Martyr, and Tertullian, and an historical difficulty is solved, which has hitherto been considered as irreconcilable.[9]

Two other solutions have been offered, which deserve to be noticed on account of their ingenuity.

(1.) The first is that of Mr. Charles Thompson, Secretary to the Congress of the United States, the learned translator of the Old and New Testaments from the Greek. He renders Luke ii. 1, 2. in the following manner:—Now it happened in those days that an edict came forth from Cæsar Augustus that this whole inhabited land should be enrolled. *This was the first enrolment; it was made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.*" In a note on the passage in question, he observes, "There were two enrolments,

[1] Ottius has compiled a curious treatise, entitled *Prætermissa à Josepho:* it is a collection of sixty-eight articles, of which, in all probability, the Jewish historian could not be ignorant; but which he chose to omit for the reason above assigned. This treatise is appended to Ottius's very valuable Spicilegium sive Excerpta ex Flavio Josepho, pp. 527—612.

[2] Divine Legation of Moses, book v. sect 4. (Warburton's Works, vol. v. pp. 126—128.) The bishop has given several instances at length, which we have not room to insert, see pp. 130—132.

[3] See the passages in Lardner's Works, vol. viii. p. 21. 8vo. or vol. iv. p. 122. 4to.

[4] Macrob. Saturn. lib. ii. c. 4. The emperor, according to this writer, seems to have played upon the Greek words υν a *hog*, and υιον a *son*: the point of the saying perhaps consists in this, that Herod, professing Judaism, was by his religion prohibited from killing swine, or having any thing to do with their flesh; and, therefore, that his *hog* would have been safe where his *son* lost his life. Macrobius, with singular propriety, states this massacre to have been perpetrated in Syria, because Judæa was at that time part of the province of Syria. Gilpin and Dr. A. Clarke on Matt. ii. 16. The massacre of the infants is likewise noticed in a rabbinical work called Toldoth Jeshu, in the following passage: "And the king gave orders for putting to death every infant to be found in Bethlehem; and the king's messengers killed every infant according to the royal order." Dr. D. Sharpe's First Defence of Christianity, &c. p. 40.

[5] Townsend's Harmony of the New Testament, vol. i. pp. 77, 78.

[6] Lardner's Credibility, part i. book ii. ch. ii. sect 1. (Works, vol. i. pp. 329—338. 8vo. or pp. 180—185. 4to.) Volborth *Causæ cur Josephus cædem puerorum Bethlemeticorum*, Matt. ii. 16. *narratam silentio præterierit*, 4to. Gottingen, 1788, as analyzed in the Monthly Review (O. S.), vol. lxxx. p. 617. Schulzii Archæologia Hebraica, pp. 52, 53. Colonia, La Religion Chretiènne autorisée par le Temoignage des Anciens Auteurs Païens, pp. 117, 118.

[7] Απογραφεσθαι πασαν την ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗΝ, Luke ii. 1. That ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗΝ signifies the land of Judæa, and not the whole Roman empire, see Vol. II. p. 13.

[8] (Αυτη ἡ απογραφη πρωτη εγενετο ἡγεμονευοντος της Συριας Κυρηνιου. In all the printed editions of the New Testament the first word in this verse is aspirated ἁυτη, *this*, as if it were the feminine of ὁυτος. "But this," says Dr. Hales, to whom we are indebted for the above elucidation, "materially injures the sense, as if the *enrolment* decreed in the first verse was the same as *this taxing* in the second; whereas there was an interval of eleven years between the two. But in the most ancient manuscripts, written in uncials or in capitals, without points or accents, the word is ambiguous, and may also be unaspirated αυτη, *self*, the feminine of αυτος; and both occur together in this same chapter, where the evangelist, speaking of Anna the prophetess [αυτη, και αυτη, αυτη τη ωρα επιστασα; 'And *this* woman] coming in at *the instant itself*,' or at '*the self-same hour*,' &c. The ordinal πρωτη, first, is here understood adverbially (see Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article, pp. 304, 305.), and connected with the verb εγενετο, '*was made*,' or '*took effect*,' signifying that the taxing itself *first took effect*, or was carried into execution, under the presidency of Cyrenius or Quirinius; which had been suspended from the time of his procuratorship." Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. pp. 705—710.

[9] Dr. Campbell (Translation of the Four Gospels, vol. ii. pp. 140.422—426.) renders Luke ii 2. in the following manner:—"*This first register* took effect when Cyrenius was president of Syria." But, as we have seen in the preceding note that πρωτη is here used adverbially, this version will not hold good. In confirmation of his rendering εγενετο "took effect" (which is adopted by Dr. Hales), Campbell refers to Matt. v. 18. vi. 10. xviii. 19. xxii. 42. and 1 Cor. xv. 54. Dr. Lardner has proposed another solution of the above difference (Credibility, part i. book ii. ch. i. Works, vol. i. pp. 248—329. 8vo. or pp. 136—179. 4to.), which deserves to be noticed, because it has been adopted by Archdeacon Paley. (Evidences, vol. ii. pp. 177, 178.) It is as follows:—"*This was the first enrolment of Cyrenius governor of Syria*, that is, who was afterwards governor of Syria, and best known among the Jews by that title;" which title, belonging to him at the time of *writing the account*, was naturally subjoined to his name, although acquired after the transaction which the account describes. A similar solution is given by Alber. Hermeneut. Nov. Test. tom. ii. pp. 309, 310., and in Pritii Introd. in Nov Test. p. 437.

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the first merely for the purpose of *numbering* the inhabitants, and the second for assessing them. The first here spoken of was in the reign of Herod the Great, when Cyrenius was deputy-governor of Syria. It was done according to communities and families; and all were obliged to repair to their respective cities or towns to be enrolled in their several families, according to their genealogies. The second, which was after the death of Herod, was for the sake of *assessment*, and was made indiscriminately. This was the enrolment which offended the Jews, and excited tumults and insurrections, and brought on the war which terminated in the destruction of Jerusalem, and the utter dispersion of the Jews." From the rendering, thus supported, the praise of learning and ingenuity must not be withheld. Mr. Thompson evidently considers the word η, which all other translators consider as an indefinite article prefixed to απογραφη (*enrolment*), as the third person singular of ειμι, the imperfect tense in the indicative mode of the verb ειμι, *I am*. It is well known that profane writers use η or ην indifferently as the third person singular; and if we could find a single parallel construction in the New Testament, we should unquestionably give the preference to Mr. T.'s rendering.

(2.) The other solution is that offered by the learned editor of Calmet's Dictionary; who conjectures, that for the purposes of enrolment, Cyrenius, though not probably governor of Syria at the time of Christ's birth, might be associated with Saturninus; or, though now sent into Syria as an extraordinary officer, yet being afterwards governor of Syria, he might be called governor of Syria, as we call an officer during his life by the title he has borne, even after he has given up his commission. On a medal of Antioch appear the names of Saturninus and Volumnius, who were the emperor's chief officers in Syria. It would seem, therefore, that Volumnius was the colleague of Saturninus in the government of Syria, and procurator of the province; and that while Saturninus kept his court at Antioch, where he remained stationary, his associate Volumnius was engaged in other districts of the province as circumstances required. What we suppose of Volumnius we may also suppose of Cyrenius, who, after him, held the same office. Thus, the medal vindicates Josephus, who described Saturninus and Volumnius as governors of Syria; and it may justify both Saint Luke and Tertullian, of whom the former affirmed that Cyrenius, and the latter that Saturninus, executed the enrolment. It may also justify the evangelist, whose words the editor of Calmet thinks may be thus understood:—"This was the first enrolment of Cyrenius, he being then governor of Syria, associated with Saturninus; and it should be distinguished from that which he made eleven years after, when he was the chief, the presidential governor of the same province."[1]

The reader will adopt which of the preceding solutions he may prefer: either of them affords a sufficient explanation of the *seeming* contradiction between the evangelist and Josephus, though, upon the whole, we think the rendering of Dr. Hales presents the most satisfactory elucidation.

8. In Luke iii. 19. Herod the tetrarch is said to have been reproved by John the Baptist for Herodias, his brother *Philip's* wife, whom he had forcibly taken away from her husband, and married.

Now this is irreconcilable with profane history, which asserts his brother's name to have been *Herod*. Hence it is probable that the name of *Philip* has crept into the text through the copyist's negligence, and ought to be omitted: Griesbach has omitted it in his text, but has inserted the word φιλιππου in the margin, with the mark of doubtful genuineness.

9. Acts v. 36. *For before these days rose up Theudas*, &c. Josephus's account of Theudas (Antiq. l. xx. c. 5. § 1.) referred to a transaction that occurred seven years *after* Gamaliel's speech, of which this text is a part.

The contradiction is removed by the probability that there might be *two* impostors of the same name; for there were four persons of the name of Simon within forty years, and three of *Judas* within ten years, all of whom were leaders of insurrections.[2]

SECTION VIII.

ALLEGED CONTRADICTIONS TO PHILOSOPHY AND THE NATURE OF THINGS.

THE Scriptures often refer to matters of fact, which are *asserted* (though without any proof whatever) to be contradictory to philosophy and to the nature of things. A little consideration, however, will reconcile these alleged repugnances; for it has been well observed by different writers, who have treated on this subject, that the Scriptures were not written with the design of teaching us natural philosophy, but to make known the revealed will of God to man, and to teach us our duties and obligations to our great Creator and Redeemer. Therefore the sacred penman might make use of popular expressions and forms of speech, neither affirming nor denying their philosophical truth. All proverbial sayings and metaphorical expressions introduced by way of illustration or ornament must be taken from received notions; but they are not, *therefore*, asserted in the philosophical sense by him who uses them, any more than the historical truth of parables and similitudes is supposed to be asserted. Further, to have employed philosophical terms and notions only, and to have rectified the vulgar conceptions of men concerning all the phenomena incidentally mentioned in the Scriptures, would have required a large system of philosophy, which would have rendered the Scriptures a book unfit for ordinary capacities, and the greater part of those for whom it is designed. If, indeed, revelation had introduced any the best founded system of modern physics, or if the Almighty Creator had been pleased to disclose the councils themselves of his infinite wisdom, what would have been the consequence! Philosophy would immediately have become matter of faith, and disbelief of any part of it a dangerous heresy. How many infidels would this or that man's fanciful hypothesis concerning the appearances of things have called *forth*! Besides, if the Scriptures had been made the vehicle for a refined system of natural philosophy, such a theory of nature would have seemed as strange and incredible to most men as miracles do; for there is scarcely any thing which more surprises men, unacquainted with philosophy, than philosophical discoveries. How incredible do the *motion* of the earth and the *rest* of the sun appear to all but philosophers, who are now fully convinced of the reality of these phenomena, while the rising and setting of the sun are terms as much in use with those who hold the doctrine of the earth's motion as with others! In fact, if we would be understood, we must continue to make use of this expression; but excepting this one instance, which is and ever will be in use, according to the vulgar conceptions of all nations and languages (notwithstanding any philosophical discoveries to the contrary), there is nothing in the Scriptures that is not strictly consistent with the present notions of philosophy. The discoveries both in chemistry and in physics, as well as in natural history, which have been made in later times, concur in many instances to confirm and elucidate the Sacred Writings. A few examples will illustrate the preceding observations.

1. No fact recorded in the Sacred Writings has been a more favourite subject of cavil with modern objectors, than the *account of the creation*, related in the first two chapters of the book of Genesis. Founding their cavils upon translations, instead of consulting the original Hebrew (which their ignorance completely disqualified them from doing), they have pretended that the Mosaic narrative is alike inconsistent with reason and with true philosophy. If, however, these writers had impartially considered the modern discoveries in philosophy, they would have found nothing to contradict, but on the contrary much—very much—to confirm the relation of Moses.

"The *structure of the earth*," says one of the most profound geologists and practical philosophers of the present day,[3] and "the mode of distribution of extraneous fossils or petrifactions, are so many direct evidences of the truth of the Scripture account of the formation of the earth; and they might be used as proofs of its author having been inspired; because the mineralogical facts discovered by *modern* naturalists were unknown to the sacred historian. Even the periods of time, the six days of the Mosaic description, are not inconsistent with our theories of the earth." Nor are the phenomena of the heavenly bodies at all contradictry to the Mosaic history. Modern opposers of revelation have objected that the historian talks of light before there was any such thing as the sun, and calls the moon a *great light*, when every one knows it to be an opaque body. But Moses seems to have known what philosophy did not till very lately discover, that the sun is not the original source of light, and, therefore, he does not call either the sun or the moon a *great light*, though he represents them both as great *luminaries* or *light-bearers*. Had these objectors looked into a Hebrew, Greek, or Latin Bible, they would have found that the word, which in Gen. i. 3. our translators have properly rendered *light*, is different from that which in the fourteenth verse they have improperly rendered light also. In the third verse the original word is אור (*aur*); the Greek, φως; and the Vulgate Latin, *lux*; in the fourteenth verse the corresponding words are מאורת (*mart*), φωστηρες, and *luminaria*. Each of the former set of words means that subtile, elastic matter, to which in English we give the name of *light*; each of the latter, the instruments, or means, by which light is transmitted to men. But surely the moon is as much an instrument of this kind, as the *reflector* placed behind the lamp of a light-house, for the purpose of transmitting to the mariner at sea the light of that lamp, which would otherwise have passed in an opposite direction to the land. Though the moon is not a light in itself, yet is that planet a light in its effects, as it reflects the light of the sun to us. And both the sun and moon are with great propriety called *great*,—not as being absolutely greater than all other stars and planets, but because they appear greater to *us*, and are of greater use and consequence to this world. And now, after all our improvements in philosophy and astronomy, we still speak of the light of the moon, as well as of the sun's motion, rising and setting. And the man, who in a moral, theological, or historical discourse, should use a different language, would only render himself ridiculous.

In like manner, had these objectors referred to the original Hebrew of Gen. i. 6, 7, 8. (which in our English authorized version, as well as in other modern versions, is erroneously rendered *firmament*, after the Septuagint and Vulgate Latin version), they would have rendered it *expanse*: and they might have known, that it meant the air or atmosphere around us, in which birds fly and clouds are formed, and that it had no reference whatever to a solid firmament; though such an idea was entertained by the ancient Greek philosophers, who, with all their boasted wisdom, were

[1] Calmet's Dictionary, vol. i. article *Cyrenius*. Fragments Supplementary to Calmet, No. cxxiii. p. 37. Geographical Index and Sacred Geography, by the same editor, voce *Antioch*.

[2] Dr. Lardner has collected the passages in question relative to these impostors. Works, vol. i. pp. 409—413. See also Paley's Evidences, vol. ii. pp. 179—181.

[3] Professor Jameson, in p. v. of his Preface to Mr. Kerr's translation of M. Cuvier's Essay on the Theory of the Earth.

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nearly as ignorant of the works as they were of the nature of God. And does not this circumambient air divide the waters from the waters, the waters of the sea from the waters which float above us in clouds and vapours? *For there is a multitude of waters in the heavens, and He causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth.* (Jer. x. 13.)

Once more Moses represents the earth at first in a state of *fluidity. The spirit of God*, says he, *moved upon the face* (or surface) *of the waters.* (Gen. i. 2.) The apostle Peter also speaks of the earth as being formed out of a fluid. *The earth standing out of the water* (more correctly, *consisting of water* δι' ὕδατος συνεστῶσα) *and in the midst of the water.* The same tradition reached also some of the ancient heathen philosophers; and Thales, in particular, one of the seven wise men and the wisest of them all, as Cicero informs us, said that all things were made out of water.[1] Others after him taught the same doctrine;[2] and is it in the least degree contradicted or disproved by modern discoveries? On the contrary, is it not more and more confirmed and illustrated by them? It is well known that if a soft or elastic globular body be rapidly whirled round on its axis, the parts of the poles will be flattened, and the parts on the equator, midway between the north and south poles, will be raised up. This is precisely the shape of our earth; it has the figure of an oblate spheroid, a figure bearing a close resemblance to that of an orange. Now, if the earth was ever in a state of fluidity, its revolution round its axis must necessarily induce such a figure, because the greatest centrifugal force must necessarily be near the equatorial parts, and consequently, there the fluid must rise and swell most. It has been *demonstrated* by experiment, that the earth is flattened at the poles and raised at the equator;[3] and thus do the Scriptures and philosophy agree together and confirm each other. The Scriptures assert that the earth was in a state of fluidity; and philosophy evinces that it must have been in such a state from its very figure.

The account of the creation of man (Gen. i. 26, 27.) has been ridiculed by all opposers of revelation; but can they furnish us with one more likely to be the true one? Reason will tell us no better than history or tradition does, how man came into the world. This, therefore, is a subject of divine revelation, and until the objectors to revelation can give us a better account, we may safely affirm that the Mosaic history is perfectly consistent with every idea which right reason teaches us to entertain of the creation of man.

Lastly, objectors to the Scriptures have laid great stress upon the expression in Gen. ii. 3. *God rested the seventh day from all his work*, as if it were alone sufficient to destroy the authority of the Mosaic writings. But no one, who impartially considers the noble account there given of the creation, that God is represented as having only spoken and it was done, can *reasonably* imagine, that the Almighty was tired with labour, as if he had moulded every thing with his hands, and that on the seventh day he lay or sat down for rest. *Hast thou not known*, says the Hebrew prophet Isaiah, *hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary?* (Isa. xl. 28.)

The objections drawn by infidel writers from the Mosaic narrative of the deluge have already been noticed in pp. 72. 75, 76. *supra.*

2. The declaration of Moses in Deut. i. 10. that God had multiplied the Israelites as the *stars of heaven for multitude*, has been ridiculed because to the apprehension of the objector "the number of the stars is infinite."

Let us, however, consider this subject. How many in number are the stars which appear to the naked eye? For it is that which appears to the naked eye, which is to govern us in replying to this objection: for *God brought Abraham forth abroad*,—that is, out of doors, *and bade him look towards heaven* (Gen. xv. 5.), not with a telescope, but with his naked eyes. Now, let the objector go forth into the open air, and look up in the brightest and most favourable night, and count the stars. Not more than 3010 stars can be seen by the naked eye in both the northern and southern hemispheres; but at the time alluded to, the Israelites, independently of women and children, were more than six hundred thousand. Suppose, however, we even allow, from the late discoveries made by Sir Wm. Herschel and others with telescopes, which have magnified between thirty-five and thirty-six thousand times, that there *may be* seventy-five millions of stars visible by the aid of such instruments, which is the highest calculation ever made; yet still the divine word stands literally true. Matthew says (i. 17.) that the generations from Abraham to Christ were forty-two. Now we find at the second census, that the fighting men among the Hebrews amounted to 600,000; and the Israelites, who have never ceased to be a distinct people, have so multiplied that, if the aggregate number of them who have ever lived, could be ascertained, it would be found far to exceed the number of all the fixed stars taken together.[4]

3. The speaking of Balaam's ass (Num. xxii. 28.) has been a standing jest to infidels in almost every age.

If the ass had opened her own mouth, and reproved the rash prophet, we might well be astonished. Maimonides and others have imagined that the matter was transacted in a vision. But it is evident, from the whole tenor of the narration, as well as from the declaration of an inspired writer (2 Pet. ii. 14—16.), that it is to be understood as a literal narrative of a real transaction. The ass, it has been observed was enabled to utter such and such sounds, probably as parrots do, *without* understanding them: and, whatever, may be said of the construction of the ass's mouth, and of the tongue and jaws being so formed as to be unfit for speaking, yet an adequate cause is assigned for this wonderful effect; for it is expressly said, that *the Lord opened the mouth of the ass.* The miracle was by no means needless or superfluous: it was very proper to convince Balaam, that the mouth and tongue were under God's direction, and that the same divine power, which caused the dumb ass to speak contrary to its nature, could make him in like manner utter blessings contrary to his inclination. The fact is as consonant to reason as any other extraordinary operation; for all miracles are alike, and equally demand our assent, if properly attested. The giving of articulation to a brute is no more to the Deity than the making of the blind to see, or the deaf to hear. And the reputed baseness of the instrument, of which God was pleased to make use, amounts merely to this, that (as the apostle observes on another occasion) *God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise.* (1 Cor. i. 27.) There was, therefore, a fitness in the instrument used: for, the more vile the means were, the fiter they were to confound the unrighteous prophet.

4. It has been affirmed that the circumstance of the sun and moon standing still, which is recorded in Joshua x. 12., is contrary to philosophy.

"It is pitiful to say that the sun could not stand still because it does not move: for the history speaks according to the ideas of the age, and was intended to record simply the appearance to the eye, to which the language of men, whether philosophers or peasants, is still conformed in common conversation. Whether the effect was produced by a supernatural refraction, or whether the motion of the earth around its axis was suspended, we do not possess the means of determining."[5] In either case there was a miracle; and as a miracle the sacred historian expressly relates this event. It is, therefore, impossible to account for it on philosophical principles.[6]

The object of this miracle was of the most important and impressive nature. The sun and the moon, the two principal gods of the idolatrous heathen nations, were commanded to yield miraculous obedience to the chief servant of the true God; and thereby to contribute to the more effectual conquest of their own worshippers. It was a miracle of the same description as those which had been wrought in Egypt. With respect to the objections to the probability of this miracle, which originate in a consideration of its supposed consequences, it is justly observed by Bishop Watson, that "the machine of the universe is in the hand of God: he can stop the motion of any part or of the whole, with less trouble than either of us can stop a watch!" How absurd, then, are the reasonings of those men who believe in the existence of an omnipotent God, yet deny the possibility of the exertion of his power in other ways, than those which are known to their limited experience![7]

5. The beautiful poetical passage in Judges v. 20. has been stigmatized as a "species of Jewish rant and hyperbole."

A tempest meeting the enemy in the face discomfited them; and the torrent Kishon was so suddenly swelled by the rain (which common opinion ascribed to the planets), as to sweep away the greater part of Sisera's army in their precipitate flight. Hence the poetess calls it the *first* or the *prince* of torrents. The whole is exceedingly poetical, notwithstanding the censure of the opposers of revelation, whose cavils are characterized not more by want of taste, than by wilful ignorance and malignity of disposition.

6. It is said that such a number of inhabitants, as are stated to have dwelt in the land of Canaan, could not possibly have been supported there, viz. a million and a half of fighting men. (2 Sam. xxiv. 9. 1 Chron. xxi. 5.)

To this it is to be answered, that if there be no mistake in the numbers (which probably are incorrect, as the Syriac version reads eight hundred thousand in 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. and 1 Chron. xxi. 5.), this vast population is to be ascribed to the extraordinary fertility of the soil. Another solution of this apparent contradiction has been offered by a late writer,[8] which is both ingenious and probable. "It appears," he observes, "from Chronicles, that there were twelve divisions of generals, who commanded monthly, and whose duty it was to keep guard near the king's person, each having a body of troops consisting of twenty-four thousand men, which jointly formed a grand army of two hundred and eighty thousand: and, as a separate body of twelve thousand men naturally attended on the twelve princes of the twelve tribes, mentioned in the same chapter, the whole will be three hundred thousand; which is the difference between the two last accounts of eight hundred thousand and of one million one hundred thousand.[9] Whence may be deduced this natural solution as to the number of Israel. As to the men of Israel, the author of Samuel does not take notice of the three hundred thousand, because they were in the actual service of the king as a standing army, and, therefore, there was no need to number them: but the author of Chronicles joins them to the rest, saying expressly, כל ישראל, 'all those of Israel were one million one hundred thousand;' whereas the author of Samuel, who reckons only the eight hundred thousand, does not say כל ישראל, 'all those of Israel,' but barely והיו ישראל 'and Israel were,' &c. It must also be observed, that exclusively of the troops before mentioned, there was an army of observation on the frontiers of the Philistines' country, composed of thirty thousand men, as appears by 2 Sam. vi. 1.; which, it seems, were included in the number of five hundred thousand of the people of Judah, by the author of Samuel: but the author of Chronicles, who mentions only four hundred and seventy thousand, gives the number of that tribe exclusively of those thirty thousand men, because they were not all of the tribe of Judah: and therefore he does not say, כל יהודה 'all those of Judah,' as he had said כל ישראל 'all those of Israel,' but only יהודה 'and those of Judah.' Thus both accounts may be reconciled, by only having recourse to other parts of Scripture treating on the same subject; which will ever be found the best method of explaining difficult passages."

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[1] Thalee enim Milesius, qui primus de talibus rebus quæsivit, aquam dixit esse initium rerum. Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. i. c. 10. Edit. Davisii.

[2] The reader will find the sentiments of the philosophers above alluded to, in the notes to Grotius de Veritate, lib. i. c. 16.

[3] This was first conjectured by Sir Isaac Newton, and confirmed by M. Cassini and others, who measured several degrees of latitude at the equator and at the north pole; and found that the difference perfectly justified Sir Isaac Newton's conjecture, and, consequently, confirmed the truth of the Mosaic narrative. The result of the experiments, instituted to determine this point, proved, that the diameter of the earth at the *equator* is greater by more than *twenty-three miles* than it is *at the poles.*

[4] Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary, on Deut. i. 10.

[5] An ingenious French philosopher, who has consecrated his geological researches to the elucidation and defence of the sacred volume, has endeavoured to show that the double day in Palestine, caused by the miracle related in Josh. x., must have produced a double night in Europe. He considers that the double night, so frequently mentioned by the Latin poets, and connected with the birth of Hercules, was identical with this miracle, which is thus collaterally confirmed by the testimony of ancient profane writers. Chaubard, Elémens de Géologie, pp. 321—327. Paris, 1833, 8vo.

[6] Dr. Dick's Lectures on Theology, vol. i. p. 178. The reader, who is desirous of reading the different opinions of learned men on the subject of this miracle, is referred to Mr. Hewlett's note on Josh. x. 12. (Comment. on the Bible, vol. i.), and to an original and elaborate note of Dr. A. Clarke on the same passage.

[7] Townsend's Arrangement of the Old Testament, vol. i. p. 463. note.

[8] The editor of the quarto edition of Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible. See Fragments, No. xxxvii. pp. 62, 63.

[9] Vide Aliehot Holam, p. 18.

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7. The number of cattle sacrificed at the dedication of Solomon's temple, has been objected to as incredible, viz. one hundred and twenty thousand sheep, and two-and-twenty thousand oxen. (1 Kings viii. 63.)

To this it may be replied, *first*, that all these were not offered in one day, much less on one altar. This solemn meeting continued fourteen days, viz. seven at the feast of tabernacles, and seven at the feast of dedication (1 Kings viii. 65.); and because the brazen altar was too little to receive the burnt-offerings, Solomon, by special permission from God, *hallowed the middle of the court*, that is, ordered other altars to be erected in the court of the priests, and perhaps in other places, which were to serve *only* during that solemnity, when such a vast number of sacrifices was to be offered. And, *secondly*, it is by no means improbable that there were some neighbouring princes, who paid Solomon their tribute in cattle, and who might supply victims for the extraordinary sacrifice above referred to. See an instance of this kind in 2 Kings iii. 4.

The great number of beasts daily required in Solomon's kitchen (1 Kings iv. 23.), will by no means be found incredible, when we compare it with the accounts of the daily consumption of oriental courts in modern times, and the prodigious number of servants of an Asiatic prince. Thus, Tavernier, in his description of the seraglio, said, that *five hundred sheep and lambs* were *daily* required for the persons belonging to the court of the sultan.[1]

8. It is urged that the treasures, mentioned in 1 Chron. xxix. 4—7. as amassed by David for the purpose of erecting a temple, are incredible; and that it was impossible that he could collect such a sum, which has been computed by M. le Clerc at eight hundred millions sterling, and which is thought to exceed all the gold of all the princes now upon earth put together.

But it is possible that there may be a corruption in the numbers: we are not so well acquainted with the weights mentioned, as to be able to ascertain with precision the then comparative value of the precious metals, nor what resources for obtaining them (now lost) there were at that time. Besides, it is probable that the *talent*, mentioned in the passage above cited, was the Syriac talent; according to which the amount collected by David would be £7,087,791.[2] And in an age like that in which David lived, when kings and princes were accustomed to hoard up vast quantities of gold and silver (as the oriental monarchs still do) it is by no means improbable that David and his princes, in their successful wars with the Philistines, Moabites, and Amalekites, and with the kings of Zobah, Syria, and Edom, might collect gold and silver to the above amount.

9. The circumstance of Elijah being fed by ravens (1 Kings xvii. 4.) has excited the profane scoffs of unbelievers, as an incredible thing; and they have attempted to be witty in their inquiries whence these unclean birds could have procured food for the prophet.

It has been attempted to get rid of this miracle, by asserting that the prophet was not fed by ravens, but by the Orbim or inhabitants of Orbo, a small town in the vicinity of Bethshan. But the following arguments will show that the received interpretation is correct:—It is expressly said that Elisha *drank of the brook* Cherith. (1 Kings xvii. 6.) "Had strangers brought him food, they might as well have furnished him with water; and thus it would not have been necessary for him to have removed when the brook was dried up. Again, Ahab (who had sent messengers in pursuit of the prophet among the neighbouring kingdoms and nations) took an oath of them that they were ignorant of the place of his concealment (1 Kings xviii. 10.); and some one out of a tribe, we may suppose it probable, would have delivered him up, seeing that they could gain nothing by his concealment, and had every thing to fear from detection. If we come to verbal criticism, we find that the word is precisely the same with that which is most properly rendered 'raven' in Gen. viii. 7. when Noah sends a bird out of the ark."[3] The Almighty, doubtless, could have caused food to have been conveyed to Elijah in any other way, but he chose to send it by these rapacious birds for the greater illustration of his absolute command over all creatures, and also to give us full evidence that he is able to succour and preserve, by the most improbable means, all those who put their trust in him. We need go no further to inquire whence the ravens had this food: it is enough if we believe that they brought it to Elijah; for then we must allow, that they acted by divine direction, and that the food was of God's providing.

10. There is no contradiction between Job xxvi. 7. and Psal. xxiv. 2. and civ. 5.

In the first-cited passage, Job says that God *hangeth the earth upon nothing*; and in Psal. xxiv. 2. it is said that Jehovah *hath founded the earth upon the seas, and established it upon the floods*; and in Psal. civ. 5. that he hath *laid the foundations of the earth that it should not be removed for ever*. All which expressions are philosophically correct: for the foundation of a pendulous globe can be nothing but its centre, upon which all the parts lean and are supported by it; and the waters continually flowing through the bowels and concavities of the earth, from the depths of the sea, by a constant course and circulation, constitute an abyss in the lowermost parts of the earth. *All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full: unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again.* (Eccles. i. 7.) So that, with great propriety of speech, the terraqueous globe is said to hang upon nothing, and the earth to be founded upon the seas, and established upon the floods, and (Psal. cxxxvi. 6.) to be *stretched out above the waters*.[4]

11. The *unicorn* רים (REIM), described in Job xxxix. 9. and alluded to in several other passages of Scripture, is the common rhinoceros, which is known, in Arabia, by the name of *reim* unto this day.

12. The circumstance of Jonah being in the belly of a *whale* (Jonah i. 17. Matt. xii. 40.) has been affirmed to be contrary to matter of fact; as the throat of a whale, it is well known, is capable of admitting little more than the arm of an ordinary man, and these fish are never found in the Mediterranean Sea.

But Bochart has long since proved that a great fish of the *shark* kind is here intended. It is a well attested fact that many of the shark species are not only of such a size and form as to be able, without any miracle, to swallow a man whole, but also that men have been found entire in their stomachs; and, since it is a fact well known to physiologists, that the stomach has no power over substances endued with vitality, this circumstance will account in part for the miraculous preservation of the prophet Jonah in the belly or stomach of the great fish, in which he was for three days and three nights. Bochart is further of opinion, that the particular species of shark which followed the prophet Jonah was the *squalus carcharias* or white shark, for its voracity termed *lamia* by some naturalists, and which is a native of the seas in hot climates, where it is the terror of navigators.[5] Mr. Rae Wilson, the day after a violent storm exactly in the same portion of the sea where the ship with Jonah on board encountered the tempest, observed several very "great fishes" sporting about the ship, some of which could not be less than sixty feet in length, and appeared as long as the vessel itself on board of which he was embarked.[6]

The preceding are the passages of Scripture, which have been principally excepted against, as being contrary to philosophy and the nature of things; and yet, when all the circumstances of them are properly considered, there is nothing in them which may not be accounted for, and interpreted, on the principles of modern philosophy.

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[1] Burder's Oriental Literature, vol. i. p. 399.

[2] The reader will find some elaborate and interesting calculations on this subject, in Dr. Brown's Antiquities of the Jews, vol. i. pp. 149—153.

[3] Myers's Hulsean Essay on the Futility of Attempts to represent the Miracles recorded in Scripture as Effects produced in the ordinary Course of Nature, p. 93. Cambridge, 1831, 8vo.

[4] Jenkin's Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, vol. ii. p. 236.

[5] Bocharti Opera, tom. iii. col. 742. *et seq.* Bochart's opinion has been adopted by Mr. Parkhurst (Greek Lexicon, article Κητος), and is now generally received. See also Scripture illustrated by Natural History, &c. Expository Index, p. 52. and the Fragments annexed to the quarto edition of Calmet's Dictionary, No. cxlv. p. 103. Bishop Jebb, however, has urged several considerations (which are too long for insertion here, and the force of which it would impair to abridge), showing that it probably was a whale, into the cavity of whose mouth Jonah was taken. (Sacred Literature, pp. 178—180.) The observations which he has adduced from the natural history of the whale are confirmed by the enterprising and experienced whalefisher, Captain Scoresby; who states, that when the mouth of the *Balæna Mysticetus*, or Great Common Whale, is open, "it presents a cavity as large as a room, and capable of containing a merchant ship's jolly-boat full of men, being six or eight feet wide, ten or twelve feet high (in front), and fifteen or sixteen feet long." (Scoresby's Account of the Arctic Regions, vol. i. p. 455.) The only objection that can be offered to Dr. Jebb's opinion is, that there is no authentic instance on record of whales being found in the Mediterranean Sea.

[6] Travels in the Holy Land, &c. third edition, vol. i. pp 14, 15. London, 1831.

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CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE INFERENTIAL AND PRACTICAL READING OF SCRIPTURE.

SECTION I.

ON THE INFERENTIAL READING OF THE BIBLE.

I. *General Rules for the Deduction of Inferences.*—II. *Observations for ascertaining the Sources of Internal Inferences.* III. *And also of External Inferences.*

1. THE sense of Scripture having been explained and ascertained, it only remains that we apply it to purposes of practical utility; which may be effected either by deducing inferences from texts, or by practically applying the Scriptures to our personal edification and salvation. By INFERENCES, we mean certain corollaries or conclusions legitimately deduced from words rightly explained; so that they who either hear or read them may form correct views of Christian doctrine and Christian duty. And in this deduction of inferences we are warranted both by the genius of language, which, when correctly understood, not only means what the words uttered in themselves obviously imply, but also what may be deduced from them by legitimate consequences;[1] and likewise by the authority of Jesus Christ and his apostles, who have sanctioned this practice by their example. To illustrate this remark by a single instance:—

Our Lord (Matt. xxii. 23—32.) when disputing with the Sadducees, cited the declaration of Jehovah recorded in Exod. iii. 6. *I am the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob;* and from thence he proved the *resurrection of the dead* inferentially, or by legitimate *consequence*. It should be observed, that Abraham had been dead upwards of three hundred years before these words were spoken to Moses, yet still Jehovah called himself the God of Abraham, &c. Jesus Christ properly remarked that God is not the God of the *dead* (that word being equivalent to *eternal annihilation*, in the sense intended by the Sadducees, who held that the soul vanished with the body),[2] but of the *living:* whence it follows, that if he be the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, they have not altogether perished, but their bodies will be raised again from the dead, while their spirits or souls are alive with God, notwithstanding they have ceased for many centuries to exist among mortals. In the same reply our Saviour further confuted, *inferentially*, another tenet of the Sadducees, viz. that there *is neither angel nor spirit*, by showing that the soul is not only immortal, but lives with God even while the body is detained in the dust of the earth, which body will afterwards be raised to life, and be united to the soul by the miraculous power of God.

The foundation of *inferential reading* is the perpetual harmony of sacred things; so that any one who has thoroughly considered and rightly understood a single doctrine, may hence easily deduce many others which depend upon it, as they are linked together in one continued chain. But, in order to conduct this kind of reading with advantage, it is necessary that we bring to it a *sober judgment*, capable of penetrating deeply into sacred truths, and of eliciting with indefatigable attention and patience, and also of deducing one truth from another by strong reasoning; and further, that the mind possess a sufficient knowledge of the *form of sound words in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus.* (2 Tim. i. 13.) Without this knowledge, it will be impossible to make any beneficial progress in this branch of sacred literature, or to discover the exhaustless variety of important truths contained in the Sacred Writings. It will likewise be requisite to compare inferences when deduced, in order to ascertain whether they are correct, and are really worthy of that appellation. For this purpose the following rules may be advantageously consulted:—

1. *Obvious or too common inferences must not be deduced, nor should they be expressed in the very words of Scripture.*

Thus, if from Matt. vi. 33. *Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you*, the following inferences be deduced:—1. The kingdom of God is to be sought in the first instance. 2. It is necessary that we seek the righteousness of God; and, 3. To him that thus seeks, all other things shall be added. Although these are in themselves weighty truths, yet they are expressed too plainly in the very words of Scripture to be called inferences. They are, rather, truths seated in the text itself, than truths deduced from those words.

2. *Inferences must be deduced from the true and genuine sense of the words, not from a spurious sense, whether literal or mystical.*

We have a striking violation of this sober and almost self-evident canon, in the inference deduced by cardinal Bellarmin, from a comparison of Acts x. 13. with John xxi. 16. From the divine command, *Rise, Peter! kill and eat*, compared with our Lord's direction to the apostle, *Feed my sheep*, he extorts this consequence, viz. that the functions of the Roman pontiff, as the successor of Peter, are twofold—*to feed the church, and to put heretics to death!* It is scarcely necessary to add, that this inference is derived from putting a false and spurious sense upon those passages.

3. *Inferences are deduced more safely as well as more correctly from the originals, than from any version of the Scriptures.*

It is not uncommon, even in the best versions, to find meanings put upon the sacred text, which are totally foreign to the intention of the inspired penman. Thus, from Acts ii. 47 (*the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved*), the papists have absurdly pretended to deduce the perpetuity and visibility of the (Roman Catholic) church; and, from the same text compared with Acts xiii. 48. (*as many as were ordained to eternal life believed*), some have inferred that those whom God adds to the church shall necessarily and absolutely be eternally saved. The question relative to indefectibility from grace is foreign to a practical work like this:[3] but without throwing down the gauntlet of controversy, we may remark, that these passages have *no relation whatever* to the doctrine of election; that Luke is speaking as an historian of a fact which fell under his own observation, relating to the Jews and not to the hidden counsels of God; and that if the translators of our authorized version had rendered the original of Acts ii. 47. *literally*, as they have done in other parts of the New Testament,[4] it would have run thus:—The Lord added daily to the church, τους σωζομενους, *the saved;* that is, those who were saved from

[1] Qui enim intelligit, quod loquitur, non modo *vim*, sed *ambitum* quoque verborum perspicit; ideoque id omne, quod ex iis legitime colligi potest, adprobare etiam merito creditur. Buddei Elementa Philosophiæ Instrumentalis, part ii. cap. ii. § xxx. p. 246.

[2] Συναφανιζει τοις σωμασι. Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. i. § 4. (al. c. ii.)

[3] "It may not be the most philosophical, but it *is probably the wisest opinion which we can adopt*, that the truth lies somewhere between the two rival systems of Calvin and Arminius; though I believe it to exceed the wit of man to point out the *exact* place where it *does* lie. We distinctly perceive the two extremities of the vast chain, which stretches across the whole expanse of the theological heavens; but its central links are enveloped in impenetrable clouds and thick darkness." (Mr. Faber's Discourses, vol. i. pp. 478, 479.) Archbishop Tillotson has a fine passage on this subject to the same effect (which is too long to be extracted), at the close of his hundred and seventh sermon. See his Works, vol. v. pp. 395, 396. Compare also vol. vii. pp. 99, 100. (London, 1820.) On this topic the author cannot withhold from his readers the following admirable observations of the late Bishop Horsley. Addressing the clergy of the diocese of Rochester, he says, "I would entreat you of all things to avoid controversial arguments in the pulpit upon what are called the Calvinistic points;—the dark subject of predestination and election I mean, and the subordinate questions. *Differences of opinion upon these subjects have subsisted among the best Christians from the beginning, and will subsist, I am persuaded, to the end.* They seem to me to arise almost of necessity, from the inability of the human mind to reconcile the doctrine of a providence, irresistibly ruling all events, with the responsibility of man as a moral agent. And persons equally zealous for God's glory have taken different sides of the question, according as their minds have been more forcibly impressed with awful notions of God's right of sovereignty on the one hand, or of his justice on the other. But in certain leading principles, Lutherans, Calvinists, Arminians, and we of the church of England are, I trust, all agreed. We are agreed in the fundamental doctrines of the Trinity; all believing in the united operation of the three persons, in their distinct offices in the accomplishment of man's redemption. We are all agreed that the foreknowledge of God is—like himself—from all eternity, and absolute; that his providence is universal, controlling not only all the motions of matter, but all the thoughts and actions of intelligent beings of all orders; that, nevertheless, man has that degree of free agency which makes him justly responsible; that his sins are his own; and that, without holiness, no man shall see God. While we agree in these principles, I cannot see to what purpose we agitate endless disputes upon the dark—I had almost said—*presumptuous questions* upon the order of the divine decrees, as if there could be any internal energies of the divine mind, and about the manner of the communion between the Spirit of God and the soul of the believer." (Bishop Horsley's Charge in 1800, pp. 32, 33. 4to.)

[4] It is worthy of remark that the participle σωζομενος occurs in four other places of the New Testament, in all which our translators give the true meaning. These are Luke xiii. 23. ει ολιγοι σωζομενοι, *are there few that* BE SAVED?—1 Cor. i. 18. τοις δε σωζομενοις ημιν, *but unto us* WHICH ARE SAVED—2 Cor. ii. 15. εν τοις σωζομενοις, *in them* THAT ARE SAVED—Rev. xxi. 24. τα εθνη των σωζομενων, *the nations of them* WHICH ARE SAVED. In none of these instances have the translators given the forced and arbitrary meaning above noticed, and no reason can be assigned why they should have so rendered Acts ii. 47.

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their sins and prejudices; and so the passage is rendered by Drs. Whitby, Doddridge, and other eminent critics and divines. Further, if Acts xiii. 48. had been translated according to the *proper* meaning of τεταγμενοι, that verse would have run thus:—*As many as were disposed for eternal life, believed:* which rendering is not only faithful to the original, but also to the *context* and *scope* of the sacred historian, who is relating the effects or consequences of the preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles. For the Jews had contradicted Paul, and blasphemed, while the religious proselytes heard with profound attention, and cordially received the Gospel he preached to them; the *former* were, through their own stubbornness, utterly *indisposed* to receive that Gospel, while the *latter*, destitute of prejudice and prepossession, rejoiced to hear that the Gentiles were included in the covenant of salvation through Jesus Christ; and, therefore, in this good state or *disposition* of mind, they believed. Such is the plain and obvious meaning deducible from the consideration of the context and scope of the passage in question; and that the rendering above given is strictly conformable to the original Greek, is evident from the following considerations. In the first place, the word τεταγμενοι is *not* the word generally used in the New Testament to denote fore-ordination, or an eternal decree, but the verbs οριζω and προοριζω, which exactly answer to our English words *determine* and *predetermine*. Further, Dr. Hammond remarks, the verb τασσω or τασσω (whence the participle τεταγμενος) and its compounds, are often employed in the sense of our military word *tactics*, by which is meant whatever relates to the *disposal* or marshalling of troops (compare Luke vii. 8. and Rom. xiii. 1. Gr.); and hence, by analogy, it is applied to other things:—Thus, in 1 Cor. xvi. 15. we read "*They devoted* (εταξαν) themselves to the ministry of the saints." See also 1 Macc. v. 27. and 2 Macc. xv. 20. (Gr.); and particularly Acts xx. 13., where we read that Saint Paul went on foot to Assos, *for so he was* (διατεταγμενος) *disposed*. Similar expressions are to be found in the Greek classic writers.[1] But what confirms the preceding rendering of this text, is *the fact*, that it is so translated in the Old Syriac, the most ancient of all the versions of the New Testament. This is of great moment; for that version was made at least four hundred years *before* the sense of this place was disputed by the different sects and parties of Christians. "Meanwhile," says Dr. Hammond, with equal truth and piety, "it must be remembered that these qualifications are not pretended to have been originally from themselves, but from *the preventing grace of God;* to which it is to be acknowledged due that they are ever pliable, or willing to follow Christ."

4. *Those inferences are always to be preferred which approach nearest to the scope of a passage.*

Thus, in John vi. 37. Christ says, *Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out.* From this clause the two following inferences have been deduced. 1. That Jesus Christ is a most certain asylum for all persons whose consciences are burdened. 2. That Christians ought to receive those who are weak in faith, after the example of Christ, and to treat them with tenderness. Now, though both these inferences are good in themselves, the first is most to be preferred, because it harmonizes best with the scope of the passage (compare verses 37—40.), which is to show that Christ will reject none "that truly repent and unfeignedly believe" in him.

5. *Inferences ought to embrace useful truths, and such as are necessary to be known, on which the mind may meditate, and be led to a more intimate acquaintance with the doctrines of salvation, and with Christian morality.*

It were no difficult task to illustrate this remark by a variety of examples; but this is rendered unnecessary by the admirable models presented in the valuable sermons of our most eminent divines, not to mention the excellent discourses of Masillon, Bossuet, Flechier, Claude, Saurin, Superville, Du Bosc, and other eminent foreign divines, both Protestants and Romanists. The reader, who is desirous of illustrations, will find many very apposite ones in Monsieur Claude's celebrated and elaborate Essay on the Composition of a Sermon.[2]

II. The *sources* whence inferences are deducible, are divided by Professor Rambach (to whom we are almost wholly indebted for this chapter)[3] into two classes, viz. *internal* and *external:* the former are *inherent* in the text, and flow from it, *considered in itself;* the latter are derived from a *comparison* of the text with *other passages and circumstances.*

To illustrate these definitions by a few examples:—The sources whence inferences may be deduced, are *internal*, or inherent in the text, when such consequences are formed, 1. From the affections of the sacred writer or speaker; 2. From words and their signification; 3. From the emphasis and force of words; and, 4. From the structure and order of the words contained in the sacred text.

[1] Dr. Hammond (on Acts xiii. 48.) has cited and commented on several passages which we have not room to state. He renders the word τεταγμενοι by *fitly disposed and qualified for;* Dr. Wall, by *fit to receive;* and Mr. Thompson, the learned North American translator of the Scriptures from the Greek, by *fitly disposed.* Wolfius (Cur. Philol. in loc.) considers the phrase τεταγμενος εις as equivalent to ευθετος εις (Luke ix. 62.) in our version rendered *fit* (or, more correctly, *rightly disposed*) *for the kingdom of God.* Dr. Whitby translates the word by *disposed*, and Dr. Doddridge by *determined*, in order to preserve the ambiguity of the word. The meaning, he observes, of the sacred penman seems to be, that all who were deeply and seriously concerned about their eternal happiness, openly embraced the Gospel. And wherever this temper was, it was undoubtedly the effect of a divine operation on their hearts. See Whitby, Doddridge, Wall, Wetstein, Bengel, Rosenmüller, and especially Limborch (Commentarius in Acta Apostolorum, pp. 133—136. folio, Rotterdam, 1711), on Acts xiii. 48., and Krebsii Observationes in Nov. Test. ex Josepho, pp. 222—224. Compare also Franzius de Interpretatione Sacrarum Scripturarum, pp. 104—115.; Bp. Taylor's Works, vol. ix. p. 140.; and Bishop Wilson's Works, Sermon 57. vol. ii. p. 272. folio edit. Bath, 1782.

[2] See particularly §§ 17—26. in Dr. Williams's edition of Claude's Essay, Christian Preacher, pp. 300—346.; or Mr. Simeon's much improved edition, Cambridge and London, 1827. 12mo.

[3] Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, lib. iv. c. 3. pp. 804—822.

1. *Inferences deduced from the affections of the writer or speaker, whether these are indicated in the text, or are left to the investigation of the interpreter.*

Thus, in Mark iii. 5. we read that Jesus Christ looked round about on those who opposed him with *anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts:* the anger here mentioned was no uneasy passion, but an excess of generous grief occasioned by their obstinate stupidity and blindness. From this passage the following conclusions may be drawn: 1. It is the duty of a Christian to sorrow, not only for his own sins, but also to be grieved for the sins of others. 2. All anger is not to be considered sinful. 3. He does not bear the image of Christ, but rather that of Satan, who can either behold with indifference the wickedness of others, or rejoice in it. 4. Nothing is more wretched than an obdurate heart, since it caused him, who is the source of all true joy, to be filled with grief on beholding it. 5. Our indignation against wickedness must be tempered by compassion for the persons of the wicked.

2. *Inferences deduced from words themselves, and their signification.*

For instance, in Luke xxi. 15. our Lord, addressing his disciples, says, *I will give you a mouth and wisdom.* Inference 1. Christ, the eternal wisdom, is the source and spring of all true wisdom. 2. *Will give.* They who attempted to procure wisdom by their own strength, without the aid of prayer, may justly be charged with presumption. 3. *You.* No one stands more in need of the gift of divine wisdom than they who are intrusted with the charge of teaching others. 4. *A mouth*, or ready utterance. The gift of eloquence is bestowed by God, as well as every other gift. *Wisdom.* It is possible for a man to acquire *cunning* by the mere force of corrupt nature; but nature cannot possibly confer true wisdom. 5. *And*, Eloquence, when not united with wisdom, is of little utility in promoting the kingdom of Christ. From this last inference, it appears, that even the smallest particles sometimes afford matter from which we may deduce practical conclusions.

3. *Inferences deduced from the emphasis and force of words.*

We have an example in 1 Pet. v. 5. *Be clothed with humility: for God resisteth the proud.* Inference 1. *Humility.* Christian humility does not reside in filthy or rent garments, but in a modest mind, that entertains humble views of itself. *Be ye clothed*, εγκομβωσασθε, from εν, in, and κομβος, to *gather* or *tie in a knot.* The word means to *clothe* properly, *with an outer ornamental garment, tied closely upon one with knots.* True humility is an *ornament* which decorates the mind much more than the most costly garments do the body.[4] 3. Humility is a garment with which we cover both our own virtues and the defects of others. 4. This ornament of humility, being exposed to many snares, must be most carefully guarded, and retained around us. 5. *The proud*, υπερηφανοις, from υπερ, *above*, and φαινω, *to appear*, because such persons exalt themselves above others. No sin is capable of being less concealed, or of escaping the observation of others, than pride. 6. *God resisteth* αντιτασσεται, literally, SETTETH HIMSELF AS IN ARRAY *against the proud man:* this is a military term. The inference deducible is, that while all other sinners retire as it were, from the presence of God, and seek for shelter against his indignation, the proud man alone openly braves it.[5]

4. *Inferences deduced from the order and structure of the words contained in the sacred text.*

Thus, from Rom. xiv. 17. *The kingdom of God is righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost*, the following inferences may be derived, according to the order of the words, which depends upon the connection and order of the subjects treated of. 1. No constant and lasting *peace* of conscience is to be expected, unless we previously lay hold of the *righteousness* of Christ by faith. 2. They only possess a genuine and permanent joy, who, being justified, cultivate *peace* with God through Jesus Christ. 3. In vain do those persons boast of the *righteousness* of Christ, who still continue in a state of hostility and enmity with God and man. 4. A serene and peaceful conscience is the only source of spiritual joy.[6]

III. The sources of inferences are *external*, when the conclusions are deduced from a comparison of the text, 1. With the state of the speaker;—2. With the scope of the book or passage;—3. With antecedents and consequents; or, in other words, with the context;—4. With parallel passages, and other circumstances.

I. *Inferences deduced from the state of the writer or speaker.*

Thus, when Solomon, the wisest and richest of sovereigns, whose eager desire after the enjoyment of worldly vanities was so great, that he left none of them untried, and whose means of gratifying himself in every possible pleasure and delight were unbounded,—when he exclaims (Eccl. i. 2.), *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity*, the following inferences may be deduced from his words, compared with the state of his mind. (1.) Since the meanest artizan is not to be despised when speaking properly and opportunely of his own business, he must be more than usually stupid who does not give diligent attention when a most illustrious monarch is about to speak. (2.) How admirable is the wisdom of God, who, when it pleased him to select a person to proclaim and testify the vanity of all things human, made choice of one who had most deeply experienced how truly vain they were. (3.) When a sovereign, thus singularly possessed of glory, fame, honour

[4] Mr Parkhurst's illustration of this truly emphatic word is too important and beautiful to be omitted. "On the whole," says he, "this expressive word, εγκομβωσασθε, used by Saint Peter, implies that the humility of Christians, which is one of the most *ornamental* graces of their profession, should constantly *appear*, in all their conversation, so as to *strike the eye of every beholder;* and that this amiable grace should be so *closely connected* with their persons, that no occurrence, temptation, or calamity should be able to *strip* them of it.—Faxit Deus!" Greek and English Lexicon, p. 187. col. 2. (5th edit.)

[5] It may be worth the reader's while to reconsider what has already been stated on the subject of emphatic words, which, in fact, are so many sources whence inferences may be judiciously deduced.

[6] For a full illustration of this subject, we with pleasure refer the reader to an excellent discourse, in "Sermons on Subjects chiefly Practical by the Rev. John Jebb, A. M." (subsequently Bishop of Limerick), Serm. lv. pp. 71—98. London, 1816, 8vo.

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wisdom, riches, and every facility for the enjoyment of pleasures, proclaims the vanity of all these things, his testimony ought to be received by every one with great respect. (4.) Since princes, above all others, are exposed to the insidious wiles of pleasures, it is worthy of remark that God raised up one of their own rank to admonish them of their danger.

2. *Inferences deduced.*

(1.) *From the general scope of an entire book.*—For instance, let the following words of Jesus Christ (John viii. 51.), *Verily, verily, I say unto you, if a man keep my saying he shall never see death*, be compared with the *general scope* of the book which is announced in John xx. 31. *These are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing, ye might have life through his name.* From this collation the following inferences will flow. (i.) Faith in Christ is to be proved and shown by obedience to his word. (ii.) True faith cordially receives not only the merits of Christ, but also his words and precepts. And, (iii.) Whosoever is made through faith, a partaker of spiritual life, shall also be freed from spiritual and eternal death.

(2.) *From the special scope of a particular passage.*—The particular scope of Jesus Christ in the passage above cited (John viii. 51.), was to demonstrate that he was not possessed by an evil spirit, since the keeping of his words would procure eternal life for all who obey him, while Satan, on the contrary, leads men into sin, whose wages is *death*, or everlasting perdition. Hence we may deduce the subsequent inferences. (i.) That doctrine which produces such very salutary effects cannot necessarily be false and diabolical. (ii.) Saving truths are to be proposed even to those who are guilty of calumniating them. (iii.) There is no nearer way, by which to liberate the mind from doubts formed against truth, than a ready obedience to acknowledge truth. (iv.) The precepts of Christ are to be regarded and obeyed, even though they should be ridiculed or defamed by the most learned men.

(3.) *From the very special scope of particular words or phrases.*—The passage just referred to will supply us with another illustration.—For instance, should it be asked, (i.) Why our Lord prefixed to his declaration, a solemn asseveration similar to an oath? it is replied, because he perceived the very obstinate unbelief of his hearers; whence it may be inferred, that it is a shameful thing that Christ should find so little faith among men. (ii.) Should it be further inquired, why he prefixed a *double asseveration?* it is answered in order that, by such repetition, he might silence the repeated calumnies of those who opposed him: hence, also, it may be inferred, that in proportion to the malice and effrontery of men in asserting calumnies, the greater zeal is required in vindicating truth. (iii.) Should it still be asked, why our Lord added the words, *I say unto you*, we reply, in opposition to the assertion of his enemies in the 48th verse,—*Say we not well, that thou hast a demon?* From which we may infer, that he who is desirous of knowing the truth ought not only to attend to the stories invented and propagated by wicked men against the godly, but also to those things which Christ says of them, and they of him. Other instances might be adduced, but the preceding will suffice.

3. *Inferences deduced from a collation of the text with the context.*

In this case, the principal words of the text should be compared together, in order that inferences may be deduced from their mutual relation. (i.) Collate 1 Tim. i. 15. *It is a faithful saying*, with verse 4. *Neither give heed to fables. Inference.* The idle legends of the Jews (preserved in the Talmud), and the relations of the Gentiles concerning their deities, and the appearances *of the latter*, are compared to uncertain fables: but the narration in the Gospel concerning Jesus Christ is both certain, and worthy of being received with faith. (ii.) Collate also 1 Tim. i. 15. with verse 6. *Vain jangling*, or empty talking. *Inference.* God usually punishes those who *will not* believe the most certain words of the Gospel, by judicially giving them up to a voluntary belief of the most absurd and lying fables. (iii.) Compare the words *Worthy of all acceptation* (1 Tim. i. 15.), with verse 8. *The law is good. Inference.* The law, as given by God, is both good in itself and has a good tendency, though to a sinner it is so formidable as to put him to flight: but the Gospel recommends itself to the terrified conscience, as a saying or discourse every way worthy of credit.

4. *Inferences deduced from a collation of the text with parallel passages.*

The advantage resulting from such a comparison, in investigating the *sense* of a passage of Scripture, has already been stated and illustrated; and the observations and examples referred to, if considered with a particular view to the deduction of inferences, will supply the reader with numerous instances, whence he may draw various important corollaries. One instance, therefore, will suffice to exemplify the nature of the inferences deducible from a comparison of the text with parallel passages. In 2 Tim. i. 8. Saint Paul exhorts Timothy *not to be ashamed of the testimony of the Lord.* Compare this with Rom. i. 16. where he says, *I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek;* and with Isa. xxviii. 16. and xlix. 23. last clause (cited in Rom. x. 11.), where it is said, *Whosoever believeth in him* (Christ) *shall not be ashamed*, that is, confounded or disappointed of his hope. From this collation the two following inferences may be derived. (1.) Faithful ministers of the Gospel require nothing from others which they do not by their own experience know to be both possible and practicable. And, (2.) All those, who have already believed, or do now or shall hereafter believe in Christ, have, in and through him, all the blessings foretold by the prophets: all the promises of God, in (or through) him, being *yea*, that is, true in themselves, and *amen*, that is, faithfully fulfilled to all those who believe in Christ. (2 Cor. i. 20.)

5. *A fifth external source of inferences is the collation of the text with the consideration of the following external circumstances, viz.*

(1.) THE TIME *when the words or things were uttered or took place.*

Thus, in Matt. xxvii. 52. we read that *many bodies of the saints which slept arose:* but when? After Christ's resurrection (v. 53.), not before (as Rambach himself, among other eminent divines, has supposed); for Christ himself was the *first-fruits* of them that slept. (1 Cor. xv. 20.) The graves were opened at his death by the earthquake, and the bodies came out at his resurrection. *Inference.* The satisfactory efficacy of Christ's death was so great, that it opened a way to life to those who believed on him as the Messiah that was to come, as well as to those who believe in him subsequently to his incarnation: and both are equally partakers of the benefits flowing from his resurrection.

(2.) THE PLACE *where the words were uttered.*

As in Matt. xxvi. 39. 42. *Not my will, but thine be done!* Where did Christ utter this exclamation? In a garden. *Inference.* He who made an atonement for the sins of all mankind, voluntarily submitted himself, in the garden of passion, to the will of God: from which man withdrew himself in a garden of pleasure.

(3.) THE OCCASION *upon which the words were spoken.*

Thus, in Matt. xvi. 3., Christ rebukes the Pharisees, *because they did not observe the signs of the times.* On what occasion? When they required him to show them a sign from heaven. *Inference.* Such are the blindness and corruption of men, that disregarding the signs exhibited to them by God himself, they frequently require new signs that are more agreeable to their own desires.

(4.) THE MANNER *in which a thing is done.*

Acts ix. 9. During the blindness in which Saul continued for three days and three nights, God brought him to the knowledge of himself. *Inference.* Those, whom God vouchsafes to enlighten, he first convinces of their spiritual blindness.[1]

Other instances, illustrating the sources whence inferences are deducible, might be offered, were they necessary, or were the preceding capable of being very soon exhausted. From the sources already stated and explained, various kinds of inferences may be derived, relating both to faith and practice. Thus, some may be deduced for the confirmation of faith, for exciting sentiments of love and gratitude, and for the support of hope: while others contribute to promote piety, Christian wisdom and prudence, and sacred eloquence; lastly, others are serviceable for doctrine, for reproof, for instruction, and for comfort. He, who adds *personal practice* to the diligent reading of the Scriptures, and meditates on the inferences deduced from them by learned and pious men, will abundantly experience the truth of the royal psalmist's observations,—*Thy commandment is exceeding broad;* and, *the entrance of thy words giveth light, it giveth understanding to the simple.* (Psal. cxix. 96. 130.) "The Scriptures," says the late eminent Bishop Horne, "are the appointed means of *enlightening* the mind with true and saving knowledge. They show us what we were, what we are, and what we shall be: they show us what God hath done for us, and what he expecteth us to do for him; they show us the adversaries we have to encounter, and how to encounter them with success; they show us the mercy and the justice of the Lord, the joys of heaven, and the pains of hell. Thus will they *give to the simple*, in a few days, an *understanding* of those matters, which philosophy, for whole centuries, sought in vain."

In conducting, however, the inferential reading above discussed, we must be careful not to trust to the mere effusions of a prurient or vivid fancy: inferences, *legitimately deduced*, unquestionably do essentially promote the spiritual instruction and practical edification of the reader. "But when brought forward for the purpose of *interpretation*, properly so called, they are to be viewed with caution, and even with mistrust. For scarcely is there a favourite opinion, which a fertile imagination may not thus extract from some portion of Scripture: and very different, nay contrary interpretations of this kind have often been made of the very same texts according to men's various fancies or inventions."[2]

SECTION II.

ON THE PRACTICAL READING OF SCRIPTURE.

HAVING hitherto endeavoured to show how we may ascertain and apply the true sense of the Sacred Writings, it remains only to consider in what manner we may best reduce our knowledge to practice; for, if serious contemplation of the Scriptures, and *practice*, be united together, our real knowledge of the Bible must necessarily be increased, and will be rendered progressively more delightful. *If*, says Jesus Christ, *any man will do his* (God's) *will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.* (John vii. 17.) This is the chief end for which God has *revealed* his will to us (Deut. xxix. 29.); and all Scripture is profitable for this purpose (2 Tim. iii. 16.), either directing us what we should do, or inciting and encouraging us to do it: it being written

[1] Professor Franck, in his Manuductio ad Lectionem Scripturæ Sacræ, cap. 3. (pp. 101—123. of Mr. Jacques's translation), has some very useful observations on inferential reading, illustrated with numerous instances different from those above given. See also Schaeferi Institutiones Scripturisticæ, pars ii. pp. 166—178.

[2] Bishop Vanmildert's Lectures, p. 267.

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for our learning, that *we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope* (Rom. xv. 4.); that is, that by the strenuous exercise of that patience, which the consolations administered in Scripture so powerfully support, we might have an assured and joyful hope in the midst of all our tribulation. Even those things, which seem most notional and speculative, are reducible to practice. (Rom. i. 20, 21.) Those speculations, which we are enabled to form concerning the nature and attributes of God, grounded upon his works, ought to induce us to glorify him as such a God as his works declare him to be: and it is a manifest indication that our knowledge is not right, if it hath not this influence upon our conduct and conversation. (1 John ii. 3.)

The practical reading here referred to, is of such a nature, that the most illiterate person may prosecute it with advantage: for the application of Scripture which it enjoins, is connected with salvation: and, consequently, if the unlearned were incapable of making such application to themselves, it would be in vain to allow them to peruse the Sacred Writings.[1] After what has been stated in the preceding part of this volume, the author trusts he shall stand acquitted of undervaluing the knowledge of the original languages of the Scriptures, an acquaintance with which will suggest many weighty practical hints, that would not present themselves in a version. It is, however, sufficient, that every thing necessary to direct our faith, and regulate our practice, may easily be ascertained by the aid of translations. Of all modern versions, the present authorized English translation is, upon the whole, undoubtedly the most accurate and faithful: the translators having seized the very spirit of the sacred writers, and having almost every where expressed their meaning with a pathos and energy that have never been rivalled by any subsequent versions either of the Old or the New Testament, or of detached books, although, in most of these, *particular passages* are rendered more happily, and with a closer regard to the genius and spirit of the divine originals.

The simplest practical application of the word of God will, unquestionably, prove the most beneficial: provided it be conducted with a due regard to those moral qualifications which have already been stated and enforced, as necessary to the right understanding of the Scriptures.[2] Should, however, any hints be required, the following may, perhaps, be consulted with advantage.[3]

I. *In reading the Scriptures, then, with a view to personal application, we should be careful that it be done with a pure intention.*

The Scribes and Pharisees, indeed, searched the Scriptures, yet without deriving any real benefit from them: they *thought* that they had in them eternal life: yet they would not come to Christ that they might have life. (John v. 40.) He, however, who peruses the Sacred Volume, merely for the purpose of amusing himself with the histories it contains, or of beguiling time, or to tranquillize his conscience by the discharge of a mere external duty, is deficient in the *motive* with which he performs that duty, and cannot expect to derive from it either advantage or comfort amid the trials of life. Neither will it suffice to read the Scriptures with the mere design of becoming intimately acquainted with sacred truths, unless such reading be accompanied with a desire, that, through them, he may be convinced of his self-love, ambition, or other faults, to which he may be peculiarly exposed, and that by the assistance of divine grace, he may be enabled to root them out of his mind.

II. *In reading the Scriptures for this purpose, it will be advisable to select some appropriate lessons from its most useful parts; not being particularly solicitous concerning the exact connection or other critical niceties that may occur (though at other times, as ability and opportunity offer, these are highly proper objects of inquiry), but simply considering them in a devotional or practical view.*[4]

After ascertaining, therefore, the plain and obvious meaning of the lesson under examination, we should first consider the *present state of our minds*, and carefully compare it with the passage in question: next, we should inquire into the *causes of those faults* which such perusal may have disclosed to us; and should then look around for suitable remedies to correct the faults we have thus discovered.

III. *We should carefully distinguish between what the Scripture itself says, and what is only said in the Scripture, and also, the times, places, and persons, when, where, and by whom any thing is recorded as having been said or done.*

In Mal. iii. 14. we meet with the following words: "It is in vain to serve God, and what profit is it that we have kept his ordinance?" And in 1 Cor. xv. 32. we meet with this maxim of profane men—"Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." But, when we read these and similar passages, we must attend to the characters introduced, and remember that the persons who spoke thus were wicked men. Even those, whose piety is commended in the Sacred Volume, did not always act in strict conformity to it. Thus, when David vowed that he would utterly destroy Nabal's house, we must conclude that he sinned in making that vow: and the discourses of Job's friends, though in themselves extremely beautiful and instructive, are not in every respect to be approved: for we are informed by the sacred historian, that God was wroth with them, because they had not spoken of him the thing that was right. (Job xlii. 7.)

IV. *In every practical reading and application of the Scriptures to ourselves, our attention should be fixed on Jesus Christ, both as a* gift, *to be received by faith for salvation, and also as an* exemplar, *to be copied and imitated in our lives.*

We are not, however, to imitate him in all things. Some things he did by his divine power, and in those we *cannot* imitate him: other things he performed by his sovereign authority, in those we *must not* imitate him: other things also he performed by virtue of his office, as a Mediator, and in these we *may not*, we *cannot* follow him. But in his early piety, his obedience to his reputed earthly parents, his unwearied diligence in doing good, his humility, his unblameable conduct, his self-denial, his contentment under low circumstances, his frequency in private prayer, his affectionate thankfulness, his compassion to the wretched, his holy and edifying discourse, his free conversation, his patience, his readiness to forgive injuries, his sorrow for the sins of others, his zeal for the worship of God, his glorifying his heavenly Father, his impartiality in administering reproof, his universal obedience, and his love and practice of holiness,—in all these instances, Jesus Christ is the most perfect pattern for our imitation.[5] And the observation of these things, in a practical point of view, will be of singular use to us on this account: namely, that whatever sympathy and benevolence Christ displayed on earth, he retains the same in heaven, seeing that he is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, and that he ever liveth to make intercession for them that come unto God by him. For we have not an high-priest that cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but [one who was] in all points tempted like as we are; so that we may now come with humble confidence to the throne of grace; assuring themselves, that we shall find, from the true mercy-seat of God, sufficient help in all our distresses. (Heb. xiii. 8. vii. 25. and iv. 15. 16.) Jesus Christ, then, being our most perfect exemplar (1 Cor. xi. 1.), the particular actions and general conduct of other men, as related in the Scriptures, should be regarded by us as models of imitation, only *so far as they are conformable to this standard.*

V. "*An example (that is, every good one) hath the force of a rule; all of them being* 'written for our admonition.' (1 Cor. x. 11.) *But then we must be careful to examine and discern whether the example be* extraordinary *or* ordinary, *according to which the application must be made.*"[6]

In illustration of this remark, it may be observed, 1. That in matters which were *extraordinary*, such as the killing of Eglon by Ehud (Judg. iii. 21.), Elijah's killing the prophets of Baal (1 Kings xviii. 40.), and his invoking fire from heaven (2 Kings i. 10.), a conduct which, though approved in *him*, was condemned by our Lord in the apostles (Luke ix. 54, 55.);—2. In matters that were *temporary*; such were many of the ceremonies

[1] Franckii Manuductio, cap. iv. p. 131. et seq.; or, p. 124. et seq. of the English version.

[2] See pp. 186, 187. *supra*.

[3] These observations are selected and abridged from Rambach's Institutiones Hermeneuticæ, and Professor Franck's Brevis Institutio, Rationem tradens Sacram Scripturam in veram edificationem legendi, annexed to his Prælectiones Hermeneuticæ, 8vo. Halæ Magdeburgicæ, 1717. Franck has treated the same topic nearly in a similar manner, in his Manuductio, already noticed, cap. iv.

[4] Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion, ch. xix. § 9. (Works, vol. i. p. 259. Leeds edit. 8vo.)

[5] The various features in the character of our Redeemer as man, which are enumerated above, are illustrated in an admirable, but little known tract of the pious commentator Burkitt (edited by the Rev. Dr. Gaskin) entitled "Jesus Christ, as Man, an inimitable Pattern of religious Virtue." 8vo. London, 1809. Having briefly, though perspicuously, illustrated the different subjects, the editor terminates his essay with the following caution, which is unhappily as applicable to the present time as when it was first written: "Take heed that ye do not so consider Christ for your pattern, as to *disown him* for your Saviour and Redeemer. God preserve us," he adds, "from this growing error, which stabs the heart of the Christian religion, in that it deprives us of the choicest benefits of Christ's death: namely, the expiation of sin by a proper satisfaction to the justice of God."

[6] Bishop Wilkins on the Gift of Preaching, p. 23. of Dr. E. Williams's Christian Preacher. See also some admirable observations on this subject in Bishop Taylor's Works, vol. xii. p. 452. *et seq.*

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observed by the Jews, the washing of his disciples' feet by our Lord (John xiii. 14.), the celebration of love-feasts by the primitive Christians, &c.; and, 3. In matters that were *sinful*, as the drunkenness of Noah (Gen. ix. 21.), the adultery of David (2 Sam. xi.), the repining of Jonah (Jonah iv. 1—9.), Peter's denial of Christ (Matt. xxvi. 69—75. Mark xiv. 66—72. Luke xxii. 55—62. John xviii. 25—27.), &c.;—in matters which were thus extraordinary, temporary, or sinful, the practice of holy men recorded in the Scriptures, is NOT to be a pattern for us: but in all general holy duties, and in such particular duties as belong to our respective situations and callings, we are to set them before our eyes, and to follow their steps. When, therefore, we read of the uprightness of Noah, of Abraham's faith, the meekness of Moses, of David's devotions, the zeal of Josiah, the boldness of Peter and John in Christ's cause, of the labours of Saint Paul, and other virtues of the ancient saints, it should be our study to adorn our profession with similar graces and ornaments.

"Instead," therefore, "of adopting the sayings and actions recorded in Scripture, implicitly and absolutely, we ought to reason in some such manner as this:.....If such a person, so situated, best answered the ends of such an institution, by acting in such a manner, how shall we, in our situation, best answer the ends of the same? Sometimes merely proposing this form of inquiry will carry us right: but, in more difficult cases, we shall have the general principles, the nature and end of the duty in question to investigate, and from these to determine the particular cases; that is, how, in such cases, the ends of the duty can be best attained. However, in most questions, a good *heart* will be more requisite than a good *head*." [1]

VI. *When we read of the* failings, *as well as the* sinful actions *of men, recorded in the Scriptures, we may see what is in our own nature: for there are in us the seeds of the same sin, and similar tendencies to its commission, which would bring forth similar fruits, were it not for the preventing and renewing grace of God. And as many of the persons, whose faults are related in the volume of inspiration, were men of infinitely more elevated piety than ourselves, we should learn from them, not only to "be not high-minded, but fear"* (Rom. xi. 20.); *but further, to avoid being rash in censuring the conduct of others.*

The *occasions* of their declensions are likewise deserving of our attention, as well as the temptations to which they were exposed, and whether they did not neglect to watch over their thoughts, words, and actions, or trust too much to their own strength (as in the case of St. Peter's denial of Christ): what were the means that led to their penitence and recovery, and how they demeaned themselves after they had repented. By a due observation, therefore, of their *words and actions*, and of the *temper of their minds*, so far as this is manifested by words and actions, we shall be better enabled to judge of our *real* progress in religious knowledge, than by those characters which are given of holy men in the Scriptures, without such observation of the tenor of their lives, and the frame of their minds.[2]

VII. *In reading the promises and threatenings, the exhortations and admonitions, and other parts of Scripture, we should apply them to ourselves in such a manner, as if they had been personally addressed to us.*

For instance, are we reading any of the prophetic Sermons? Let us so read and consider them, and, as it were, realize to ourselves the times and persons when and to whom such prophetic discourses were delivered, as if they were our fellow-countrymen, fellow-citizens, &c. whom Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and other prophets rebuke in some chapters; while in others they labour to convince them of their sinful ways, and to convert them, or, in the event of their continuing disobedient, denounce the divine judgments against them.[3] So, in all the precepts of Christian virtue recorded in Matt. v. vi. and vii. we should consider ourselves to be as nearly and particularly concerned, as if we had personally heard them delivered by Jesus Christ on the Mount.[4] Independently, therefore, of the light which will thus be thrown upon the prophetic or other portions of Scripture, much *practical* instruction will be efficiently obtained; for, by this mode of reading the Scriptures, the promises addressed to others will encourage us, the denunciations against others will deter us from the commission of sin, the exhortations delivered to others will excite us to the diligent performance of our duty, and, finally, admonitions to others will make us *walk circumspectly*. Thus will Saint Paul's comprehensive observations be fully realized; *Whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning* (Rom. xv. 4.); and *All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be made perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.* (2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.)

VIII. *The words of the passage selected for our private reading, after its import has been ascertained, may beneficially be summed up or comprised in very brief prayers, or ejaculations.*[5]

The advantage resulting from this simple method, says Rambach, has been proved by many who have recommended it.—If we pray over the substance of Scripture, with our Bible before us, it may impress the memory and heart more deeply, and may form us to copiousness and variety both of thought and expression in prayer.[6] Should any references to the Scriptures be required, in confirmation of this statement, we would briefly notice that the following passages, among many others that might be cited, will, by addressing them to God, and by a slight change also in the person, become admirable petitions for divine teaching; viz. Col. i. 9, 10. Eph. i. 17, 18, 19. 1 Pet. ii. 1, 2. The hundred and nineteenth Psalm contains numerous similar passages.

IX. *In the practical reading of the Scriptures, all things are not to be applied at once, but gradually and successively; and this application must be made, not so much with the view of supplying us with materials for* talking, *as with matter for* practice.

Finally, *This practical reading and application must be diligently continued through life; and we may, with the assistance of divine grace, reasonably hope for success in it, if to reading, we add constant* prayer *and* meditation *on what we have read.*

Prayer enlightens meditation, and by meditation, prayer is rendered more ardent.[7] With these, we are further to conjoin a perpetual comparison of the Sacred Writings; daily observation of what takes place in ourselves, as well as what we learn from the experience of others; a strict and vigilant self-examination; together with frequent conversation with men of learning and piety, who have made greater progress in saving knowledge; and, lastly, the diligent cultivation of internal peace.[8]

Other observations might be offered: but the preceding hints, if duly considered and acted upon, will make us "neither barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ." (2 Pet. i. 8.) And if, to some of his readers, the author should *appear* to have dilated too much on so obvious a topic, its *importance* must be his apology. Whatever relates to the confirmation of our faith, the improvement of our morals, or the elevation of our affections, ought not to be treated lightly or with indifference. To borrow a remark of the eminently learned Dr. Waterland, with a trifling variation,—while moral or spiritual uses or improvements are raised upon texts of Scripture, for the purposes of *practical edification* (whether such spiritual uses were really intended by the sacred penman or not), if the words be but *aptly* accommodated to them, and *pertinently* and *soberly* applied, and the analogy of faith be preserved, a good end will be answered, and the true *doctrine* at least will be kept, if not a true interpretation.

[1] Dr. Hey's Norrisian Lectures, vol. i. p. 77. The whole of his chapter on "applying sayings and actions recorded in the Scriptures to ourselves," abounds with profound views, happily illustrated, and is worthy of repeated perusals.

[2] Lukin's Introduction to the Scriptures, p. 215. 12mo. London, 1669.

[3] Franzii Tractatus de Interpretatione Sacrarum Scripturarum, Præf. p. 9.

[4] "This *close* application," says an excellent, but now neglected writer, "will render what we read operative and effective, which, without it, will be useless and insignificant. We may see an instance of it in David: who was not at all convinced of his own guilt by Nathan's parable; though the most apposite that was imaginable, till he roundly applied it, saying, *Thou art the man.* (2 Sam. xiii. 7.) And, unless we treat ourselves at the same rate, the Scriptures may fill our heads with high notions, nay, with many speculative truths, which yet amount to no more than the devil's theology (James ii. 19.), and will as little advantage us." Lively Oracles, sect. viii. § 41.

[5] Professor Franck has given several examples of the practice here recommended, in the "Brevis Institutio," at the end of his Prælectiones Hermeneuticæ. Similar examples are also extant in the well known and useful little tract, entitled "Plain Directions for reading the Holy Scriptures," published by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

[6] Dr. Doddridge, Works, vol. i. p. 360.

[7] Oratio et meditatio conjunctione necessariâ sibi ad invicem copulantur. Et per orationem illuminatur meditatio, et in meditatione exardescit oratio. (Bernardi Opera. tom. v. p. 260. no. 2.) In p. 156. no. 56. of the same volume, Bernard has the following apposite observations on this topic:—"Nemo repente fit summus: *Ascendendo*, non volando, apprehenditur summitas scalæ. Ascendamus igitur, duobus veluti pedibus, *Meditatione* et *Oratione*. Meditatio siquidem docet, quid desit: Oratio, ne desit, obtinet. Illa viam ostendit, ista deducit. Meditatione denique agnoscimus imminentia nobis pericula: Oratione evadimus, præstante Domino Nostro Jesu Christo."

[8] The subjects briefly noticed in this paragraph, are discussed more at length by Franzius, in the preface (pp. 9—11.) to his Tractatus Theologicus de Interpretatione Scripturæ Sacræ.

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APPENDIX.

No. 1.

ON THE BOOKS COMMONLY TERMED THE APOCRYPHA.

SECTION I.

ON THE APOCRYPHAL BOOKS ATTACHED TO THE OLD TESTAMENT.

[*Referred to in p. 31. of this Volume.*]

Derivation of the term Apocrypha—Reasons why the apocryphal Books were rejected from the Canon of Scripture. I. They possess no authority whatever, to procure their admission into the sacred Canon.—II. They were not admitted into the Canon of Scripture during the first four centuries of the Christian Church.—III. They contain many things which are fabulous, and contrary to the canonical Scriptures, both in facts, doctrines, and moral practice.—IV. They contradict all other profane historians.

BESIDES the Scriptures of the Old Testament, which are universally acknowledged to be genuine and inspired writings, both by the Jewish and Christian churches, there are several other writings partly historical, partly ethical, and partly poetical, which are usually printed at the end of the Old Testament in the larger editions of the English Bible,—under the appellation of the "APOCRYPHA,"—that is, books not admitted into the sacred canon, being either spurious, or at least not acknowledged to be divine. The word Apocrypha is of Greek origin, and is either derived from the words ἀπο τῆς κρύπτης, because the books in question were removed *from the crypt*, chest, ark, or other receptacle in which the sacred books were deposited, whose authority was never doubted; or more probably, from the verb ἀποκρύπτω, to *hide or conceal*, because they were concealed from the generality of readers, their authority not being recognised by the church, and because they are books which are destitute of proper testimonials, their original being obscure, their authors unknown, and their character either heretical or suspected.[1] 1. The advocates of the church of Rome, indeed, affirm that even these are divinely inspired; but it is easy to account for this assertion: these apocryphal writings serve to countenance some of the corrupt practices of that church.

The Protestant churches not only account those books to be apocryphal, and merely human compositions, which are esteemed such by the church of Rome, as the prayer of Manasseh, the third and fourth books of Esdras, the addition at the end of Job, and the hundred and fifty-first psalm; but also the books of Tobit, Judith, the additions of the book of Esther, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch the prophet, with the epistle of Jeremiah, the Song of the Three Children, the story of Susannah, the Story of Bel and the Dragon, and the first and second books of Maccabees. The books here enumerated are unanimously rejected by Protestants for the following reasons:—

I. THEY POSSESS NO AUTHORITY WHATEVER, EITHER EXTERNAL OR INTERNAL, TO PROCURE THEIR ADMISSION INTO THE SACRED CANON.

1. *Not one of them is extant in Hebrew.*

With the exception of the fourth book of Esdras, which is only extant in Latin, they are all written in the Greek language, and for the most part by Alexandrian Jews.

2. *They were written subsequently to the cessation of the prophetic spirit, though before the promulgation of the Gospel.*[2]

In the prophecy of Malachi (iv. 4—6) it is intimated that after him the prophet should arise, until John the Baptist, the harbinger of the Messiah, should appear in the spirit and power of Elijah; and the Jews unanimously agree that the prophetic spirit ceased with Malachi. The author of the book of Wisdom *pretends* that it was written by Solomon—a pretension not only manifestly false, but which also proves that book not to have been inspired. For, in the first place, the author, whoever he was, cites many passages from Isaiah and Jeremiah, who did not prophecy till many ages *after* the time of Solomon, and consequently the book could not have been written by him; and, secondly, it represents the Israelites (Wisd. iii. 7, 8, xv. 14.) as being in subjection to their enemies: whereas we know from the sacred writings, that they enjoyed great peace and prosperity during the reign of Solomon.

3. *Not one of the writers, in direct terms, advances any claim to inspiration.*

On the contrary, so far are the authors of the apocryphal books from asserting their own inspiration, that some of them say what amounts to *an acknowledgement that they were not inspired.* Thus, in the prologue to the book of Ecclesiasticus, the son of Sirach intreats the reader to pardon any errors he may have committed in translating the works of his grandfather Jesus into Greek. In 1 Macc. iv. 46. and ix. 27. it is confessed that there was at that time no prophet in Israel; the second book of Maccabees (ii. 23.) is an avowed abridgment of five books originally written by Jason of Cyrene; and the author concludes with the following words, which are utterly unworthy of a person writing by inspiration.—*If I have done well, and as it is fitting the story, it is that which I desired; but, if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto.* (2 Macc. xv. 38.[3])

4. *The apocryphal books were never received into the sacred canon by the Jewish church, and therefore they were not sanctioned by our Saviour.*

No part of the apocrypha is quoted, or even alluded to by him or by any of his apostles; and both Philo and Josephus who flourished in the first century of the Christian æra, are totally silent concerning them.[4]

[1] Augustin, contra, Faustum. lib. xi. c. 2. De Civitate Dei, lib. xv. c. 23. § 4. The passages are given at length in Dr. Larduer's Works, vol. v. p. 90. 8vo.; vol. ii. p. 561. 4to.

[2] Such at least is the general opinion of commentators; but Moldenhawer has urged some reasons for thinking that some of the apocryphal books,—as Tobit, the fourth book of Esdras, and perhaps also the book of Wisdom,—were written *after* the birth of our Saviour, and consequently they cannot be considered as apocryphal books. His arguments are stated in Vol. I. Part. I. Chap. VIII. §§ II. III

[3] Dick's Essay on the Inspiration of the Scriptures, p. 71.

[4] The testimony of Josephus is very remarkable:—"We have not," says he, "an innumerable multitude of books among us disagreeing from and contradicting one another, but only twenty-two books, containing the records of all past times, which are justly believed to be divine. Five of them belong to Moses, which contain his laws, and the traditions concerning the origin of mankind, till his death. But as to the time from the death of Moses, till the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets who were after Moses wrote down what was done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life. Our history, indeed, has been written, since Artaxerxes, very particularly; *but it has not been esteemed of equal authority with the former by our forefathers, because there had not been an exact succession of prophets since that time.* And how firmly we have given credit to these books of our own nation, it is evident by what we do: for during so many ages as have already passed, *no one has been so bold as either to add any thing to them, to take any thing from them, or to make any change in them:* but it is become natural to all Jews, immediately and from their very birth, to esteem these books to contain divine doctrines, and to persist in them, and if it be necessary, willingly to die for them." Josephus contra Apion, lib. i. § 8. Josephus's testimony is related by Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. ix. and x.;) and it is further worthy of remark, that the most learned Romanist writers admit that the apocryphal books were never acknowledged by the Jewish Church. See particularly Huet's Demonstr. Evangelica, prop. iv. tom. i. De Libro Tobit, p. 306. De Libro Judith, p. 309. De Libris Maccabæorum, p. 460. De Canone, Librorum Sacrorum p. 473. See also Dupin's Dissertation Préliminaire ou Prolégomènes sur la Bible, pp. 85, 86. 89. 112. Amst. 1701.

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II. THE APOCRYPHAL BOOKS WERE NOT ADMITTED INTO THE CANON OF SCRIPTURE DURING THE FIRST FOUR CENTURIES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

They are not mentioned in the catalogue of inspired writings made by Melito, bishop of Sardis, who flourished in the second century,[1] nor in those of Origen,[2] in the third century, of Athanasius,[3] Hilary,[4] Cyril of Jerusalem,[5] Epiphanius,[6] Gregory Nazianzen,[7] Amphilochius,[8] Jerome,[9] Rufinus,[10] and others of the fourth century; nor in the catalogue of canonical books recognised by the council of Laodicea,[11] held in the same century, whose canons were received by the Catholic church; so that, as Bishop Burnet well observes, "we have the concurring sense of the whole church of God in this matter."[12] To this decisive evidence against the canonical authority of the apocryphal books, we may add that they were never read in the Christian church until the fourth century; when, as Jerome informs us, they were read "for example of life, and instruction of manners, but were not applied to establish any doctrine;"[13] and contemporary writers state,[14] that although they were not approved as canonical or inspired writings, yet some of them, particularly Judith, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, were allowed to be perused by catechumens. As a proof that they were not regarded as canonical in the fifth century, Augustine relates, that when the book of Wisdom was publicly read in the church it was given to the readers of inferior ecclesiastical officers, who read it in a lower place than those books which were universally acknowledged to be canonical, which were read by the bishops and presbyters in a more eminent and conspicuous manner.[15] To conclude:—Notwithstanding the veneration in which these books were held by the Western Church, it is evident that the same authority was never ascribed to them as to the Old and New Testament; until the last council of Trent, at its fourth session, presumed to place them all (excepting the prayer of Manasseh and the third and fourth books of Esdras) in the same rank with the inspired writings of Moses and the prophets.[16]

III. THE APOCRYPHAL BOOKS CONTAIN MANY THINGS WHICH ARE FABULOUS AND CONTRADICTORY TO THE CANONICAL SCRIPTURES BOTH IN FACTS, DOCTRINES, AND MORAL PRACTICE.

A few instances, out of many that might be adduced, will suffice to prove this assertion.

I. FABULOUS STATEMENTS.

(1.) Rest of chapters of Esther, x. 6. *A little fountain became a river, and there was light, and the sun, and much waters. This river is Esther, whom the king married, and made queen.* xiv. 2.

(2.) The story of Bell and the Dragon is, confessedly, a mere fiction, which contradicts the account of Daniel's being cast into the lion's den.

(3.) The stories of *water* being converted into *fire*, and *vice versa* (2 Macc. i. 19—22), and of the Tabernacle and Ark walking after Jeremiah at the prophet's command. (2 Macc. ii. 4.)

II. CONTRADICTORY STATEMENTS.

(1.) The author of the book of the Wisdom of Solomon alludes to the people of Israel as being in subjection to their enemies, which was not the case during Solomon's reign. We read, indeed, that he had enemies in the persons of Hadad, Rezon and Jeroboam (1 Kings xi. 14. 23. 25. 26), who vexed him: but we nowhere find that they reduced his people; and the schism of the ten tribes did not take place until after the death of Solomon.

(2.) Baruch is said (i. 2.) to have been carried into *Babylon*, at the very time when Jeremiah tells us (xliii. 6, 7.) that he was carried into the land of *Egypt*.

(3.) The story in 1 Esdras iii. iv., besides wanting every mark of the majesty and sanctity of the Sacred Writings, contradicts Ezra's account of the return of the Jews from Babylon under Cyrus.

(4.) The first and second books of Maccabees contradict each other: for in the former (1 Macc. vi. 4—16.) Antiochus Epiphanes is said to have died in Babylon; and in the latter he is represented, *first*, as having been slain by the priests at Nanea, in Persia (2 Macc. i. 13—16.), and *afterwards* (ix. 28.) as dying a miserable death in a *strange country among the mountains*.

(5.) In the book of Tobit, the angel that is introduced (v. 12.) as representing himself as being a kinsman of Tobit, in xii. 15. contradicts himself, by affirming that he is Raphael, one of the holy angels. The author of this book has also added to the views of God and of Providence, delineated in the Old Testament, tenets of Assyrian and Babylonian origin.

III. CONTRADICTORY DOCTRINES.

(1.) *Prayers for the Dead.*—2 Macc. xii. 43, 44. *And when he had made a gathering throughout the company, to the sum of 2000 drachms of silver, he sent it to Jerusalem to offer a sin-offering, doing therein very well and honestly: for, if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead.* This statement contradicts the whole tenor of the Sacred Writings, which nowhere enjoin or allow of prayers for the dead.

(2.) *The heathen Notion of the Transmigration of Souls*, which is equally contradictory to the Bible, is asserted in Wisd. viii. 19, 20. *For I was a witty child, and had a good spirit; yea, rather being good, I came into a body undefiled.*

(3.) *Justification by the Works of the Law* (in opposition to the Scriptures, which teach that we are justified or accounted righteous only by faith) is taught in various parts of the apocryphal books:—2 Esdras viii. 33. *The just which have many good works laid up with thee, shall out of their own deeds receive reward.* Tobit xii. 8, 9. *Prayer is good with fasting, and alms, and righteousness. . . . . Alms doth deliver from death, and shall purge away all sins. Those that exercise alms and righteousness shall be filled with life.* Ecclus. iii. 3. *Whoso honoureth the father maketh atonement for his sins.* 30. *Alms maketh an atonement for sins!* xxxv. 3. *To forsake righteousness is a propitiation.*

(4.) *Sinless perfection.* Ecclus. xiii. 24. *Riches are good unto him that hath no sin.* But what say the Scriptures? Eccles. vii 20. *There is* NOT *a just man upon earth, that doth good, and sinneth not.* Rom. iii. 23. ALL *have sinned and come short of the glory of God.* 1 John i. 8. *If we say that we have no sin we deceive ourselves, and the truth is* NOT *in us.*

IV. IMMORAL PRACTICES

Commended in the apocryphal books, which practices are prohibited in the Scriptures.

(1.) *Lying.*—The instances cited No. (5.) may also be adduced here.

(2.) A desperate act of *Suicide* (which is expressly forbidden in Exod. xx. 13. *Thou shalt* NOT *kill*) is related in 2 Macc. xiv. 41—46. as a *manful act*, and in terms of great commendation.

(3.) *Assassination*, which is equally prohibited, is commended in the book of Judith (ix. 2—9.) in the case of the Shechemites, whose base murder is justly condemned in Gen. xlix. 7.

(4.) *Magical Incantations*, which are forbidden in Lev. xix. 26. and Deut. xviii. 10, 11, 14. are introduced in Tobit vi. 16, 17. as given by the advice of an angel of God.[17]

IV. Lastly, THERE ARE PASSAGES IN THE APOCRYPHAL BOOKS, WHICH ARE SO INCONSISTENT WITH THE RELATIONS OF ALL OTHER PROFANE HISTORIANS, THAT THEY CANNOT BE ADMITTED WITHOUT MUCH GREATER EVIDENCE THAN BELONGS TO THESE BOOKS.

Thus in 1 Macc. viii. 16. it is said that the Romans "committed their government to *one man every year*, who ruled over all that country, and that all were obedient to that one, and that there was neither envy nor emulation amongst them."

Now this assertion is contradicted by *every* Roman historian without exception. The imperial government was not established until more than a century *after* the time when that book was written. In like manner, the account (in 1 Macc. i. 6, 7.) of the death of Alexander, misnamed the Great, is not supported by the historians who have recorded his last hours.

Although the Apocryphal books cannot be applied "to establish any doctrine," yet "they are highly valuable as ancient writings, which throw considerable light upon the phraseology of Scripture, and upon the history of manners of the East: and as they contain many noble sentiments and useful precepts, the Anglican church, in imitation of the primitive church of Christ, doth read them for example of life and instruction of manners."[18] On this account the reader will find an analysis of these books, in the second volume of this work, Part V. Chap. VIII.

[1] This catalogue is inserted by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, lib. iv. c. 26.

[2] Ibid. lib. vi. c. 25. p. 399.

[3] In his Festal or Paschal epistle. See the extract in Dr. Lardner's Works, vol. iv. pp. 282—285. 8vo; vol. ii. pp. 399, 400. 4to.

[4] Prolog. in Psalmos, p. 9. Paris, 1693. Lardner, vol. iv. p. 305. 8vo.; vol. ii. p. 413. 4to.

[5] In his Fourth Catechetical Exercise. Ibid. vol. iv. p. 299. 8vo.; vol. ii. p. 411. 4to.

[6] In various catalogues recited by Dr. Lardner, vol. iv. pp. 312, 313. 8vo.; vol. ii. p. 409. 4to.

[7] Carm. 33. Op. tom. ii. p. 98. Ibid. vol. iv. pp. 407, 408. 8vo.; vol. ii. p. 470. 4to.

[8] In Carmine Iambico ad Seleucum. p. 126. Ibid. p. 413. 8vo.; vol. ii. p. 473.

[9] In Præfat. ad Libr. Regum sive Prologo Galeato. Lardner, vol. v. pp. 16, 17. 8vo.; vol. ii. p. 540. 4to. and also in several of his prefaces to other books, which are given by Dr. L. pp. 18—22. 8vo.; or pp. 540—543. 4to.

[10] Expositio ad Symb. Apost. Lardner, vol. v. pp. 75, 76. 8vo.; vol. ii. p. 573. 4to.

[11] Can. 52, 60. Lardner, vol. iv. pp. 308, 309. 8vo.; vol. ii. pp. 414, 415. 4to. Besides Dr. Lardner, Bishop Cosin, in his Scholastical History of the Canon, Sir Humphrey Lynde (Via Devia or the By-way, sect. 5. pp. 256—286. London Edit. 1819), and Moldenhawer (Introd. ad Vet. Test. pp. 148—154.) have given extracts at length from the above-mentioned fathers and others, against the authority of the apocryphal books.

[12] On the Sixth Article of the Anglican Church, p. 111. 6th. edit.

[13] Præf. in Libr. Salomonis, Op. tom. i. pp. 938, 939. Lardner, vol. v p. 18. 8vo.; vol. ii. p. 573. 4to.

[14] The author of the Synopsis of Scripture attributed to Athanasius (see Lardner, vol. iv. p. 290.) and also the pretended Apostolical Canons. (Can. Ult.)

[15] Augustin. de Predest. Sanct. lib. i. c. 14. (Op. tom. vii. p. 553. col. 2. B. Antwerp. 1576.) The passage is also given in Bishop Cosin's Scholastical History of the Canon, p. 106.

[16] On this subject the reader is referred, for much curious and important information, to the Rev. G. C. Gorham's Statement submitted to the members of the Bible Society, relative to the circulation of the apocryphal books, chap. i., and his Reply to two Letters addressed to him by Dr. Leander Von Ess. (London, 1828. 8vo.)

[17] Romanism contradictory to Scripture, pp. 47, 48.

[18] It may be proper to remark, that the Anglican church does not read all the books of the apocrypha. It reads as lessons no part of either books of Esdras, or of the Maccabees, or of the additions of the book of Esther; nor does it read the prayer of Manasseh. Bp. Tomline's Elements of Christ. Theol. vol. ii. p. 199. Pfeiffer, Critica Sacra, cap. 14. (Op. tom. ii pp. 795, 799.) Moldenhawer, Introd. ad Vet. Test. pp. 145—155. Heidegger Enchirid. Biblicum. pp. 336—342. See also Bp. Marsh's Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome, pp. 78—98.

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SECTION II.

ON THE WRITINGS USUALLY CALLED THE APOCRYPHAL BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

[*Referred to in p. 88. of this Volume.*]

I. *Enumeration of these Apocryphal Writings.*—II. *External Evidence to show that they were never considered as inspired or canonical.*—III. *Internal Evidence.*—IV. *These Apocryphal Books are so far from affecting the credibility of the genuine books of the New Testament, that the latter are confirmed by them.*

I. It is not wonderful that, besides those which are admitted to be canonical books of the New Testament, there were many others which also pretended to be authentic. "Men of the best intentions might think it incumbent on them to preserve, by writing, the memory of persons, facts and doctrines, so precious in their estimation, who might at the same time be deficient in the talents and information requisite to discriminate, and duly to record the truth. The sacred writers intimate that such men had already begun, even in their time, to appear; and gave warning that others would arise, less pure in their motives. Luke says that many had taken in hand to write gospels (Luke i. 1.); Paul cautions the Galatians against other gospels than that which they had received from him (Gal. i. 6—9.): and warns the Thessalonians not to be *troubled by any letter as from him, declaring that the day of Christ is at hand*" (2 Thess. ii. 2.) In the ages following the apostles, the apocryphal writings, which were published under the names of Jesus Christ and his apostles, their companions, &c. (and which are mentioned by the writers of the first four centuries under the names of gospels, epistles, acts, revelations, &c.) greatly increased. Most of them have long since perished,[1] though some few are still extant, which have been collected (together with notices of the lost pieces) and published by John Albert Fabricius, in his *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, the best edition of which appeared at Hamburg, in 1719—1743, in three parts, forming two volumes, 8vo.[2] Of this work the Rev. and learned Mr. Jones made great use, and, in fact, translated the greater part of it in his "New and Full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament." The apocryphal books extant are, an *Epistle from Jesus Christ to Abgarus;* his Epistle, which (it is pretended) fell down from heaven at Jerusalem directed to a priest named Leopas, in the city of Eris: the constitutions of the Apostles; *The Apostles' Creed;* the *Apostolical Epistles of Barnabas, Clemens or Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp; the Gospel of the Infancy of our Saviour; the gospel of the birth of Mary; The prot-evangelion of James; the gospel of Nicodemus; the Martyrdom of Thecla* or *Acts of Paul;* Abdias's History of the Twelve Apostles; *the Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans;*[3] *the Six Epistles of Paul to Seneca, &c.* Of these various productions, those of which the titles are printed in *Italics* are comprised in the publication, intitled "*The Apocryphal New Testament, being all*[4] *the Gospels, Epistles, and other Pieces now extant, attributed in the first four centuries to Jesus Christ, his Apostles, and their companions, and not included in the New Testament by its compilers. Translated and now collected into one volume, with Prefaces and Tables, and various Notes and References.* London, 1820."—Second edition, 1821, 8vo. The writings ascribed to Barnabas, Ignatius (at least his *genuine* epistles), Polycarp, and Hermas, ought not in strictness to be considered as apocryphal, since their authors, who are usually designated, the *Apostolical Fathers*, from their having been contemporary for a longer or shorter time with the apostles of Jesus Christ, were not divinely inspired apostles. The first epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, indeed, was for a short time received as canonical in some few Christian churches, but was soon dismissed as an uninspired production; the fragment of what is called the second epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, Dr. Lardner has proved *not* to have been written by him. These productions of the apostolical fathers, therefore, have no claim to be considered as apocryphal writings.

[1] See an alphabetical catalogue of them, with references to the fathers by whom they were mentioned, in Jones on the Canon, vol. i. pp. 119—123.

[2] *Another* apocryphal book, purporting to be the Acts of the Apostle Thomas, has lately been discovered at Paris. It was published at Leipsic in 1823, by Dr. J. C. Thilo.

[3] That St. Paul did not write any epistle to the Laodiceans see Vol. II. Part VI. Chap. III. Sect. VII. § II.

[4] This is a misnomer; for *all* the apocryphal writings are not included in the publication in question.

As the external form of the New Testament[5] harmonises with that of the larger octavo editions of the authorised English Version of the New Testament, the advocates of infidelity have availed themselves of it, to attempt to undermine the credibility of the genuine books of the New Testament. The preface to the compilation, intitled "*The Apocryphal New Testament,*" is, certainly, so drawn up, as *apparently* to favour the views of the opposers of divine revelation; but as its editor has DISCLAIMED any sinister design in publishing it, the writer of these pages will not impute any such motives to him.

II. In order, however, that the reader may see HOW LITTLE the writings of the New Testament can suffer from this publication,[6] a brief statement shall be given of the very satisfactory reasons, for which the apocryphal (or rather spurious) writings ascribed to the apostles have been deservedly rejected from the canon of Scripture.

1. *In the first place, they were* NOT *acknowledged as authentic, nor were they much used, by the primitive Christians.*

There are *no* quotations of these apocryphal books in the genuine writings of the apostolic fathers, that is, of Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Hermas, whose writings reach from about the year of Christ 70 to 108; nor are they found in any ancient catalogues of the sacred books. Some of them indeed are mentioned, but not cited by Irenæus and Tertullian, who lived in the second century. Indeed the apocryphal books above mentioned are expressly, and in so many words, rejected by those who have noticed them, as the forgeries of heretics, and, consequently, as spurious and heretical.

2. *The enemies of Christianity who were accustomed to cite passages from the four gospels for the sake of perverting them, or of turning them into ridicule, have never mentioned these productions;* which we may be sure they would have done, had they known of their existence, because they would have afforded them much better opportunities than the genuine Gospels did, for indulging their malevolence.

3. *Few or none of these productions, which (it is pretended) were written in the apostolic age, were composed before the second century, and several of them were forged so late as the third century, and were rejected as spurious at the time they were attempted to be imposed upon the Christian world.*

[5] The title-page is surrounded with a broad black rule, similar to that found in many of the large 8vo. editions of the New Testament, printed in the last century, and the different books are divided into chapters and verses, with a table of contents drawn up in imitation of those which are found in all editions of the English Bible.

[6] In 1698 Mr. Toland published his *Amyntor*, in which he professed to give a catalogue of books, attributed in the primitive times to Jesus Christ, his apostles, and other eminent persons "together with remarks and observations relating to the canon of Scripture." He there raked together whatever he could find relating to the spurious gospels and pretended sacred books which appeared in the early ages of the Christian church. These he produced with great pomp, to the number of eighty and upwards; and though they were most of them evidently false and ridiculous, and carried the plainest marks of forgery and imposture, of which, no doubt, he was very sensible, yet he did what he could to represent them as of equal authority with the four gospels, and other sacred books of the New Testament, now received among Christians. To this end he took advantage of the unwary and ill-grounded hypotheses of some learned men, and endeavoured to prove that the books of the present canon lay concealed in the coffers of private persons, till the latter times of Trajan or Adrian, and were not known to the clergy or churches of those times, nor distinguished from the spurious works of the heretics; and that the scriptures, which we now receive as canonical, and others which we now reject, were indifferently and promiscuously cited and appealed to by the most ancient Christian writers. His design, in all this, manifestly, was to show, that the gospels and other sacred writings of the New Testament, now acknowledged as canonical, really deserve no greater credit, and are no more to be depended upon, than those books which are rejected and exploded as forgeries. And yet he had the confidence to pretend, in a book he afterwards published, that his intention in his Amyntor, was not to invalidate, but to illustrate and confirm the canon of the New Testament. This may serve as one instance out of many that might be produced, of the insincerity of this opposer of revelation, whose assertions have been adopted by infidels of the present day. Many good and satisfactory refutations of Toland were published at that time by Dr. Samuel Clarke, Mr. Nye, and others, and especially by the learned Mr. Jeremiah Jones in his "New and Full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament," in 2 vols. 8vo., reprinted at Oxford in 1798, in 3 vols. 8vo. From this work the following refutation of the pretensions of the apocryphal books of the New Testament has been principally derived, as well as from Dr. Lardner, who in different parts of his works has collected much curious information respecting them. The passages being too numerous to be cited at length, the reader will find them indicated in the fifth index to his works, article *Apocryphal Books. Six months* AFTER the publication of the second edition of this work, the late Rev. Thomas Rennell, who so ably distinguished himself by his powerful writings against the atheistical physiologists of this age, published "Proofs of Inspiration, or the grounds of distinction between the New Testament and the apocryphal volume, occasioned by the recent publication of the Apocryphal New Testament by Hone, London, 1822." 8vo. As the arguments produced in this learned tract are necessarily similar to those stated in the former part of this volume, as well as in the present article of this Appendix, this brief notice of Mr. R's pamphlet may suffice.

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A brief statement of the dates of the pieces contained in the *Apocryphal New Testament* (with the exception of the writings of the apostolic fathers, which are omitted for the reason already stated), will demonstrate this fact.

Thus, the pseudo-Epistles *of Abgarus* prince of Edessa, and of *Jesus Christ*, were never heard of, until published by Eusebius in the *fourth* century.[1]—Though an *Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans* was extant in the second century, and was received by Marcion the heretic, who was notorious for his mutilations and interpolations of the New Testament, yet that now extant is not the same with the ancient one under that title in Marcion's Apostolicon, or collection of apostolical epistles. It never was extant in Greek, and is a production of uncertain, but unquestionably very late, date.—Mr. Jones conjectures it to have been forged by some monk, not long before the reformation;[2] and, as is shown in page 441 and 442. *infra*, it was compiled from several passages of St. Paul's Epistles.—The *six Epistles of Paul to Seneca*, and eight of the philosopher to him, were never heard of, until they were mentioned by Jerome and Augustine, two writers who lived at the close of the *fourth* century; and who do not appear to have considered them as genuine.[3]—In the third or perhaps the second century a *Gospel of the Birth of Mary* was extant and received by several of the ancient heretics, but it underwent many alterations, and the ancient copies varied greatly from that now printed in the apocryphal New Testament which was translated by Mr. Jones from Jerome's Latin Version, first made at the close of the fourth century.[4] This gospel of the birth of Mary is for the most part the same with the *Prot-evangelion, or Gospel of James* (which, nevertheless, it contradicts in many places); and both are the production of some Hellenistic Jew. Both also were rejected by the ancient writers.—The two *Gospels of the Infancy* (the second of which bears the name of Thomas) seem to have been originally the same; but the ancient gospel of Thomas was different from those of the infancy of Christ. They were received as genuine only by the Marcosians, a branch of the sect of Gnostics, in the beginning of the *second* century; and were known to Mohammed or the compilers of the Koran, who took from them several idle traditions concerning Christ's infancy.[5]—The *Gospel of Nicodemus*, also called *the Acts of Pilate*, was *forged* at the latter end of the third or the beginning of the *fourth* century, by Leucius Charinus, who was a noted forger of the Acts of Peter, Paul, Andrew, and others of the apostles.[6]—The *Apostles' Creed* derives its name, not from the fact of its having been composed, clause by clause, by the twelve apostles (of which we have no evidence), but because it contains a brief summary of the doctrines which they taught. It is nearly the same with the creed of Jerusalem, which appears to be the most ancient summary of the Christian faith that is extant; and the articles which have been collected from the catechetical discourses of Cyril, who was Bishop of Jerusalem in the fourth century.—The *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, though ranked among the apocryphal scriptures by some of the primitive Christians (by whom several things therein related were credited), were in part the forgery of an Asiatic presbyter at the close of the first or at the beginning of the *second* century, who confessed that he had committed the fraud out of love to Paul, and was degraded from his office; and they have subsequently been interpolated.[7]

4. *When any book is cited, or seems to be appealed to, by any Christian writer, which is not expressly and in so many words rejected by him, there are other sufficient arguments to prove that he did not esteem it to be canonical.*

For instance, though Origen in one or two places takes a passage out of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, yet in another place *he rejects it*, under the name of the gospel of the twelve apostles, as a book of the heretics, and declares that the *church received only* FOUR GOSPELS.[8] Further, though several of these apocryphal books are mentioned by Clement of Alexandria as well as by Origen, yet Clement never does it as attributing any authority to them, and sometimes he notices them with expressions of disapprobation. In like manner, though Eusebius mentions some of them, he says that they were of little or no value, and that they were never received by the sounder part of Christians. Athanasius, without naming any of them, passes a severe censure upon them in general; and Jerome speaks of them with dislike and censure.

5. *Sometimes the Fathers made use of the apocryphal books to show their learning, or that the heretics might not charge them with partiality and ignorance, as being acquainted only with their own books.*

Remarkable to this purpose are those words of Origen:[9]—"The church receives only four Gospels, the heretics have many; such as that of the Egyptians, Thomas, &c. These we read that we may not be esteemed ignorant, and by reason of those who imagine they know something extraordinary, if they know the things contained in these books." To the same purpose says Ambrose;[10] having mentioned several of the apocryphal books, he adds, "We read these, that they may not be read (by others); we read them, that we may not seem ignorant; we read them, not that we may receive them, but reject them and may know what those things are of which they (heretics) make such boasting."

6. Sometimes, perhaps, these books may be cited by the Fathers, because the persons against whom they were writing received them, being willing to dispute with them upon principles out of their own books.

7. It may, perhaps, be true, that one or two writers have cited a few passages out of these books, because the fact they cited was not to be found in any other.

St. John tells us (xxi. 25.) that *our Lord did many other things besides those which he had recorded: the which*, says he, *if they should be written every one, I suppose the world itself could not contain the books which should be written.* Some accounts of these actions and discourses of Christ were unquestionably preserved, and handed down to the second century, or farther, by tradition, which though inserted afterwards into the books of the heretics, may be easily supposed to have been cited by some later writers, though at the same time they esteemed the books which contained them uninspired, and not of the canon. This was the case with respect to Jerome's citing the Hebrew Gospel, which he certainly looked upon as spurious and apocryphal.

III. The INTERNAL EVIDENCE for the spuriousness of these productions is much stronger than the external evidence: for, independently of the total absence of all those criteria of genuineness, which (it has been shown in the preceding part of this volume) are clearly to be seen in the canonical books, it is evident that the apocryphal productions, ascribed to the apostles, are utterly unworthy of notice; for, 1. They either propose or support some doctrine or practice contrary to those which are certainly known to be true;—2. They are filled with absurd, unimportant, impertinent, and frivolous details;—3. They relate both useless and improbable miracles;—4. They mention things, which are later than the time when the author lived, whose name the book bears;—5. Their style is totally different from that of the genuine books of the New Testament;—6. They contain direct contradictions to authentic history, both sacred and profane;—7. They are studied imitations of various passages in the genuine Scriptures, both to conceal the fraud and to allure readers; and, 8. They contain gross falsehoods, utterly repugnant to the character, principles, and conduct of the inspired writers.

1. *The apocryphal books either propose or support some doctrine or practice contrary to those which are certainly known to be true, and appear designed to obviate some heresy, which had its origin subsequent to the apostolic age.*

One of the doctrines, which these spurious writings were intended to establish, was, the *sanctity of relics*. As a striking proof of this we are told in the *first* Gospel of the Infancy, that when the Eastern magi had come from the East to *Jerusalem*, according to the prophecy of Zoradascht, and had made their offerings, *the lady Mary took one of his swaddling clothes in which the infant was wrapped, and gave it to them instead of a blessing, which they received from her as a most noble present.*[11] As bandages, of a similar nature and efficacy, were preserved in some churches with the most superstitious reverence, the purpose for which the above was written was obvious.

"The corrupt doctrines relative to the Virgin Mary form an essential part in the scheme of some of these designers. Those who believed, or affected to believe, that the Virgin was exalted into heaven, who adopted the notion of her immaculate conception, and her power of working miracles, found but little countenance for their absurdities in the genuine Gospels. It was a task too hard for them to defend such tenets against their adversaries, while the canonical books were the only authority they could appeal to. Hence a Gospel was written *De Nativitate Mariæ* (the Gospel of the birth of Mary),[12] in which her birth is foretold by angels, and herself represented as always under the peculiar protection of Heaven. Hence in the Gospel attributed to James, which assumed the name of Prot-Evangelium, as claiming the superiority over every other, whether canonical or apocryphal, the fact of the immaculate conception is supported by such a miracle, as to leave no doubt upon the most incredulous mind. Hence, too, in the *Evangelium Infantiæ*, or Gospel of the Infancy, the Virgin, who is simply said by St. Matthew to have gone

[1] See Jones on the Canon, vol. ii. pp. 11, 12.
[2] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 37—49.
[3] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 130—146.
[4] Ibid. vol. i. pp. 226—234.
[5] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 342—345. vol. i. pp. 236—251.
[6] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 393—397.
[7] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 50—68.
[8] Origen, Comment. in Matt. iib. i. in Eusebius's Eccles. Hist. lib. vi. c. 25., and in Philocal. c. 5.
[9] Legimus, ne quid ignorare videremur, propter eos qui se putant aliquid scire, si ista cognoverint. Hieron. in Eccl. i. 1.
[10] Legimus, ne legantur; legimus, ne ignoremus; legimus non ut teneamus, sed ut repudiemus, et ut sciamus qualia sint in quibus magnifici inter cor exultant suum. Comment. in Luc. i. 1.
[11] Infancy, iii. 2. Apoc. New Test. pp. 2, 3. It may be proper to state that the translations of the spurious gospels, acts, and epistles, contained in the publication here cited, are taken, *without* acknowledgment from Mr Jones's New Method of settling the Canon, though divided into chapters (which are different from his), and also into *verses*, in imitation of the editions of the genuine New Testament. The translation of the epistles of the apostolic fathers (which form no part of our inquiry) is acknowledged to be that of Archbishop Wake; and is divided into verses in a similar manner.
[12] Apoc. New Test. p. 1—8.

into Egypt, is represented as making her progress more like a divinity than a mortal, performing, by the assistance of her infant Son, a variety of miracles,[1] such as might intitle her, in the minds of the blind and bigotted, to divine honours."[2]

In further corroboration of the design of exalting the Virgin Mary, she is sometimes made *to work miracles herself*, is almost always made the instrument or means of working them, and the person applied to, and receiving the praise of the work, while Joseph stands by as an unconcerned spectator, and is never mentioned. But what is most remarkable, is, that she is canonised, and called always (not only by the author of the Gospel, but by those who were perfect strangers to her before in Egypt, and elsewhere) *diva Maria* and *diva sancta Maria;* which we know not how better to translate, than in the language of her worshippers, the *Lady St. Mary*. And aged Simeon in his prayer, which is here chap. ii. v. 25.[3] and recorded in Luke ii. 28—34. is introduced as stretching out his hands towards her, as though he worshipped her. But of all this the first ages were ignorant; nor in the first centuries after Christ do we find any thing of this prodigious deference to the Virgin: this was an invention of later ages, and was not heard of in the church before the fourth or fifth century, nor was it so common as this book supposes till some centuries after.

2. Whoever has perused with *candour and attention* the memoirs of the four evangelists, cannot but be struck with the natural and harmless manner in which they relate every fact. They never stop to think how this or that occurrence may be set off to most advantage, or how any thing unfavourable to themselves may be palliated. Nothing ludicrous, no impertinent or trifling circumstances are recorded by them. Every thing, on the contrary, proves that they derived the facts which they have related from infallible and indisputable sources of information. Far different was the conduct of the compilers of the apocryphal gospels. The *unimportant, impertinent, and frivolous details* with which their pages are filled, plainly prove that they were not possessed of any real and authentic information upon the subject, which they undertake to elucidate: and clearly invalidate their pretensions as eye-witnesses of the transactions which attended the introduction of the religion of Jesus Christ.

Thus, in the pseudo-gospel of the Birth of Mary,[4] we have an idle tale of Christ's ascending the stairs of the temple by a miracle at three years of age, and of angels ministering to Mary in her infancy.[5] So in the prot-evangelion ascribed to James the Less,[6] we are presented with a dull and silly dialogue, between the mother of Mary and her waiting-maid Judith, and with another equally impertinent, between the parents of Mary.[7] We have also in the same performance an account of Mary being fed by angels,[8] and a grave consultation of priests concerning the making of a veil for the temple.[9] The pseudo-gospel of the Infancy, and that ascribed to the apostle Thomas, present childish relations of our Saviour's infancy and education, of *vindictive* and *mischievous* miracles wrought by him, of his learning the alphabet, &c. &c.[10]

3. In the pseudo-gospels of Mary, of the Infancy, and of Thomas (which have been already cited), *numerous miracles are ascribed to the mother of Jesus, or to himself in his infancy, which are both* USELESS *and* IMPROBABLE.

The proper effect and design of a miracle is to mark clearly the divine interposition; and as we have already seen, in the manner and circumstance of such interference must be marked with a dignity and solemnity befitting the more immediate presence of the Almighty. When, therefore, we observe any miraculous acts attributed to persons, not exercising such a commission, performed upon frivolous or improper occasions, or marked by any circumstance of levity or inanity, we conclude that the report of such miracles is unworthy our attention, and that the reporters of them are to be suspected of gross error or intentional deceit. Thus we smile with contempt, at the prodigies of a writer, who gravely relates, as a stupendous miracle, that a child, at the age of three years, ascended without assistance the steps of the temple at Jerusalem, which were half a cubit each in height.[12] In the same Gospel, in supposed accommodation to a prophecy of Isaiah, which is most grossly misinterpreted, a declaration from heaven is alleged to have taken place in favour of Joseph the reputed father of Jesus, similar to that which, upon the strongest grounds, we believe to have been made in honour of Jesus at his baptism. The bandage which was mentioned in p. 438, as having been presented by Mary to the magi, is, of course, represented as the instrument of a miracle, being cast into a fire, yet not consumed. In another of these ingenious productions, when Elizabeth wished to shelter her infant son from the persecution of Herod, she is said to have been thus wonderfully preserved:—*Elizabeth also hearing that her son John was about to be searched for, took him and went up into the mountains, and looked around for a place to hide him, and there was no secret place to be found. Then she groaned within herself, and said, 'O mountain of the Lord, receive the mother with the child.' For Elizabeth could not climb up. And instantly the mountain was divided and received them. And there appeared an angel of the Lord to preserve them.*"[13] Various miracles are said to be wrought both by Mary and her son, particularly by the latter, who is represented as employing his powers to assist Joseph in his trade (he being but a bungling carpenter), especially when he had made articles of furniture of wrong dimensions.[14] The various silly miracles attributed to the apostles throughout these writings, are so many arguments to prove that the compilations containing them are apocryphal,—or more correctly, spurious; and that they are either the productions of the weak est of men, who were fondly credulous of every report, and had not discretion enough to distinguish between sense and nonsense, or between that which was credible and that which was utterly unworthy of credit: or else that these compilations are the artful contrivance of some who were more zealous than honest, and who thought by these strange stories to gain credit to their new religion.

4. *Things are mentioned, which are later than the time in which the author lived, whose name the book bears.*

Thus the epistle under the name of our Saviour to Abgarus[15] is manifestly a forgery, for it relates *that to have been done by Christ which could not possibly have been done till a considerable time after Christ's ascension.* Thus, in the beginning of the epistle a *passage is cited out of St. John's Gospel*, which was not written till a considerable time after our Lord's ascension: the words are, *Abgarus, you are happy, forasmuch as you have believed on me whom you have not seen;* for it is written concerning me, *That those who have seen me should not believe on me, that they who have not seen might believe and live.* This is a manifest allusion to those words of our Saviour to Thomas (John xx. 29.), *Blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed.* Here indeed that which the epistle says is written concerning Christ, but in no other passage of the New Testament. The same proof of forgery occurs in the Gospel of Nicodemus,[16] in which the Jews style Pilate, *your highness*,—a title which was not known to the Jews or used among them at that time;—in the story of Christ going down into hell to recover and bring thence the patriarchs;[17]—in the profound veneration paid to the sign of the cross, particularly the practice of signing with the sign of the cross, which is here said to be done by Charinus and Lenthius,[18] before they enter upon their relation of the divine mysteries:—and in Christ's making the sign of the cross upon Adam and upon all the saints in hell[19] before he delivered them from that state. It is to be observed that the practice of signing with the cross, though very common in the fourth and following centuries, was not at all known till towards the end of the second century, when it was mentioned by Tertullian. Similar anachronisms are pointed out by Mr. Jones in various parts of his New Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament, to which want of room compels us necessarily to refer the reader. See also § 1. p. 353. *supra*, for some additional instances of anachronism.

5. *The style of the authors of the New Testament, we have already seen,*[20] *is an indisputable proof of its authenticity. Whereas the style of the pseudo-evangelical compilations is totally different from, or contrary to, that of the genuine writings of the author or authors whose names they bear. Every page of the apocryphal New Testament confirms this remark; but especially the pretended gospel of Nicodemus, and the epistles of Paul to Seneca.*

[1] Infancy, v. vi. Apoc. New. Test. pp. 25—28.
[2] Maltby's Illustrations of the Truth of the Christian Religion, p. 40.
[3] Apoc. New Test. p. 23.
[4] Ch. iv. 6. Apoc. New Test. p. 4.
[5] Ibid. v. 2.
[6] Prot-evangelion, ii. 2—6. Apoc. New Test. p. 9.
[7] Ibid. vii. 2—4. p. 11.
[8] Ibid. viii. 2. p. 12.
[9] Ibid. ix. 1—4. p. 13.
[10] Apoc. New Test. pp. 21—43. Mr. Jones has given a list of thirty-two trifling and absurd stories, which are found in the pseudo-gospels of the Infancy, *different from the above*. On the Canon, vol. ii. pp. 246—249. and pp 152, 153. he has given *twelve* others from the prot-evangelion, and the Gospel of Mary. See also pp. 347. 404—406. 454.
[11] See pp. 95. 98. *supra*.
[12] Gospel of Mary, iv. 6. Apoc. New Test. p. 4. v. 13—17. Ibid. p. 5.
[13] Prot-evangelion, xvi. 3—8. Apoc. New Test. p. 19.
[14] And Joseph, wheresoever he went in the city, took the Lord Jesus with him, where he was sent for to work, to make gates or milk-pails, or sieves, or boxes; the Lord Jesus was with him, wheresoever he went. And as often as Joseph had any thing in his work to make longer or shorter, or wider or narrower, the Lord Jesus would stretch his hand towards it, and presently it became as Joseph would have it; so that he had no need to finish any thing with his own hands, for he was not very skilful at his carpenter's trade. On a certain time the king of Jerusalem sent for him and said, 'I would have thee make me a throne, of the same dimensions with that place in which I commonly sit.' Joseph obeyed, and forthwith began the work, and continued two years in the king's palace, before he finished it. And when he came to fix it in its place, he found it wanted two spans on each side of the appointed measure. Which when the king saw, he was very angry with Joseph; and Joseph, afraid of the king's anger, went to bed without his supper, taking not any thing to eat. Then the Lord Jesus asked him, 'What he was afraid of?' Joseph replied, 'Because I have lost my labour in the work which I have been about these two years.' Jesus said to him, 'Fear not, neither be cast down; do thou lay hold on one side of the throne, and I will the other, and we will bring it to its just dimensions.' And when Joseph had done as the Lord Jesus said, and each of them had with strength drawn his side, the throne obeyed and was brought to the proper dimensions of the place: which miracle, when they who stood by saw, they were astonished, and praised God. The throne was made of the same wood which was in being in Solomon's time, viz. wood adorned with various shapes and figures." 1 Infancy xvi. (xxxviii xxxix. of the chapters adopted by Jones and other writers). Apoc. N. T. p. 36
[15] Apoc. New Test. p. 44.
[16] Nicodemus i. 7. Ibid. p. 45
[17] Ibid. xvii.—xix. pp. 65—67.
[18] Ibid. xii. 24. p. 61.
[19] Ibid. xix. 11.
[20] See pp. 48, 49. *supra*.

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(1.) *The names* given in the pseudo-gospel of Nicodemus to those who are represented as being Jews, *are not Jewish, but either Greek, Roman, or of other foreign countries.* Such are the names of Summas, Datam, Alexander, Cyrus,[1] Asterius, Antonius, Carus or Cyrus, Crippas or Crispus,[2] Charinus, and Lentihius,[3] which evidently indicate imposture. Further, the Gospel of Nicodemus is not extant in Greek: that which is now extant is evidently a translation into very bald and barbarous Latin.[4]

(2.) Nothing can be more unlike the known style of the confessedly genuine epistles, than is the style of the spurious epistles bearing the names of Paul and Seneca, in the apocryphal New Testament.[5] This is so obvious to every one who is at all acquainted with those two writers, that it is unnecessary to multiply examples. The epistles attributed to Paul have not the least vestige of his gravity, but are rather compliments and instructions. Further, the *subscriptions* of the letters are very unlike those used by the supposed authors in their genuine epistles. Thus, in the first epistle of Seneca, the subscription is, *Bene te valere, frater, cupio*, I wish your welfare, *my brother*,[6]—which was an appellation exclusively in use among Christians. And in Paul's fifth epistle to Seneca, he concludes with, *Vale, devotissime magister,—Farewell, most respected master*;[7] which is not only contradictory to Paul's usual mode of concluding his letters, but also most barbarous Latinity, such as did not exist in the Roman language till several hundred years after the time of Paul and Seneca.

6. *The apocryphal books ascribed to the apostles and evangelists contain direct contradictions to authentic history both sacred and profane.*

Thus, in the beginning of the epistle of Abgarus,[8] that monarch is made to confess his faith in Christ as God, and as the Son of God; in the latter part he invites Christ to dwell with him in his city, because of the malice of the Jews, who intended him mischief. Now this is a plain contradiction; for had he really thought him God, he must certainly think him possessed of Almighty power, and consequently to be in no need of the protection of his city. This seems to be as clear a demonstration as subjects of this sort are capable of receiving; nor are we aware of any objection that can be made, unless it be that Peter, who had confessed him to be the Son of God (Matt. xvi. 16.), yet when he came to be apprehended thought it necessary to interpose with human force to attempt his rescue. (Matt. xxvi. 51. compared with John xviii. 10.) To which it is easy to answer, that whatever opinion Peter, or indeed any of the apostles, had of Christ before this time, they seem now to have changed it, and by the prospects of his danger and death to have grown cool in their opinion of his Almighty power, else they would never all have forsaken him at his crucifixion, as they did. But nothing of this can be supposed in the case of Abgarus, who cannot be imagined to have altered his sentiments in the interval of writing so short an epistle.

Again, *several parts of the above-cited letters, which profess to be addressed to Seneca, suppose Paul to have been, at the time of writing, at Rome: whereas others imply the contrary.* That he was then at Rome is implied in the first words of the first letter, in which Seneca tells Paul, that he supposed he had been told the discourse that passed the day before between him and Lucilius by some Christians who were present: as also in the first words of Paul's Epistle, and that part of Seneca's second, where he tells him, He would endeavour to introduce him to Cæsar, and that he would confer with him, and read over together some parts of his writings; and in that part of Paul's second, where he hopes for Seneca's company, and in several other places. But, on the other hand, several parts of the letters suppose Paul not at Rome, as where Seneca (Epist. iii.) complains of his staying so long away, and both Paul and Seneca are made to date their letters, when such and such persons were consuls: see Paul's fifth and sixth, and Seneca's sixth, seventh, and eighth epistles. Now, had they *both* been in the same city, nothing can be more unreasonable than to suppose that they would have dated thus: what need could there be to inform each other who were consuls? Paul, therefore, is supposed to be and not to be at Rome at the same time, which is a manifest contradiction. Besides this contradiction, the very dating of their letters by consulships seems to be no small evidence of their spuriousness, because it was a thing utterly unknown that any person ever did so; nor does one such instance occur in the epistles of Seneca, Cicero, or any other writer. To which we may add, that, in these letters, there are *several mistakes* in the names of the consuls who are mentioned; which clearly prove that these epistles could not have been written by Paul and Seneca. Another circumstance which proves the epistles ascribed to the Apostle to be a gross forgery, is that the latter is introduced as intreating Seneca not to venture to say any thing more concerning him or the Christian religion to Nero, lest he should offend him.[9] Now it is utterly improbable that Paul would obstruct Seneca in his intentions of recommending Christianity to the emperor Nero; and it is directly contrary to his known and constant zeal and endeavours for its propagation. Would he not rather have rejoiced in so probable an opportunity of spreading the knowledge of Christ, and by the means of one so near to, and so much in favour with, the emperor, have procured the liberty for himself and the other Christian converts of exercising their religion freely? To imagine the contrary is to suppose the Apostle at once defective in his regards to himself and the whole body of Christians, and acting in direct contradiction to the whole of his conduct, and zealous endeavours to advance the interests of Christianity. But, besides, it has happened here, as commonly in such cases: want of memory betrays the forgery. Although the author, so unlike Paul, in this place wishes not to discover the Christian religion to the emperor, yet in another epistle, viz. the sixth of Paul, he is made to advise Seneca to take convenient opportunities of insinuating the Christian religion and things in favour of it, to Nero and his family; than which nothing can be a more manifest contradiction.

Similar gross and glaring contradictions occur in the Gospel of Nicodemus. To instance only one or two, which are very notorious. In chap. ii. 14,[10] the twelve men, Eliezer, Asterius, Antonius, &c. declare themselves to be no proselytes, but born Jews; when Pilate tendered them an oath, and would have had them swear by the life of Cæsar, they refused, because, they say, we have a law that forbids our swearing, and makes it sinful to swear; yet, in ch. iv. 7. the elders, scribes, priests, and Levites are brought in swearing by the life of Cæsar without any scruple;[11] and in ch. ii. 23.[12] they make others, who were Jews, swear by the God of Israel; and Pilate gives an oath to a whole assembly of the scribes, chief priests, &c. ch. xiii. 2.[13] This seems a manifest contradiction. Another is, that in ch. xi. 15.[14] Pilate is introduced as making a speech to the Jews, in which he gives a true and just abstract of the Old Testament history relating to the Israelites, viz. what God had done for them, and how they had behaved themselves to him. Whereas the same Pilate, ch. xiii. 2.[15] is made to be perfectly ignorant of the Bible, and only to have heard by report that there was such a book; nor can it be said, that Pilate here only refers to the Bible kept in the temple; for the manner of speech shows he was ignorant of the contents of the book: I have heard you have a certain book, &c. and this is in itself very probable.

Further, this book contains many things contrary to known truths. Such indeed is the whole of it, besides what is taken out of our present genuine Gospels. Who, for instance, will credit the long story, ch. xv.—xviii.[16] of Christ's going down to hell, and all the romantic fabulous relations of what happened in consequence of it? Who will believe that Christ there signed Adam and the Patriarchs with the sign of the cross, and that all the holy Patriarchs were in hell till that time? &c. Besides, in other places there are notorious falsehoods; as that is, to make the Jews understand our Saviour as saying, that he would destroy Solomon's temple, ch. iv. 4.[17], which they could not but know had been destroyed several hundred years before. To make the name Centurio to be the proper name of a man who came to Christ, when it is certain it was the name of his post or office, &c. To make the words of Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 55., *O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?* to be the words of Isaiah, ch. xxi.; and to make Simeon (ch. xvi. and xvii.) to be a high priest, which it is certain he was not.

7. *The striking contrast between truth and falsehood is naturally heightened, when those passages come under consideration which are borrowed from the genuine Scriptures, and, with more or less deviation from the original, adapted to the purposes of the apocryphal writers.*[18]

Thus, the simple fact contained in Matt. i. 19. is expanded through a chapter and a half of the prot-evangelion.[19] Again, the plain narrative of Luke ii. 16. is not thought sufficient for the great event, which was just before related, and accordingly it is thus improved in the Gospel of the Infancy:—"After this, when the shepherds came, and had made a fire, and they were exceedingly rejoicing, the heavenly host appeared to them, praising and adoring the supreme God; and as the shepherds were engaged in the same employment, the cave at that time seemed like a glorious temple, because both the tongues of angels and men united to adore and magnify God, on account of the birth of the Lord Christ. But when the old Hebrew woman saw all these evident miracles, she gave praises to God, and said, *I thank thee O God, thou God of Israel, for that mine eyes have seen the birth of the Saviour of the world.*"[20] The short and interesting account which is given by the genuine evangelist at the end of the same chapter, is considered, by the author of a spurious Gospel, as by no means adequate to the great dignity of our Saviour's character, nor calculated to satisfy the just curiosity of pious Christians. We are therefore informed, that Jesus in his conference with the doctors in the temple, after explaining the books of the law, and unfolding the mysteries contained in the prophetical writings, exhibited a knowledge no less profound of astronomy, medicine, and natural history.[21] Hence, too,

[1] Nicodemus i. 1. Apoc. New Test. p. 45. [2] Ibid. ii. 12. p. 47.
[3] Ibid. xii. 24. xxi. pp. 61. 69. [4] Jones on the Canon, vol. ii. p. 352.
[5] Apoc. New Test. pp. 74—78. [6] Ibid. p. 75. [7] Ibid. p. 77.
Ibid p. 44. [8] Epist. viii. Apoc. New Test. p. 76.

[10] Apoc. New Test. p. 48. [11] Ibid. p. 49. [12] Ibid. p. 61.
[13] Ibid. p. 70. [14] Ibid. p. 53. [15] Ibid. pp. 69, 70. [16] Ibid. pp. 63—68.
[17] Ibid. p. 49. [18] Bp. Maltby's Illustration, pp. 48, 49.
[19] Ch. xiii. xiv. of the edition of Fabricius, but x. xi. of the Apoc. N. T. pp. 14, 15.
[20] Infancy, l. 19—21. (iv. of Fabricius's edition). Apoc. New Tes. p. 22.
[21] Gospel of the Infancy (li. lii. of Fabricius), xx. xxi. of Apoc. New Testament. pp. 39—41. The latter part is so curious, and forms such a contrast to the sober narrative of the sacred historians, and indeed of all serious history, that we cannot resist the temptation of transcribing it. "When a certain astronomer who was present asked the Lord Jesus, 'Whether he had studied astronomy?' The Lord Jesus replied, and told him the number of the spheres and heavenly bodies, and also their triangular, square, and sextile aspect; their progressive and retrograde motion; their size, and several prognostications; and other things, which the reason of man had never discovered. There was also among them a philosopher well skilled in physic and natural philosophy, who asked the Lord Jesus 'Whether he had studied physic?' He replied, and explained to him physics and metaphysics, also those things which were above and below the power of nature; the powers also of the body, its humours, and their effects; also the number of its members, and bones, veins, arteries, and nerves; the several constitutions of body, hot and dry, cold and moist, and

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in the Gospel attributed to Nicodemus, the particulars of our Saviour's trial are enumerated most fully, the testimony of the witnesses both for and against him is given at large, and the expostulations of Pilate with the Jews are recorded with a minuteness equal to their imagined importance. And as, in the genuine history of these transactions, the Roman governor is reported to have put a question of considerable moment, to which our Saviour vouchsafed no answer, or the evangelists have failed to record it, these falsifiers have thought proper to supply so essential a defect. "Pilate saith unto him, *What is truth?* Jesus said, *Truth is from heaven.* Pilate said, *Therefore truth is not on earth?* Jesus saith unto Pilate, *Believe that truth is on earth, among those who, when they have the power of judgment, are governed by truth, and form right judgment.*"[1]

In the prot-evangelion, there are not fewer than *twelve* circumstances stolen from the canonical books, and in the Gospel of the birth of Mary *six* circumstances;[2] and by far the greater part of the pretended Gospel of Nicodemus is transcribed and stolen from other books. Nothing can be more evident to any one who is acquainted with the sacred books, and has read this Gospel, than that a great part of it is borrowed and stolen from them. Every such person must perceive, that the greatest part of the history of our Saviour's trial is taken out of our present Gospels, not only because it is a relation of the same facts and circumstances, but also in the very same words and order for the most part; and though this may be supposed to have happened accidentally, yet it is next to impossible to suppose a constant likeness of expression, not only to one, but sometimes to one, and sometimes to another of our evangelists. In short, the author seems to have designed a sort of abstract or compendium of all which he found most considerable to his purpose in our four Gospels; though he has but awkwardly enough put it together.[3]

But the most flagrant instance, perhaps, of fraudulent copying from the canonical books, is to be found in the pretended epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans, almost every verse of which is taken from the great apostle's genuine writings, as will appear from the following collation, which is taken from Mr. Jones's work on the Canon,[4] whose translation is reprinted without acknowledgment in the Apocryphal New Testament.[5]

The Epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans.	*The places in St. Paul's genuine Epistles, especially that to the Philippians, out of which this to the Laodiceans was compiled.*
1. Paul an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, to the brethren which are at Laodicea.	1. Galat. i. 1. Paul an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, &c.
2. Grace be to you, and peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.	2. Galat. i. 3. Grace be to you, and peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ. See the same also, Rom. i. 7. 1 Cor. i. 3. 2 Cor. i. 2. Eph. i. 2. Phil. i. 2. Col. i. 2. 1 Thess. i. 2. 2 Thess. i. 2.
3. I thank Christ in every prayer of mine, that ye continue and persevere in good works, looking for that which is promised in the day of judgment.	3. Phil. i. 3. I thank my God upon every remembrance of you, for your fellowship in the Gospel, from the first day until now, &c.
4. Let not the vain speeches of any trouble you, who pervert the truth, that they may draw you aside from the truth of the Gospel which I have preached.	4. Galat. i. 7. There be some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gospel of Christ, &c.
5. And now may God grant, that my converts may attain to a perfect knowledge of the truth of the Gospel, be beneficent, and doing good works which accompany salvation.	
6. And now my bonds, which I suffer in Christ are manifest, in which I rejoice, and am glad.	6. Phil. i. 13. My bonds in Christ are manifest.
7. For I know that this shall turn to my salvation for ever, which shall be through your prayer, and the supply of the Holy Spirit.	7. Phil. i. 19. For I know that this shall turn to my salvation through your prayer, and the supply of the Spirit.
8. Whether I live or die; (for) to me to live shall be a life to Christ, to die will be joy.	8. Phil. i. 20. 21. Whether it be by life or death, for me to live is Christ, to die is gain.
9. And our Lord will grant us his mercy, that ye may have the same love, and be like minded.	9. Phil. ii. 2. That he be like-minded, having the same love.
10. Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have heard of the coming of the Lord, so think and act in fear, and it shall be to you life eternal;	10. Phil. ii. 12. Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have always obeyed, &c. work out your salvation with fear;
11. For it is God, who worketh in you;	11. Phil. ii. 13. For it is God who worketh in you.
12. And do all things without sin.	12. Phil. ii. 14. Do all things without murmuring, &c. ver. 15. that ye may be blameless.
13. And what is best, my beloved, rejoice in the Lord Jesus Christ, and avoid all filthy lucre.	13. Phil. iii. 1. Finally, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord.
14. Let all your requests be made known to God, and be steady in the doctrine of Christ.	14. Phil. iv. 6. Let your requests be made known unto God.
15. And whatsoever things are sound, and true, and of good report, and chaste, and just, and lovely, these things do.	15. Phil. iv. 8. Whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, &c.
16. Those things which ye have heard, and received, think on these things, and peace shall be with you.	16. Phil. iv. 9. Those things which ye have both learned and received, and heard and seen,—do, and the God of peace shall be with you.
17. All the saints salute you.	17. Phil. iv. 22. All the saints salute you.
18. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit. Amen.	18. Galat. vi. 18. The grace of our Lord Jesus be with your spirit. Amen.
19. Cause this epistle to be read to the Colossians, and the Epistle of the Colossians to be read among you.	19. Col. iv. 16. And when this Epistle is read amongst you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans, and that ye likewise read the Epistle from Laodicea.

8. *Lastly, as the credibility of the genuine books of the New Testament is established by the accounts of countries, governors, princes, people, &c. therein contained, being confirmed by the relations of contemporary writers, both friends and enemies to Christians and Christianity (and especially by the relations of hostile writers); so the spuriousness of the pseudo-evangelical writings is demonstrated by their containing* GROSS FALSEHOODS, *and statements which are contradicted by the narratives of those writers who were contemporary with the supposed authors of them.*

Thus, in the fourth of Seneca's epistles to Paul,[6] we read that *the emperor* (Nero) *was delighted and surprised at the thoughts and sentiments in Paul's epistle to the Churches;* and in the fourth of Paul's epistle to the philosopher,[7] that the *emperor is both an admirer and favourer* of Christianity. These assertions are notoriously *false*, and contrary to the unanimous relations of heathen and Christian writers concerning Nero and his regard to the Christians. The Gospel of Mary contains at least two gross falsehoods and contradictions to historical fact; and not fewer than seven equally glaring instances exist in the pseudo-gospel or prot-evangelion of James;[8] six others occur in the two gospels of Christ's infancy,[9] which relate things notoriously contrary to the benevolent design of Christ's miracles, and to his pure and holy doctrine, which prohibited revenge, and promoted universal charity and love. Lastly, for it would exceed the limits of this article (already perhaps too much extended) to specify all the absurd falsehoods contained in the spurious writings which we have been considering;—the Acts of Paul and Thecla directly falsify the doctrines and practice of the Apostle, concerning the *unlawfulness* of marriage, (which he is here said to have taught, though the reverse is evident to the most cursory reader of his epistle); and concerning the *preaching of women*:—Thecla being said to be commissioned by him to preach the gospel, though it was not only contrary to the practice of both Jews and Gentiles, but also to St. Paul's positive commands in his genuine epistles.[10] But what proves the utter spuriousness of these Acts of Paul and Thecla,—if any further proof were wanting,—is the fact that Paul, whose life and writings bespeak him to have been a man of unimpeachable veracity, is introduced in them as uttering a wilful and deliberate *lie*. That he is so introduced is evident; for after an intimate acquaintance between Paul and Thecla,[11] and their having taken a journey together to Antioch,[12] he is presently made to deny her, and to tell Alexander, I know not the woman of whom you speak, nor does she belong to me. But how contrary this is to the known and true character of St. Paul every one must see. He, who so boldly stood up for the defence of the Gospel against all sorts of opposition, who hazarded and suffered all things for the sake of God and a good conscience, which he endeavoured to keep void of offence towards God and man, most unquestionably never would so easily have been betrayed to so gross a crime, as to make a sacrifice of the credit of his profession, and the peace of his conscience, at once upon so slight a temptation and provocation. Nor will it be of any force to object here, that in the received Scriptures

the tendencies of them: how the soul operated upon the body; what its various sensations and faculties were: the faculty of speaking, anger, desire; and, lastly, the manner of its composition and dissolution; and other things, which the understanding of no creature had ever reached. Then that philosopher arose, and worshipped the Lord Jesus, and said, 'O Lord Jesus, from henceforth I will be thy disciple and servant.'"

[1] Gospel of Nicodemus iii. 11—14. Apoc. New Test. p. 48.

[2] They are enumerated by Mr. Jones, on the Canon, vol. ii. pp. 153—156.

[3] See Jones on the Canon, vol. ii. pp. 349, 350, where the above remark is confirmed by many examples.

[4] Vol. ii. pp. 33—35.

[5] Apoc. New Test. pp. 73, 74.

[6] Epist. viii. in Apoc. New Test. p. 76.

[7] Apoc. New Test. p. 76. epist. ix.

[8] See them specified, and the falsehoods detected, in Jones on the Canon, vol. ii. pp. 147—151.

[9] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 249—251.

[10] Jones on the Canon, vol. ii. pp. 400—402.

[11] Ch. xiv. xvii.—ii. vi. of Apoc. New Test. pp. 80. 84

[12] Ch. xix.—vii. 3. of Apoc. New Test. p. 94.

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Abraham is said twice to have denied his wife, viz. Gen. xii. 19. and xx. 2. &c.; as also Isaac is said to have denied his, Gen. xxvi. 7, &c.; and in the New Testament that Peter denied his Master, and declared he did not know him, Matt. xxvi. 72.; for the circumstances are in many cases different, and especially in this, that Paul appeared now in no danger if he had confessed her; or if he had been in danger might have easily delivered himself from it; to which we must add, that he had undergone a thousand more difficult trials for the sake of God and a good conscience, and never was by fear betrayed into such a crime.[1]

"Such are the compositions which attempted to gain credit, as the real productions of the apostles and evangelists; and so striking is the contrast between them and the genuine writings, whose style they have so successfully endeavoured to imitate. It deserves the most serious consideration of every one, who is unhappily prejudiced against Christianity, or (what is almost as fatal) who has hitherto not thought the subject worthy his attention, whether, if the canonical books of the New Testament had been the productions of artifice or delusion, they would not have resembled those which are avowedly so, in some of their defects. Supposing it, for a moment, to be a matter of doubt, by whom the canonical books were written; or allowing them the credit, which is granted to all other writings having the same external authority, that of being written by the authors whose names they have always borne; upon either of these suppositions, the writers of the New Testament could not, either in situation or attainment, have had any advantages, humanly speaking, which the authors of the apocryphal books were not as likely to have possessed as themselves: consequently, if the first books had been founded upon the basis of fiction, it is surely most probable, that subsequent attempts would have equalled, if not improved upon, the first efforts of imposture If, however, it appears, upon a candid and close investigation, that one set of compositions betrays no proofs of a design to impose upon others, and no marks that the authors were themselves deceived; while, on the contrary, the others evince in every page the plainest symptoms of mistake and fraud; is it fair, is it reasonable, to ascribe to a common origin, productions so palpably and essentially different? or, rather, is it not more just, and even philosophical, to respect truth in those performances, which bear the fair stamp of her features; and to abandon those, and those only, to contempt, which have indubitable traces of imposture?"[2]

IV. From the preceding view of the evidence concerning the apocryphal productions, which have lately been reprinted, the candid reader will readily be enabled to perceive how little cause there is, lest the credibility and inspiration of the genuine books of the New Testament should be affected by them. "How much soever we may lament the prejudice, the weakness, the wickedness, or the undefinable hostility of those who enter into warfare against the interests of Christ; whatever horror we may feel at the boldness or the scurrility of some anti-christian champions; we feel no alarm at the onsets of infidelity in its attempts against the Gospel. We know that the cause of Revelation has sustained already every species of assault which cunning could contrive, or power direct. It has had its enemies among the ignorant and among the learned, among the base and among the noble. Polite irony and vulgar ribaldry have been the weapons of its assailants. It has had its Celsus, and its Porphyry, and its Julian. And what were the effects of their opposition? The same as when the 'rulers and elders and scribes' united against it—its purification and increase. It has had its Bolingbrokes and its Woolstons, its Humes and its Gibbons: and what disadvantages has it sustained, what injuries has it received? Has it lost any of its pretensions, or been deprived of any portion of its majesty and grace, by their hatred and their hostility? Had they a system more credible, more pure, better comporting with the wants of man, and with the anticipations of everlasting existence, to enlighten and sanctify man, and to effect the regeneration of the world, for which they were able to prevail on mankind to exchange the system of Jesus of Nazareth? We gain but little from our reading, but little from our observation, if we shake with the trepidations of fear when truth and error are combatants. All facts connected with the history of the Christian religion are confirmations of a Christian's faith, that the doctrine which he believes, will resist every attack, and be victorious through all opposition. No new weapons can be forged by its enemies; and the temper and potency of those which they have so often tried, they will try in vain. They may march to battle; but they will never raise their trophies in the field."[3]

[1] Jones on the Canon, vol. ii. p. 401. Additional proofs of the spuriousness of the apocryphal writings, ascribed to the apostles, are given by Bp. Maltby, Illust. pp. 57—65.

[2] Maltby's Illustrations, p. 65. [3] Eclectic Review, N. S. vol. xv. p. 163.

The apocryphal pieces which have thus been considered, have been in circulation for ages, as were many others of a similar kind, which have perished, leaving only their titles behind them, as a memorial that they once existed. Many of them, indeed, soon became extinct, the interest which was felt in them not affording the means of their preservation. But we think that it is of special importance, that some of the spurious productions which either the mistaken zeal of Christians, or the fraud of persons who were in hostility to the Gospel, sent abroad in the primitive or in later times, should have been saved from destruction. Such books as the "Gospel of Mary," the "Prot-evangelion," the "Gospel of the Infancy," the "Gospel of Nicodemus," "Paul and Thecla," &c. &c. are not only available as means of establishing the superior excellence of the books of the New Testament, in the composition of which there is the most admirable combination of majesty with simplicity, strikingly in contrast with the puerilities and irrationalities of the others:—but they are of great service in augmenting the evidences and confirming the proof of Christianity.[4] So far, indeed, are these books from militating in any degree against the evangelical history, that on the contrary, they most decidedly corrobate it: for they are written in the names of those, whom our authentic Scriptures state to have been apostles and companions of apostles; and they all suppose the dignity of our Lord's person, and that a power of working miracles, together with a high degree of authority, was conveyed by him to his apostles. It ought also to be recollected that few, if any, of these books, were composed before the beginning of the second century. As they were not composed before that time, they might well refer (as most of them certainly do) to the commonly received books of the New Testament; and, therefore, instead of invalidating the credit of those sacred books, they really bear testimony to them. All these books are not properly spurious; that is, ascribed to authors who did not compose them: but, as they were not composed by apostles, nor at first ascribed to them, they may with great propriety be termed *apocryphal:* for they have in their titles the names of apostles, and they make a specious pretence of delivering a true history of their doctrines, discourses, miracles, and travels, though that history is not true and authentic, and was not written by any apostle or apostolic man. Further, we may account for the publication of these apocryphal or pseudopigraphal books as they were unquestionably owing to the fame of Christ and his apostles, and the great success of their ministry. And in this respect the case of the apostles of Jesus Christ is not singular: many men of distinguished characters have had discourses made for them, of which they knew nothing, and actions imputed to them which they never performed; and eminent writers have had works ascribed to them of which they were not the authors. Thus, various orations were falsely ascribed to Demosthenes and Lysias; many things were published in the names of Plautus, Virgil, and Horace, which never were composed by them. The Greek and Roman critics distinguished between the genuine and spurious works of those illustrious writers. The same laudable caution and circumspection were exercised by the first Christians, who did not immediately receive every thing that was proposed to them, but admitted nothing as canonical that did not bear the test of being the genuine production of the sacred writer with whose name it was inscribed, or by whom it professed to have been written. On this account it was that the genuineness of the Epistle to the Hebrews, of some of the Catholic Epistles, and of the Apocalypse, was for a short time doubted by some, when the other books of the New Testament were universally acknowledged. Upon the whole, the books which now are, and for a long time past have been, termed apocryphal, whether extant entire, or only in fragments,—together with the titles of such as are lost,—are monuments of the care, skill, and judgment of the first Christians, of their presiding ministers, and their other learned guides and conductors. The books in question afford no valid argument against either the genuineness or the authority of the books of the New Testament, which were generally received as written by the apostles and evangelists; but, on the contrary, they confirm the general accounts given us in the Canonical Scriptures, and thus indirectly establish the truth and divine authority of the *Everlasting Gospel!*[5]

[4] Ibid. p. 164.

[5] Lardner's Works, vol. v. pp. 412—419. 8vo.; or vol. iii. pp. 121—134. 4to

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No. II.

ON THE INSPIRATION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

[*Referred to in p. 93, of this Volume.*]

I. *Nature of Inspiration.*—II. *Observations on the Inspiration of the Old Testament.*—III. *And of the New Testament.*—IV. *Conclusions derived from these considerations.*

THE necessity of the divine inspiration of the sacred Scriptures having been stated, and the proofs of that inspiration having been exhibited at considerable length in the preceding pages, it is proposed in this place to offer to the biblical student a few additional observations on the nature and extent of such inspiration, the introduction of which would have interrupted the chain of argument in the former part of this volume.

I. Inspiration, in the highest sense, is the immediate communication of knowledge to the human mind by the Spirit of God; but, as we have already observed, it is commonly used by divines, in a less strict and proper sense, to denote such a degree of divine influence, assistance, or guidance, as enabled the authors of the Scriptures to communicate religious knowledge to others, without error or mistake, whether the subjects of such communication were things then immediately revealed to those who declared them, or things with which they were before acquainted.

"When it is said, that Scripture is divinely inspired, we are not to understand that the Almighty suggested every word, or dictated every expression. From the different styles in which the books are written, and from the different manner in which the same events are related and predicted by different authors, it appears that the sacred penmen were permitted to write as their several tempers, understandings, and habits of life, directed; and that the knowledge communicated to them by inspiration on the subject of their writings, was applied in the same manner as any knowledge acquired by ordinary means. Nor is it to be supposed that they were even thus inspired in every fact which they related, or in every precept which they delivered. They were left to the common use of their faculties, and did not, upon every occasion, stand in need of supernatural communication; but whenever, and as far as divine assistance was necessary, it was always afforded. In different parts of Scripture we perceive, that there were different sorts and degrees of inspiration. God enabled Moses to give an account of the creation of the world; Joshua to record with exactness the settlement of the Israelites in the land of Canaan; David to mingle prophetic information with the varied effusions of gratitude, contrition, and piety; Solomon to deliver wise instructions for the regulation of human life; Isaiah to deliver predictions concerning the future Saviour of mankind; Ezra to collect the Hebrew Scriptures into one authentic volume: *but all these worketh that one and the self-same spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will.* (1 Cor. xii. 11.) In like manner the apostles were enabled to record, in their own several styles and ways, the life and transactions of Jesus Christ. The measure of assistance thus afforded to the several writers of the Old and New Testament, has been termed INSPIRATION OF DIRECTION. In some cases, inspiration only produced correctness and accuracy in relating past occurrences, or in reciting the words of others; and preserved the writers generally from relating any thing derogatory to the revelation with which it was connected. This has been termed INSPIRATION OF SUPERINTENDENCY. Where, indeed, it not only communicated ideas, new and unknown before, but also imparted greater strength and vigour to the efforts of the mind than the writers could otherwise have attained, this divine assistance has been called INSPIRATION OF ELEVATION. Further, when the prophets and apostles received such communications of the Holy Spirit, as suggested and dictated minutely every part of the truths delivered, this, which is the highest degree of divine assistance, has been termed INSPIRATION OF SUGGESTION. All these kinds of inspiration are possible to the almighty power of God; since there is nothing in any of them contradictory to itself, or which appears contradictory to any of the divine perfections. But whatever distinctions are made with respect to the sorts, degrees, or modes of inspiration, we may rest assured that one property belongs to every inspired writing, namely, that it is free from error, that is, any material error. This property must be considered as extending to the whole of each of those writings, of which a part only is inspired; for it is not to be supposed that God would suffer any such errors as might tend to mislead our faith, or pervert our practice, to be mixed with those truths which he himself has mercifully revealed to his rational creatures as the means of their eternal salvation. In this restricted sense it may be asserted, that the sacred writers always wrote under the influence, or guidance, or care, of the Holy Spirit, which sufficiently establishes the truth and divine authority of all Scripture."

II. That the authors of the historical books of the OLD TESTAMENT were occasionally inspired is certain, since they frequently display an acquaintance with the counsels and designs of God, and often reveal his future dispensations in the clearest predictions. But though it is evident that the sacred historians sometimes wrote under the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit, it does not follow that they derived from revelation the knowledge of those things which might be collected from the common sources of human intelligence. It is sufficient to believe, that, by the general superintendence of the Holy Spirit, they were directed in the choice of their materials, enlightened to judge of the truth and importance of those accounts from which they borrowed their information, and prevented from recording any material error. Indeed, the historical books (as we have already shown at considerable length)[1] were, and could not but be, written by persons who were for the most part contemporary with the periods to which they relate, and had a perfect knowledge of the events recorded by them; and who, in their descriptions of characters and events (of many of which they were witnesses) uniformly exhibit a strict sincerity of intention, and an unexampled impartiality. Some of these books, however, were compiled in subsequent times from the sacred annals mentioned in Scripture as written by prophets or seers, and from those public records, and other authentic documents, which, though written by uninspired men, were held in high estimation, and preserved with great care by persons specially appointed as keepers of the genealogies and public archives of the Jewish nation. It is not necessary to be able to distinguish the inspired from the uninspired parts of the historical books of the Old Testament. It is enough for us to know, that every writer of the Old Testament was inspired, and that the whole of the history it contains, without any exception or reserve, is true. These points being ascertained and allowed; it is of very little consequence, whether the knowledge of a particular fact was obtained by any of the ordinary modes of information, or whether it was communicated by immediate revelation from God; whether any particular passage was written by the natural powers of the historian, or by the positive suggestion of the Holy Spirit. Whatever uncertainty may exist concerning the direct inspiration of any historical narrative, or of any moral precept, contained in the Old Testament, we must be fully convinced that all its prophetical parts proceeded from God. This is continually affirmed by the prophets themselves, and is demonstrated by the indubitable testimony which history bears to the accurate fulfilment of many of these predictions; others are gradually receiving their accomplishment in the times in which we live, and afford the surest pledge and most positive security for the completion of those which remain to be fulfilled.

III. If the books of the Old Testament, which relate to the partial and temporary religion of the Jews, were written under the direction and superintendence of God himself, surely we cannot but conclude the same of the books of the NEW TESTAMENT, which contain the religion of all mankind. The apostles were constant attendants upon our Saviour during his ministry; and they were not only present at his public preaching, but after addressing himself to the multitudes in parables and similitudes, *when they were alone he expounded all things to his disciples* (Mark iv. 34). He also showed himself alive to the apostles, after his passion, by many infallible proofs, being seen by them forty days, and *speaking of the things pertaining to the king*

[1] See pp. 59, 60—62. supra.

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dom of God. (Acts i. 3.) Yet our Saviour foresaw that these instructions, delivered to the apostles as men, and impressed on the mind in the ordinary manner, would not qualify them for the great work of propagating his religion. It was, therefore, promised, that the Holy Ghost should not only *bring all things to their remembrance*, which the apostles had heard from their divine Master; but he was also *to guide them into* ALL TRUTH, *to teach them* ALL THINGS, *and to abide with them for ever.* (John xiv. 16, 17. 26. xvi. 13, 14.)

The truth into which the Holy Spirit was to lead them, means, undoubtedly, *all that truth* which, as the apostles of Jesus Christ, they were to declare unto the world. It does not mean natural, mathematical, or philosophical truth, and it would be absurd to refer the language of our Lord to either of these. But it means *Christian Truth*,—the truth which they were to teach mankind, to make them wise and holy, and direct them in the way to heaven through our Lord Jesus Christ. The apostles knew something of this truth already, but they did not know it *perfectly*. They were ignorant of some things, and mistaken as to others. But the Spirit was to guide them into *all* truth. No branch of it was to be kept from them. They were to be led into an acquaintance with religious truth in general; with the *whole* of that *religious truth* which it was necessary for them to teach, or for men to know. Must they not then have been preserved from error in what they taught and declared? The Spirit was to teach them *all things*:—not the things of the natural or civil world, but *those* things of the Gospel which they were *as yet* unacquainted with. And if the Holy Spirit taught them all things respecting Christianity, which they did not already know, then there was nothing in what they declared of the Christian system, but what they had received, either from his teachings, or from the instructions of Christ, which were of equal validity, or from the evidence of their senses, which could not deceive them; so that they must be preserved from error or mistake concerning it.

The Spirit was also to bring all things to their remembrance, that Christ had said unto them. Their memories were naturally like those of other men, imperfect and fallible; and amidst the numerous things, which their Lord had said and done amongst them, some would be forgotten. But the Spirit was to assist their memories in such a manner, that they should have a perfect recollection of whatsoever Christ had said to them. This assistance of the Spirit implied, not merely recalling to the view of their minds the things which Christ had spoken, but also the enabling them to understand those things *rightly*, without that confusion and misapprehension, which Jewish prejudices had occasioned in their ideas when they first heard them. Unless they were led into such a perfect understanding of the things they were enabled to remember, the bare recollection of them would be of little use, nor would the Spirit act according to his office of leading them into *all* truth, unless they were enabled, by his influences, properly to understand the truths which Christ himself had taught them.

The Holy Spirit, under whose teaching they were to be thus instructed, was *to abide with them for ever*, as the Spirit of truth, guiding them into all truth, teaching them all things respecting the doctrine of Christ, which they were to communicate to the world. These important promises of the effusion, assistance, direction, and perpetual guidance of the Spirit with the apostles, were most certainly *fulfilled*, in all their extent and meaning. They were promises given by Christ himself, the great and chief prophet of the church; and to entertain a doubt of their *most complete* accomplishment, would be to impeach the veracity and mission of the Son of God, and to admit a supposition that would strike at the truth of Christianity in general. From this examination, therefore, of the nature, extent, and fulfilment of our Lord's promises, concerning the gift of the Spirit to the apostles, does it not necessarily follow, that, in addition to what they previously knew of Christianity, they were led under the teachings of the Spirit into a *perfect* acquaintance with it; and that through his constant inhabitation and guidance, they were infallibly preserved in the truth, and kept from error in declaring it to mankind? The Spirit of truth guided them into *all* truth, and abode with them *for ever*.

It is material to remark that these promises of supernatural instruction and assistance plainly show the insufficiency of common instruction, and the necessity of inspiration in the first teachers of the Gospel; and we are positively assured that these promises were accurately fulfilled. Of the eight writers of the New Testament, Matthew, John, James, Peter, and Jude, were among these inspired preachers of the word of God; and, therefore, if we admit the genuineness and authenticity of the books ascribed to them, no reasonable doubt can be entertained of their inspiration. Indeed, if we believe that God sent Christ into the world to found an universal religion, and that by the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost he empowered the apostles to propagate the Gospel, as stated in these books, we cannot but believe that he would, by his immediate interposition, enable those whom he appointed to record the Gospel, for the use of future ages, to write without the omission of any important truth, or the insertion of any material error. The assurance that the Spirit should abide with the apostles *for ever*, must necessarily imply a constant inspiration, without change or intermission, whenever they exercised the office of a teacher of the Gospel, whether by writing or by speaking. Though Mark and Luke were not of the twelve apostles, nor were they miraculously called, like Paul, to the office of an apostle, yet we have the strongest reason to believe that they were partakers of the extraordinary effusion of the Holy Spirit granted to the disciples of Christ; and such was the unanimous opinion of the primitive Christians. Besides, a perfect harmony exists between the doctrines delivered by Mark and Luke, and by the other writers of the New Testament. Indeed, we can scarcely conceive it possible, that God would suffer four Gospels to be transmitted, as a rule of faith and practice to all succeeding generations, two of which were written under the immediate direction of his Holy Spirit, and the other two by the unassisted powers of the human intellect. It seems impossible that John, who wrote his Gospel more than sixty years after the death of Christ, should have been able, by the natural power of his memory, to recollect those numerous discourses of our Saviour which he has related. Indeed, all the evangelists must have stood in need of the promised assistance of the Holy Ghost to bring to remembrance the things which Christ had said during his ministry. We are to consider Luke in writing the Acts of the Apostles, and the apostles themselves in writing the Epistles, as under a similar guidance and direction. Paul, in several passages of his Epistles, asserts his own inspiration in the most positive and unequivocal terms. The agreement which subsists between his Epistles and the other writings of the New Testament is also a decisive proof that they all proceeded from one and the self-same Spirit. It appears, however, that the apostles had some certain method, though utterly unknown to us, of distinguishing that knowledge which was the effect of inspiration, from the ordinary suggestions and conclusions of their own reason.[1]

IV. From the preceding account of the inspiration of the apostles, the two following conclusions are justly drawn by a late learned and sensible writer:—

1. *First*, that the apostles had a complete knowledge of Christianity, or of the Gospel which they published to mankind. When it is said that they had a complete knowledge of the Gospel, we mean, that they knew, and well understood, the truths which they were commissioned to preach, and the duties they were to inculcate. Having been instructed by Christ himself, having been witnesses of his works, and of his death and resurrection, and having received the Spirit to *guide them into all truth*, they had a competent knowledge of the various subjects, which they were to preach and publish to the world, to instruct men in the knowledge of God, the way of salvation, and the duties of holiness. They were neither insufficient nor defective preachers of the word of truth. They were at no loss to know what was true or what was false, what was agreeable to the will of God or what was not. They had a complete and consistent view of the whole system of Christian truth and duty; and there was no diversity of religious opinions amongst them. Their knowledge of Christianity was perfect, for they were acquainted with *all things* which it was the will of God should be revealed unto men, to teach them the way of salvation.

"Whether, as is most probable, the apostles had this complete knowledge of the Gospel at once, on the day of Pentecost; or whether there might be some truths and duties of religion which were not revealed to them until after that time, is of no importance for us to determine. For it is certain, that their knowledge of Christianity was complete long before the records of it in the New Testament were written for our instruction. It is evident, also, that the apostles, in the course of their ministry, were never at a loss what doctrines they were to preach, but had at all times a perfect knowledge of the things which it was the will of God they should, at those respective times, declare. Less than this cannot be inferred from their own declaration, that they

[1] Bp. Tomline's Elements of Christian Theology, vol. i. pp. 20—29 280—289.

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spake the things of the Gospel, *not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth.*

"As the apostles, by means of our Lord's instructions and the teaching of his Spirit, had this complete knowledge of Christianity, it follows, that the most entire credit is to be given to their writings; and that they were not mistaken in what they have written concerning it, whether we suppose them to be immediately guided by the Spirit at the time they were writing or not. For, allowing only that they were honest men who completely understood Christianity, it is evident that they must give a true and faithful account of it. Honest men would not deceive, and men who had a complete knowledge of the subjects they were treating of could not be mistaken. If any errors in doctrine or sentiment were admitted into their writings, it must be either by design, or through accident. To imagine that they could be inserted designedly, would impeach the integrity of the apostles, and consequently their credibility in general. And to imagine that they crept in accidentally, would impeach the competency of their knowledge, and supposes that the apostles of Jesus Christ did not understand Christianity: a supposition that can never be reconciled with the very lowest construction which can be fairly put upon our Lord's promise, that the Spirit should guide them into all truth. Allowing them therefore to be but honest men, it follows, considering the sources of information they enjoyed, that all they have recorded concerning Christianity is truth, and that they were not mistaken in any of the positions which they laid down respecting it in their writings.

2. "A *second* and principal deduction, however, to be drawn from the account before given, and which is of most importance to the subject, is, that the apostles of Jesus Christ were under the infallible guidance of the Spirit of Truth, as to every religious sentiment which they taught mankind. Here, it may be necessary to explain the sense in which this expression is used. By every religious sentiment is intended, every sentiment that constitutes a part of Christian doctrine, or Christian duty. In every doctrine they taught, in every testimony they bore to facts respecting our Lord, in every opinion which they gave concerning the import of those facts, in every precept, exhortation, and promise they addressed to men, it appears to me, that they were under the infallible guidance of the Spirit of Truth. By being under his guidance is meant, that through his influence on their minds, they were infallibly preserved from error in declaring the Gospel, so that every religious sentiment they taught is true, and agreeable to the will of God.

"As to the nature of this influence and guidance, some things may be farther remarked. It was before observed, that inspiration, in the highest sense, is the immediate communication of knowledge to the human mind, by the Spirit of God. In this way the apostle Paul was taught the whole of Christianity; and this kind of inspiration the other apostles had, as to those things which they were not acquainted with, before they received the gift of the Holy Spirit. This is what some have called the inspiration of suggestion. But as to what they had heard, or partly known before, the influence of the Spirit enabled them properly to understand it, and preserved them from error in communicating it. This has been called the inspiration of superintendency. Under this superintendency, or guidance of the Spirit, the apostles appear to have been at all times throughout their ministry, after Christ's ascension. For less than this cannot be concluded, from our Lord's declaration, that the Spirit should abide with them for ever, and lead them into all truth.

"When they acted as writers, recording Christianity for the instruction of the church in all succeeding times, I apprehend that they were under the guidance of the Spirit, as to the subjects of which they treated; that they wrote under his influence and direction; that they were preserved from all error and mistake, in the religious sentiments they expressed; and that, if any thing were inserted in their writings, not contained in that complete knowledge of Christianity of which they were previously possessed (as prophecies for instance), this was immediately communicated to them by revelation from the Spirit. But with respect to the choice of words in which they wrote, I know not but they might be left to the free and rational exercise of their own minds, to express themselves in the manner that was natural and familiar to them, while at the same time they were preserved from error in the ideas they conveyed. If this were the case, it would sufficiently account for the very observable diversity of style and manner among the inspired writers. The Spirit guided them to write nothing but truth concerning religion, yet they might be left to express that truth in their own language.

"It may readily and justly be concluded, that men who were under the perpetual guidance of the Spirit of Truth when they preached the Gospel, were thus under his infallible direction and influence, as to all religious sentiments, when they committed the things of the Gospel to writing, for the future instruction of the church. This is the view of the inspiration of the writers of the New Testament, which seems naturally to arise, from their own account of the way in which they received their knowledge of Christianity, and from what is declared in their writings, concerning the constant agency and guidance of the Spirit, with which they were favoured." The following advantages attend this view of the subject:—

"Maintaining that the apostles were under the infallible direction of the Holy Spirit, as to every religious sentiment contained in their writings, secures the same advantages as would result from supposing that every word and letter was dictated to them by his influences, without being liable to those objections which might be made against that view of the subject. As the Spirit preserved them from all error in what they have taught and recorded, their writings are of the same authority, importance, and use to us, as if he had dictated every syllable contained in them. If the Spirit had guided their pens in such a manner, that they had been only mere machines under his direction, we could have had no more in their writings than a perfect rule, as to all religious opinions and duties, all matters of faith and practice. But such a perfect rule we have in the New Testament, if we consider them as under the Spirit's infallible guidance in all the religious sentiments they express, whether he suggested the very words in which they are written or not. Upon this view of the subject, the inspired writings contain a perfect and infallible account of the whole will of God for our salvation, of all that is necessary for us to know, believe, and practise in religion; and what can they contain more than this, upon any other view of it!

"Another advantage attending the above view of the apostolic inspiration is, that it will enable us to understand some things in their writings, which it might be difficult to reconcile with another view of the subject. If the inspiration and guidance of the Spirit, respecting the writers of the New Testament, extended only to what appears to be its proper province, matters of a religious and moral nature, then there is no necessity to ask, whether every thing contained in their writings were suggested immediately by the Spirit or not: whether Luke were inspired to say, that the ship in which he sailed with Paul was wrecked on the island of Melita (Acts xxviii. 1.): or whether Paul were under the guidance of the Spirit, in directing Timothy to bring with him the cloke which he left at Troas, and the books, but especially the parchments (2 Tim. iv. 13.); for the answer is obvious, these were not things of a religious nature, and no inspiration was necessary concerning them. The inspired writers sometimes mention common occurrences or things in an incidental manner, as any other plain and faithful men might do. Although, therefore, such things might be found in parts of the evangelic history, or in epistles addressed to churches or individuals, and may stand connected with important declarations concerning Christian doctrine or duty, yet it is not necessary to suppose, that they were under any supernatural influence in mentioning such common or civil affairs, though they were, as to all the sentiments they inculcated respecting religion.

"This view of the subject will also readily enable a plain Christian, in reading his New Testament, to distinguish what he is to consider as inspired truth. Every thing which the apostles have written or taught concerning Christianity; every thing which teaches him a religious sentiment or a branch of duty, he must consider as divinely true, as the mind and will of God, recorded under the direction and guidance of his Spirit. It is not necessary that he should inquire, whether what the apostles taught be true. All that he has to search after is, their meaning; and when he understands what they meant, he may rest assured that meaning is consistent with the will of God, is divine infallible truth. The testimony of men who spoke and wrote by the Spirit of God is the testimony of God himself; and the testimony of the God of Truth is the strongest and most indubitable of all demonstration.

"The above view of the apostolic inspiration will likewise enable us to understand the apostle Paul, in the seventh chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians, where in some verses he seems to speak as if he were not inspired, and in others as if he were. Concerning some things he saith, *But I speak this by permission, and not of commandment* (ver. 6.): and again, *I have no commandment of the Lord; yet I give my judgment, as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful* (ver. 25.). The subject on which the apostle here delivers his opinion was a

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matter of Christian prudence, in which the Corinthians had desired his advice. But it was not a part of religious sentiment or practice; it was not a branch of Christian doctrine or duty, but merely a casuistical question of prudence, with relation to the distress which persecution then occasioned. Paul, therefore, agreeably to their request, gives them his opinion as a faithful man; but he guards them against supposing that he was under divine inspiration in that opinion, lest their consciences should be shackled, and he leaves them at liberty to follow his advice or not, as they might find convenient. Yet he intimates that he had *the Spirit of the Lord* as a Christian teacher; that he had not said any thing contrary to his will; and that the opinion which he gave was, on the whole, advisable *in the present distress*. But the Apostle's declaration, that, as to this particular matter, he spoke *by permission, and not of commandment*, strongly implies, that in other things, in things really of a religious nature, he did speak by commandment from the Lord. Accordingly, in the same chapter, when he had occasion to speak of what was matter of moral duty, he immediately claimed to be under divine direction in what he wrote. *And unto the married I command, yet not I, but the Lord, Let not the wife depart from her husband.* (1 Cor. vii. 10.) This would be a breach of one of the chief obligations of morality, and therefore Paul interdicts it under the divine authority. Respecting indifferent things he gave his judgment as a wise and faithful friend; but respecting the things of religion he spake and wrote as an apostle of Jesus Christ, under the direction and guidance of his Spirit."[1]

No. III.

ON THE ASCENSION OF JESUS CHRIST.

[*Referred to in p.* 114 *of this Volume.*]

The Ascension of Jesus Christ into heaven, however astonishing it may appear, is a miraculous FACT, which, like every other matter of fact, is capable of proof from testimony. It is not necessary, in this place, again to prove the confidence which is due to the apostolic testimony, because we have already stated its force when treating on the resurrection of Christ. (pp. 249—258. *supra.*) It only remains to show that the circumstances of the fact contributed to its certainty, by removing every idea of deceit or fraud on the one hand, and of error on the other.

1. *Observe the* PLACE *of his Ascent.*

It was a mountain, the mount of Olives, a spot which was well known to the apostles, for it had been the scene of many of Christ's conversations with them. On an eminence or hill, there was less probability of the spectators being deceived, than there would have been in many other places, where the view was confined and the sight obstructed; and where, if any delusion had been intended, he might have more easily conveyed himself out of their sight, and by a sudden disappearance given room for the imagination or invention of some extraordinary removal from them. But, from this eminence, the view around them must have been more extensive, any collusive concealment of himself from them must have been more easily discovered, a real ascent into heaven more clearly seen, and the ascent itself for a longer space and with greater distinctness pursued, and attended to, by the beholders. So that, if Christ's ascension was to be real, an eminence or hill was the most proper place that could be chosen from which he could rise, because he could be more distinctly, and for the most considerable space, beheld. But, assuredly, it was the most unsuitable of all others, if any fraud were intended, to favour deceit, and render imposition effectual. No impostor would have selected such a spot, in order to feign an ascension.

2. *The* TIME *must also be considered, when this fact took place.*

It was during broad day-light, while an impostor would have availed himself of darkness in order to effect his escape. Under such circumstances, the apostles might have credited an illusion; but illusion is impossible, when every object is illuminated by a strong light.

3. *Observe further the* MANNER *of Christ's Ascension towards heaven.*

(1.) It was not instantaneous and sudden, nor violent and tempestuous, but gradual, easy, and slow. Romulus was *said* to have been lost in a furious storm of thunder and lightning, and being suddenly missed by the Roman people, they were the more easily persuaded of his translation into heaven: which tale the patricians first invented, in order to cover the suspicion that, during the storm, they had seized the opportunity of assassinating him; though there is not the shadow of a pretence that any one saw his translation. On the contrary, Christ's ascension was public, gentle, and by degrees; so that the eyes of the beholders steadily followed him, rose with him as he advanced higher, and pursued him until lost in the immensity of the height of heaven. The spectators "looked steadfastly towards heaven as he went up," till the cloud had carried him out of their sight.

(2.) Moreover, it is a remarkable circumstance in this account, that he was taken from them, while they were actually near him; while he was in the midst of them, conversing with them, instructing and blessing them: and, in the midst of these transactions, "whilst they beheld him," and their eyes were attentively fixed on him, he arose out of their sight into the celestial glory. The apostles, therefore, could not be imposed on by any sudden and fallacious conveyance of himself away from them.

4. The SENSE OF HEARING also came in aid of sight; for, if any error could be supposed in the latter, it is impossible to admit any mistake in the former. The apostles could not possibly *imagine* that they heard the consolatory discourse by which two angels announced to them that Jesus, who had thus ascended into heaven, would at the last day "so come in like manner as they had seen him go into heaven."

5. *The* NUMBER, *too, of these witnesses is a strong confirmation of their testimony.*

It was in the view of all the apostles. He was taken up, after he had given commandment to them, while they were ALL assembled together, and while they themselves were actually beholding him.

To all these circumstances it may be added, that the evident proofs which (it is shown in the ensuing article of this Appendix) demonstrate the effusion of the Holy Spirit on the apostles, also demonstrate the reality of their Master's ascension.

Since, therefore, we have the unanimous testimony of persons, who by the evidence of their own sight, confirmed by the voice of angels, were assured of Christ's ascension; since they were persons incapable of forming or conducting any artful design; since it was a doctrine, which, if false, could be productive of no advantage to the propagators of it; and since they persevered in asserting it in despite of all the tortures that cruelty could devise or power could inflict; we have the fullest evidence of the reality of Christ's ascension, which the nature of the fact can admit, or we in reason can require.[2]

[1] Parry's Inquiry into the Nature and Extent of the Inspiration of the Apostles and other Writers of the New Testament, (8vo London, 1797.) pp 29. 30. See also Dr. Dick's Essay on the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, 8vo. London, 1813. Bp. Wilson's (of Calcutta) Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity, vol. i. Lectures 12 and 13. and Dr. Doddridge's Lectures on the Principal Subjects in Pneumatology Divinity, &c. Lectures 137—140

[2] Anspach, Cours d'Etudes de la Religion Chrétienne, Part II. Tome I pp. 401—406. Chandler's Sermons, vol. I. Serm. 11.

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No. IV.

ON THE DESCENT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT ON THE APOSTLES.

[*Referred to in p. 114. of this Volume.*]

If the Gospel be the invention of man,—if Jesus Christ has not risen from the dead and ascended into heaven,—the DESCENT of the Holy Spirit on the apostles, together with the effects produced by it, is another fact for which no adequate cause can be assigned. The miracle itself is related in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. Taking it for granted that the reader has perused the graphic narrative of the evangelist Luke, we shall proceed to offer a few remarks upon this fact.

1. This amazing and astonishing gift, the gift of tongues, was a miracle, new and unheard of in former ages, and greater or more decisive than any which had been wrought by Jesus Christ himself, during his ministry. Demoniacal possessions, or diseases, *might* be counterfeited; even death *might* be only apparent; the reality, therefore, of such cures and restorations to life, *might* be questioned by gainsayers and denied by infidels. But, to inspire twelve unlettered Galileans, (who knew only their mother-tongue, and whose dialect was proverbial for its vulgarity,) suddenly, and instantaneously, with the knowledge and expression of sixteen or eighteen different languages or dialects; when, in the ordinary course of things, it is a work requiring no small labour fully to understand a single new language, and still more to speak it with fluency and correctness; this was indeed a miracle of the most stupendous nature, carrying with it the most overpowering and irresistible conviction, the simplest and plainest in itself, and utterly impossible to be counterfeited. For, if the apostles had expressed themselves improperly, or with a bad accent, as most people do when they speak a living language which is not natural to them, the hearers, who at that time were not converted to Christianity, would have suspected some fraud, would have taken notice of such faults, and would have censured them; but, since no such objections were made, we are justified in concluding that they had no ground for censure.

It is no wonder, then, that the effect was so prodigious as the conversion of three thousand prejudiced Jews, in one day, to the faith of a crucified Saviour at Jerusalem,—the very scene of his ignominious crucifixion, and only fifty days afterwards, on the day of Pentecost.

In reviewing the whole of the transaction, this alternative necessarily presents itself. Either the apostles themselves were deceived, in the first place, or they wished to impose on others, respecting the descent of the Holy Spirit, and the miracles which accompanied it.

If the mind revolts at the first of these suppositions, on account of its absurdity, the second can scarcely appear more reasonable. Men, who undertake to establish a religion, and to whom credit is necessary, will not invent a fable which can be confuted upon the spot by all those persons to whose testimony they appeal. They will not place the scene of their pretended miracle under the eyes of an innumerable multitude, in the very midst of their enemies. They will not blend with their recital incidents notoriously false, utterly useless for their purpose, and peculiarly well adapted to convict them of fraud and deceit.

I can easily conceive persons remaining in a state of doubt or unbelief, who take only a general view of this history, after the lapse of eighteen centuries, without giving themselves the trouble to weigh all its circumstances. But will not conviction succeed to unbelief and doubt, if they transport themselves to the very time and spot, when and where the event took place; if they reflect that they are reading the work of a contemporary author, and that the facts related in his book were published throughout Judea, in Greece, and in Asia Minor, before he composed his history?

In the history of remote ages, the facts recorded not unfrequently borrow their authority from the character of the writer; but, in a recent and contemporary history, the writer is indebted for all his authority to the truth of the facts which he narrates. The book of the Acts of the Apostles would never have been received as a canonical book, if the first Christians had not found in it those facts which they all believed, and of which many of them had actually been eye-witnesses. And such, especially, were the miracles which distinguished the day of Pentecost.

2. Besides this proof, which arises out of the nature of the fact and the circumstances that attended it, there is another, not less striking, which is founded on the connection of this miracle with the events that preceded and followed it.

We have already had occasion to observe the striking difference in the conduct of the apostles before and after their Master's death (see pp. 113, 114.); and this change is the more remarkable, because it was contrary to what might naturally have been expected. But the descent of the Holy Spirit explains to us why the apostles, who were so ignorant and timid when they were instructed and supported by their Master, were filled with so much wisdom and intrepidity, when they seemed to be abandoned to themselves;—why these men, who had fled at the sight of the danger that threatened Jesus, boldly published his divinity in the presence of the very men who had crucified him;—and why Peter, who had basely denied him at the word of a female servant, so boldly confessed him in the midst of the synagogue.

Separate from this history the miraculous descent of the Holy Spirit, and you can no longer perceive either motive, connection, or probability in this series of facts otherwise incontestable. Every one of those facts is contrary to the *common* principles of moral order.—The apostles, the converted Jews, as well as those who continued to reject the Gospel, do nothing which they ought to do, and every thing which they ought not to do. The city of Jerusalem for a long series of years was only a scene of illusion and delirium. We should not endure even the reading of a romance, in which all the personages should be represented as acting like those who are exhibited in the establishment of Christianity.

But, would you give order and connection to the facts? Would you ascribe to all the actors motives, conduct, and a character consistent with nature? Would you render credible a history, the basis of which, after all, it is impossible for you to deny, and the consequences of which it is impossible to mistake?—Put in its proper place the visible descent of the Holy Spirit; and this miracle alone will render an infinite number of others unnecessary. You will find in it an explanation of those difficulties which perplex your mind, and which cannot be satisfactorily explained upon any other hypothesis.

3. Observe, further, the intrinsic probability of the miracle, which was wrought on the day of Pentecost—a probability, founded on the agreement of the fact with the known designs and predictions of the author of Christianity.

During his life, Jesus Christ had confined his ministry within the limits of Judea: he was not sent, as he himself declared, "but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt. xv. 24.): his doctrine was not to be preached to the Gentiles, until after his death. That mission was reserved for the apostles, and he solemnly charged them to fulfil it, just before his ascension into heaven. But, before they could enter upon their apostolic functions, it was necessary that these timid and ignorant men should receive the Holy Spirit agreeably to Christ's promise,—even that Spirit by whom they were to be endued with power from on high and guided into all truth. The miracle of the day of Pentecost was then announced and foretold. But, what grandeur, what wisdom, what an admirable selection of circumstances do we see in the fulfilment of this prediction! The apostles were appointed the teachers of all nations; and it was in the sight of persons of every nation, assembled at Jerusalem on occasion of one of the great solemnities of the Mosaic Law, that they received from heaven the authentic credentials of the divine mission. Sent to all nations, it was necessary that all nations should be able to understand them. By an astonishing miracle these men were enabled, *without study*, to speak all the languages or dialects of the East. But the gift of tongues was not conferred on them

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merely to accelerate the progress of their doctrine: it serves also to characterise, from its very birth, that universal religion which embraces both Jew and Gentile, Greek and Barbarian.

How closely connected is every part of the evangelical history! How admirably do the means answer to the end! How do the most signal miracles acquire probability by their mutual relation and by the place which they hold in the dispensation of religion![1]

1. Duvoisin, Demonstration Evangelique, pp. 161—168. See a full examination of the miraculous gift of tongues in Dr. Samuel Chandler's Sermons, vol. i. Serm. 13, 14.; and also some brief, but forcible remarks in Mr. Faber's Difficulties of Infidelity, pp. 242—245.

No. V.

EXAMINATION OF THE DIFFICULTIES ATTENDANT ON THE PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY.

[*Referred to in p.* 114, *of this Volume*]

"THE rapid and astonishing progress, which Christianity made in the world in a very few years after its publication, is not only an irrefragable argument of its divine origin and truth, but also a striking instance of the credulity of those, who assert that the Gospel is the contrivance of man. For, according to the common course of things, how utterly incredible was it, that the religion taught by an obscure person, in an obscure station of life, in an obscure country, should in so short a space of time penetrate to the utmost boundaries of the Roman empire. According to all present appearances, how romantic and visionary would the assertion of a private Jew seem to a philosopher, to whom he should declare that the principles of the sect, which he had founded, should be preached to every creature under heaven! That a miserable company of fishermen, from a country that was despicable to a proverb, without learning and without interest, should penetrate into the heart of so many various nations, should establish their tenets in the bosom of the largest cities, and gain converts to their principles in the courts of sovereigns and princes, is a truth not to be accounted for on any principal but that of a signal and divine interposition in their favour."[1] The force of this argument will more fully appear if we take a short retrospect of the progress of Christianity.

Two months had not elapsed after the death of Jesus Christ, when his apostles suddenly presented themselves, and publicly taught in the midst of Jerusalem; whence their doctrine spread throughout Judæa and the neighbouring provinces. Shortly after, it was carried into Greece, Italy, and even into Spain. They founded societies of Christians in the cities of Cæsarea, Rome, Athens, Corinth, Thessalonica, Phillippi, Antioch, Ephesus, and in many other regions, towns, and cities; so that, (as heathen adversaries, together with Christian writers, acknowledge), before three centuries were completed, the Gospel had penetrated into every region of the then known world, and far beyond the boundaries of the Roman empire. Wherever the preachers of Christianity travelled, they declared that the person, whose religion they taught, had been despised by his own countrymen and crucified by the Romans. And, what is more, they preached a religion which was contrary to the pleasures and passions of mankind; which prohibited all sensual indulgences; which indispensably required from its professors temperance, self-denial, and inviolable purity and sanctity of manners, and was diametrically repugnant to the prevailing principles and maxims of those times. "It *is* wonderful beyond all example, that a few illiterate Galilæans issuing from an obscure corner of a distant Roman province, unlearned and unsupported, should, in no long time, overturn the two greatest establishments that ever were erected in the world, and triumph over all the power of every confederated nation, that universally associated to oppose them. Such an astonishing and sudden revolution in the religious and moral state of the world, produced by such agents, could be effected by nothing less than a most signal interposition of God, endowing these his messengers with supernatural powers, and visibly supporting them in the cause in which they were engaged."[2] Indeed, if we contrast the various obstacles, which actually opposed the progress of the Gospel, with the human means which its preachers enjoyed, we must feel the justice of the remark that was made by an apostle:—"God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty." (1 Cor. i. 27.) For, no sooner was the Christian church formed into a body, than it was assailed by three descriptions of enemies, either all at once or in succession, viz. 1. The prejudices of authority and of human wisdom;—2. The violence of persecution;—and, 3. The artifices of policy.

I. The progress of Christianity was assailed and impeded by the PREJUDICES OF AUTHORITY AND OF HUMAN WISDOM. From its very origin, the Gospel was "a stumbling-block to the Jews, and to the Greeks foolishness."

1. With regard to the JEWS:—On the *one* hand, we behold that people exclusively attached to the law of Moses, and intoxicated with pride, on account of their being descended from Abraham; their hypocritical teachers who affected to be models of wisdom, piety, and holiness, usurping the highest influence over the minds of the people, who were blindly devoted to the prejudices which they cherished, respecting the duration of the levitical worship, the nature of the Messiah's kingdom, and the importance of their traditions. And, on the *other* hand, we see twelve men,—from the lowest class of their nation, formerly imbued with the same prejudices, who accused them of making void the Commandments of God by their traditions:—who deeply offended their national pride by telling them that the Almighty was not the God of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles, and that the heathen would rise up as witnesses against them, and would be admitted into covenant with God, while they themselves would be excluded from it:—who announced to them that the levitical worship was about to terminate, and that the Supreme Being was no longer to be adored exclusively at Jerusalem, but that men might offer to him acceptable worship at all times and in all places:—who substituted to the splendid ceremonial enjoined by the Mosaic law (which was a constant source of credit and of emolument to a host of ministers who attended at the alters) a simple and spiritual worship, which rendered their functions useless, and in which every Christian was to be the priest, the altar, and the victim:—who undeceived them respecting the nature of the Messiah's Kingdom, by apprising them, that it is not of this world, and that they must renounce all their ardent hopes concerning it:—who censured with equal force and boldness their pharisaic devotion, long prayers, ostentatious fasts, and all those exterior observances, in which they made the essence of piety to consist;—and, finally, who excited their self-love, by preaching to them the stumbling-block of the cross. Can any one believe that these were likely means to procure the preachers of the Gospel a hearing,—much less to ensure them success?

2. With regard to the HEATHEN NATIONS, the prejudices opposed by paganism were not less powerful than those entertained by the Jews. Pagan idolatry traced its origin to the remotest antiquity. The most imposing pomp and magnificence entered into its worship and ceremonies. Temples of the most splendid architecture,—statues of exquisite sculpture,—priests

[1] Dr. Harwood's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. p. 80.
[2] Ibid. p. 85.

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and victims superbly adorned,—attendant youths of both sexes, blooming with beauty, performing all the sacred rites with gracefulness heightened by every ornament,—magistrates arrayed in the insignia of their office,—religious feasts, dances, and illuminations,—concerts of the sweetest voices and instruments,—perfumes of the most delightful fragrance,—every part of the heathen religion, in short, was contrived to allure and to captivate the senses and the heart. Amid all these attractive objects, we see, on the *one* hand, a multitude of priests enjoying the most extensive influence, supported by omens, auguries, and every kind of divination to which ignorance and anxiety for the future attribute so much power, while their persons were rendered sacred under that profound idolatry and superstition which had overspread the earth. And, on the *other*, we see twelve Jewish fishermen, declaring that those deities which had so long been revered were only dumb idols, and that they must turn to the one living and true God, the maker of heaven and earth; and who had conceived no less a design than that of expelling so many deities, throwing down so many altars, putting an end to so many sacrifices, and, consequently, of annihilating the dignity of such a multitude of priests, and of drying up the sources of their riches and credit. And can any one believe that these were likely means of success? Further,—

On the *one* hand, we see paganism intimately united with political governments, and sovereigns making use of its decisions in order to justify the enterprises even of tyrannical power. More particularly at Rome, under the republic, religion was a political system admirably adapted to the genius of the people, and was not only protected but in many instances administered by the civil magistrate: it grew with the growth of the republic, and seemed to promise itself a duration equal to that of the eternal city. During the imperial government, we see the emperors causing altars to be erected to themselves, in their life-time, or expecting them after their death.

On the *other* hand, we behold a religion, according to which an apotheosis is an act of daring impiety; which, inculcating only one God, allowed no rival deity to those who embraced it; and which thenceforth necessarily caused *its* followers to be accounted both impious and rebels. Can any rational person believe that these were proper or likely means to cause such a religion to be received?

Lastly, on the *one* hand, we see corruption, the fruit of ignorance, and of error combined with the passions, spread over the earth, the most shameful practices sanctioned by the precepts and the examples of the philosophers, vices ranked as virtues, in short, a state of universal depravity, both moral and religious, which the apostle Paul has by no means exaggerated in the sketch of it which he has drawn; since it is fully justified by contemporary authors, both Jews and Heathens. On the *other* hand, again, behold the Gospel, inculcating a sublime morality which at that time was more difficult to be observed than ever; referring every thing to the glory of God, and enjoining the renunciation of passions equally cherished and corrupted, together with a total change of heart and mind, continual efforts after holiness, the duty of imitating even God himself, and the absolute necessity of taking up the cross of Christ, and submitting to the loss of all earthly good, as well as to the endurance of every evil. Think, how sinful propensities would rise at hearing this novel doctrine, now the corrupt heart of man would be offended at it, and how horrible that salutary hand must appear, which came to apply the probe, the knife, and the fire to so many gangrened parts: and then say, whether these were likely or probable means to obtain a reception for that doctrine? Does not the success, which attended the labours of the first preachers of the Gospel,—a success not only without a cause, but also contrary to all human causes,—does not this success demonstrate the mighty protection of God, and the victorious force of truth?

II. The VIOLENCE OF PERSECUTION was another most formidable obstacle to the propagation of the Christian religion.

In fact, from its first origin to the time of Constantine, Christianity, with the exception of a few short intervals, was subjected to the most violent persecutions. At Jerusalem the apostles were imprisoned, scourged, or put to death in various ways. Wherever they directed their steps, they were pursued by the Jews, who either accused them before Jewish and Heathen tribunals, or stirred up the populace against them. But these persecutions were, comparatively, only slight forerunners of those which succeeding ages witnessed; and ecclesiastical history (which is corroborated by heathen writers as well as by heathen edicts and inscriptions that are still extant) records ten grievous GENERAL persecutions of the Christians under the pagan emperors, within the space of two hundred and fifty years.

1. The first who led the way in these attacks upon the professors of the Christian faith, was the ferocious Nero; who, in order that he might wreak upon them the odium which he had justly incurred for setting the city of Rome on fire, inflicted upon them the most exquisite tortures, attended with every circumstance of the most refined cruelty. Some were crucified; others, impaled; some were tied up in the skins of wild beasts that they might be torn to pieces by dogs; and others were wrapped in garments dipped in pitch and other combustibles, and burnt as torches in the gardens of Nero, and in other parts of the city, by night. This persecution, though it raged most at Rome during the year 64, appears to have continued, with little abatement, nearly three years (A. D. 64—67), and to have extended to every part of the empire.

The short reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and the mild and equitable administration of the emperors Vespasian and Titus, gave some rest to the Christians, until,

2. Domitian, succeeding to the empire, began a new persecution, which also continued almost three years, A. D. 93—96 "For this persecution no motive is assigned, but the prodigious increase of converts to Christianity, and their refusal to pay divine honours to the emperor. The extent and severity of this persecution may be conceived from Domitian's including among its victims even his chief ministers and his nearest kindred and relations." The death of this second Nero delivered the Christians from this calamity; and his successor, Nerva, permitted them to enjoy a season of tranquility, and rescinded the sanguinary edicts of his predecessor.

3. The second century of the Christian era opened with the persecution, which was commenced in the reign of Trajan, when so great a multitude of believers suffered martyrdom, that the emperor, astonished at the accounts which he received, prohibited them to be sought for; though, if they were accused, he permitted them to be punished. This persecution continued under the reign of Hadrian, the adopted son and successor of Trajan.

4, 5. The fourth and fifth persecutions prevailed under Antonius and Marcus Aurelius. The apology, addressed by Justin Martyr to the former emperor, induced him to stop all proceedings against the Christians in Europe; but a very strong edict from Antonius could only quash the persecution in Asia. And under Marcus Aurelius, who credulously listened to the calumnious charges of their enemies, the torture and the cross were in full force against the professors of the Christian faith.

6—10. In the third century, several persecutions are recorded to have taken place. Severus, Maximin, Decius, and Valerian, successively attacked the Christians, and let loose all their imperial vengeance against them. "But the climax of persecution *was carried to its utmost height* in the reign of Dioclesian," which indeed extended into the fourth century. In this persecution, "the fury of the pagan world, instigated by Galerius and other inveterate enemies of Christianity, was poured forth with unparalleled violence, and with a determinate resolution (it should seem) to extirpate, if possible, the whole race of believers. The utmost pains were taken to compel Christians to deliver up to the magistrates all the copies of the Holy Scriptures, that they might be publicly burnt, and every vestige of their religion destroyed. But although this part of the imperial edict, together with that which respected the demolition of the Christian churches, was executed with extreme rigour; yet such were the firmness and fidelity of the Christians, and such their profound reverence for the sacred writings, that many of them suffered the severest tortures rather than comply with this decree." The human imagination, indeed, was almost exhausted in inventing a variety of tortures. Some were impaled alive; others had their limbs broken, and in that condition were left to expire. Some were roasted by slow fires, and some suspended by the feet with their heads downward; and, a fire being made under them, were suffocated by the smoke. Some had melted lead poured down their throats, and the flesh of some was torn off with shells; and others had the splinters of reeds thrust beneath the nails of their fingers and toes. The few, who were not capitally punished, had their limbs and their features mutilated. No war, that had ever taken place, had caused the death of so great a multitude of persons as this tenth general persecution devoured. Almost the whole of the then known world was deluged with the blood of the martyrs. If the Gospel be only the contrivance of man, the conduct of these its defenders is utterly inexplicable.

III. But not only was the progress of Christianity impeded by

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he prejudices of authority and human wisdom, as well as by the violence of persecution; it also encountered a formidable obstacle in the ARTIFICES OF POLICY.

As soon as those who had embraced the religion of Jesus Christ began to be known by the appellation of Christians, they were pourtrayed by their enemies in the blackest colours. Jews and heathens alike united all their efforts to ruin a religion which tended to annihilate every thing that appeared venerable to them, regardless of the evidences which demonstrated that religion to be from God: and they represented the professors of the Gospel as dangerous innovators, the declared enemies of all that was sacred, disturbers of the public peace, profligate and immoral; in short, as persons utterly destitute of religion, and impious atheists. These, unquestionably, are most powerful means of prejudicing nations against a doctrine; and for a long time the church had to conflict with these calumnies.

When the Christians began to indulge the hope of enjoying some tranquillity, after Constantine was invested with the imperial purple, and had declared themselves their protector, a new enemy arose, who employed the most insidious artifices against the Christian faith. The emperor Julian, who had apostatised from the Gospel, in his zeal for the restoration of paganism, left no means unattempted to undermine the very foundations of the church. Though he refrained from open persecution, yet he connived at that of his officers, who persecuted the Christians in places remote from the court. He endeavoured to reform paganism, and to bring it as near as might be to the admirable methods, by which he perceived Christianity had prevailed in the world. He diligently seized every opportunity of exposing Christians and their religion to ridicule; and exhausted all his powers of wit and sophistical ingenuity to exhibit them in a contemptible point of view. Sometimes, he endeavoured to surprise unwary Christians into a compliance with pagan superstitions, that he might raise horror in their minds, or injure their reputation. At others, he sought by all means to weaken the power and influence of the Christians, by depriving them of all places of honour and authority, unless they would sacrifice to idols, and by incapacitating them from holding any civil offices, from executing testaments, or transferring any inheritance. Among other expedients to which Julian's hatred of Christianity induced him to have recourse, was the endeavour to suppress and extinguish all human learning among the Christians, well knowing how naturally ignorance opens a door to contempt, barbarism, and impiety. With this design, he prohibited them from teaching philosophy, and the liberal arts, and annulled all the privileges which they had hitherto enjoyed. And, lastly, still further to gratify his rancour against the Christians, he protected and favoured the Jews, and resolved to rebuild their temple at Jerusalem: but this attempt served only to afford a further testimony to the truths of the Gospel predictions: for it is related both by pagan as well as Christian historians, that balls of fire repeatedly issued from the foundations and destroyed many of the artificers, and scorched the rest, who, after many attempts, were compelled to desist from their purpose. These various acts, however, proved fruitless. The Christians, though oppressed, continued faithful to their religion, and the death of Julian, after a short reign, left the church in safety.

From the preceding view of the progressive establishment of Christianity, it is evident that it was not indebted for its success to the nature of its doctrine, or to the personal qualities of those who taught it, or to the dispositions and prejudices of those who embraced it, or, lastly, to the influence of the government. On the contrary, the striking contrasts between the nature of Christianity and the state of the world were such powerful obstacles to it, that they excited against it both Jews and Gentiles. Princes, priests, and philosophers, vied with one another, in making the greatest efforts to extinguish this religion. Means the most insidious as well as the most cruel appeared to be the most certain for the accomplishment of their designs. Persecutions, opprobrium, unheard-of torments, the most exquisite punishments, as well as politic artifices, were employed for three successive centuries, in order to prevent it from establishing itself, and yet it *did* establish itself throughout every part of the then known world. Unquestionably, this great revolution is not to be accounted for by means so contrary to the end. Where then are we to seek for other human means?

Do we find them in the eloquence of its preachers? But they did not possess that human eloquence which surprises and subjugates the mind; and if they had that eloquence, which carries persuasion with it, because it proceeds from a heart deeply penetrated and convinced, it is the seal of truth, and not of imposture.

Shall we seek for them in credit and authority? It would be utterly ridiculous and absurd to attribute any wordly credit or authority to the apostles.

Do we find them in their riches? They had none to offer: besides, they who were desirous of embracing the Gospel were required to be ready to abandon their possessions. Could earthly pleasures promote their success? The persecutions to which Christians were exposed cut them off from every hope of enjoying them.

Did the apostles possess the means of constraining persons to embrace their doctrines? The first preachers of the Gospel were totally destitute of coercive means, and the nature of their doctrine *prohibited* them from having any recourse to them. Yet all these means were employed *against* them in their utmost force.

If, notwithstanding all these obstacles, and this weakness of its resources, there is nothing inexplicable in the establishment of Christianity, how comes it to pass, since it did spread into every part of the known world, that all the philosophers of antiquity had only a *small* number of disciples? Those philosophers, with all their united knowledge, eloquence, and celebrity, never were able to effect any change in religion, or to produce any general moral reformation in the world; and yet the antagonists of Christianity think it an easy matter that twelve fishermen should have enlightened the world, and persuaded it to abandon its false gods, to renounce its vices, and to follow a man who expired upon the cross, and to die for him!

The establishment of Christianity is a fact so striking, so singular, so contrary to every thing which has ever yet been seen, so disproportionate to its apparent causes, that it was not without reason remarked by a father of the church, that if Christianity established itself without a miracle, it is itself the greatest of all miracles.[1]

[1] Hey's Norrisian Lectures, vol. i. book i. chap. 18. Duvoisin, Démonstration Evangélique, pp. 177—202. Bp. Van Mildert's View of the Rise and Progress of Infidelity, vol. i. Sermons 3. and 4. Anspach, Cours d'Etudes de la Religion Chrétienne, Part II. Tome ii. pp. 261—273. Verset, Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne, Tomes viii.—x. Bishop Warburton's Julian.

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No. VI.

A TABLE OF THE CHIEF PROPHECIES RELATIVE TO THE MESSIAH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PRINCIPAL PROPHECIES RELATIVE TO THE MESSIAH, WITH THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENT, IN THE VERY WORDS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

[*Referred to in pages* 127. *and* 148. *of this volume.*]

SECTION I.

PROPHECIES RELATIVE TO THE ADVENT, PERSON, SUFFERINGS, RESURRECTION, AND ASCENSION OF THE MESSIAH.

§ 1. *That a Messiah should come.*

PROPHECY.—Gen. iii. 15. *He* (the seed of the woman) shall *bruise* thy head and thou shalt *bruise* his heel. Compare Gen. xxii. 18. xii. 3. xxvi. 4. xxviii. 4. and Psalm. lxxii. 17.—Isa. xl. 5. The glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.—Hag. ii. 7. The desire of *all* nations shall come.

FULFILMENT.—Gal. iv. 4. When the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a *woman* (4000 years after the first prophecy was delivered.)—Rom. xvi. 20. The God of peace shall *bruise* Satan under your feet shortly.—1 John iii. 8. The Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the *Devil* (that old *serpent*, Rev. xi. 9.) See also Heb. ii. 14.—Luke ii. 10. I bring you tidings of great joy, which shall be to *all* people.

§ 2. *When he should come.*

PROPHECY.—Gen. xlix. 10. The sceptre *shall not* depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, *until* Shiloh come. The Messiah was to come at a time of universal peace, and when there was a general expectation of him; and while the second temple was standing, seventy weeks (of years, *i. e.* 490 years) after the rebuilding of Jerusalem. See Hag. ii. 6—9.; Dan. ix. 24, 25.; Mal. iii. 1.

FULFILMENT.—When the Messiah came, the sceptre *had departed* from Judah; for the Jews, though governed by their own rulers and magistrates, yet were subject to the paramount authority of the Roman emperors; as was evinced by their being subject to the enrolment of Augustus, paying tribute to Cæsar, and not having the power of life and death. Compare Luke ii. 1. 3—5.; Matt. xxii. 20, 21.; and the parallel passages; and John xviii. 31.—When Jesus Christ came into the world, the Roman wars were terminated, the temple of Janus was shut, and peace reigned throughout the Roman empire; and all nations, both Jews and Gentiles, were expecting the coming of some extraordinary person. See Matthew ii. 1—10.; Mark xv. 43.; Luke ii. 25. 38.; and John i. 19—45. for the expectation of the Jews. The two Roman historians, Suetonius and Tacitus, confirm the fulfilment of the prediction, as to the expectation of the Gentiles.

§ 3. *That the Messiah should be God and man together.*

PROPHECY.—Psal. ii. 7. Thou art my *Son*, this day have I begotten thee.—Psal. cx. 1. The Lord said unto my Lord.—Isa. ix. 6. The mighty *God*, the everlasting Father.—Mic. v. 2. Whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting.

FULFILMENT.—Heb. i. 8. Unto the *Son* he saith, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever." Compare Matt. xxii. 42—45.; 1 Cor. xv. 25.; Heb. i. 13.—Matt. i. 23. They shall call his name Emmanuel, that is, *God* with us.—John i. 1. 14. The *Word* was with God, and the *Word* was *God*. The *Word* was made flesh, and dwelt among us.—Rom. ix. 5. Of whom (the fathers) as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is *God* over all, blessed for ever. See also Col. ii. 9.; 1 John v. 20.

§ 4. *From whom he was to be descended.*

PROPHECY.—From the first woman, Gen. iii. 15.

From *Abraham* and his descendants (Gen. xii. 3. xviii. 18.); viz. *Isaac* (Gen. xxvi. 4.); *Jacob* (Gen. xxviii. 14.); *Judah* (Gen. xlix. 10.); *Jesse* (Isa. xi. 1.); *David* (Psal. cxxxii. 11. lxxxix. 4. 27.; Isa. ix. 7.; Jer. xxiii. 5. xxxiii. 15.)

FULFILMENT.—Gal. iv. 4. When the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman.

Acts iii. 25. The covenant, which God made with our fathers, saying unto *Abraham*, "And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." (See Matt. i. 1.)—Heb. vii. 14. It is evident that our Lord sprang out of *Judah*.—Rom. xv. 12. Isaiah saith there shall be a root of *Jesse*.—John vii. 42. Hath not the Scripture said, that Christ cometh of the seed of *David?* See also Acts ii. 30. xiii. 23.; Luke i. 32.

§ 5. *That the Messiah should be born of a virgin.*

PROPHECY.—Isa. vii. 14. Behold a *Virgin* shall conceive and bring forth a *Son*.—Jer. xxxi. 22. The Lord hath created a new thing on the earth; a woman shall compass a man. (N. B. *The antient Jews applied this prophecy* to the Messiah, whence it follows, *that the later interpretations* to the contrary *are only to avoid the truth which we profess*, viz. *That Jesus was born of a Virgin, and therefore is* THE CHRIST or Messiah.—Bp Pearson on the Creed, Art. III. p. 171. edit. 1715. folio.)

FULFILMENT.—Matt. i. 24, 25. Joseph took his wife and knew her not, till she had brought forth her first-born son. Compare Luke i. 26—35.—Matt. i. 22, 23. All this was done, that it might be fulfilled, which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, "Behold a *virgin* shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son."

§ 6 *Where the Messiah was to be born.*

PROPHECY.—Mic. v. 2. Thou *Bethlehem* Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah; yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be the ruler in Israel.

FULFILMENT.—Luke ii. 4—6. All went to be taxed (or enrolled), every one into his own city. And Joseph also went up from Gallilee, with Mary his espoused wife, unto *Bethlehem*; and while they were there she *brought forth her first-born son.* Compare also Luke ii. 10, 11. 16. and Matt. ii. 1. 4.—6. 8. 11.; John vii. 42.

§ 7. *That a prophet, in the spirit and power of Elias, or Elijah, should be the Messiah's forerunner and prepare his way.*

PROPHECY.—Malachi iii. 1. and iv. 5.; Isa. xl. 3.; Luke i. 17 Behold I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare my way before me.

FULFILMENT.—Matt. iii. 1. In those days came *John the Baptist* preaching in the wilderness of Judæa, saying, Repent ye, the kingdom of heaven is at hand.—Matt. xi. 14.; Luke vii. 27, 28 This is Elias which was for to come.

§ 8. *That the Messiah was to be a Prophet.*

PROPHECY.—Deut. xvii. 15. 18. I will raise them up a *Prophet* from among their brethren, like unto thee.

FULFILMENT.—John iv. 19. The woman saith unto him, Sir, I perceive that thou art a *Prophet*.—John ix. 17. He is a *Prophet*.—Matt. xxi. 46. They took him for a *Prophet*.—Mark vi. 15. It is a *Prophet*, or as one of the Prophets.—Luke vii. 16. A great *Prophet* is risen up among us.—John vi. 14. This is

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of a truth *that Prophet*, which should come into the world.—John vii. 40. Of a truth this is *the Prophet*.—Luke xxiv. 19. Jesus of Nazareth, which was a *Prophet*, mighty in deed and word before God and all the people.—Matt. xxi. 11. This is Jesus *the Prophet*, of Nazareth of Galilee.

§ 9. *That the Messiah should begin to publish the Gospel in Galilee*

PROPHECY.—Isa. ix. 1, 2. In *Galilee* of the nations, the people that walked in darkness have seen a great light.

FULFILMENT.—Matt. iv. 12. 17. Now when Jesus heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into *Galilee*. From that time Jesus began to preach and to say, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.

§ 10. *That the Messiah shall confirm his doctrine by great miracles.*

PROPHECY.—Isa. xxxv. 5 6. Then the *eyes* of the *blind* shall be *opened*, and the *ears* of the *deaf* shall be *unstopped*: then shall the *lame* man *leap* as an hart, and the *tongue* of the *dumb* sing.—Isa. xliii. 7. To *open* the *blind eyes*.—Isa. xxxii. 3. The *eyes* of them that see shall not be dim; and the *ears* of them that *hear*, shall hearken.—Isa. xxix. 18. The *deaf* shall *hear* the words of the book; and the *eyes* of the *blind* shall *see* out of obscurity and darkness.

FULFILMENT.—Matt. xi. 4, 5. Jesus... said, "Go, and show John those things which ye do hear and see: the *blind* receive their *sight*, and the *lame walk*: the lepers are cleansed, and the *deaf hear*, the *dead* are *raised* up.—Luke viii. 21. In the same hour, he cured many of their infirmities and plagues, and of evil spirits; and unto many that were *blind*, he gave *sight*.—Matt. iv. 23, 24. Jesus went about all Galilee... healing all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease among the people.... They brought unto him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those which were possessed with devils, and those which were lunatic, and those which had the palsy, and he healed them.—Matt. xv. 30, 31. And great multitudes came unto him, having with them those that were *lame*, *blind*, *dumb*, *maimed*, and many others; and cast them down at Jesus's feet, and he *healed* them. Insomuch that the multitude wondered, when they saw the *dumb* to *speak*, the *maimed* to be *whole* and the *lame* to *walk*, and the *blind* to *see*.—Acts ii. 22. Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by *miracles* and wonders and signs; which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye know.

As it would swell this article of the Appendix to an undue length, were we to state at length *all* the miracles of Jesus Christ related by the evangelists, we annex (in further proof of the fulfilment of the prophecies concerning them) the following catalogue of them, from the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon Nares's Veracity of the Evangelists Demonstrated, pp. 283—286.:—

1. Water turned into Wine	John ii.
2. Nobleman's Son of Capernaum healed	John iv.
3. Passing unseen through the Multitude	Luke iv.
4. Miraculous Draught of Fishes	Luke v.
5. Demoniac cured	Mark i. Luke iv.
6. Peter's Wife's Mother cured	Matt. viii. Mark i. Luke iv.
7. *Multitudes* healed	Matt. viii. Mark i. Luke iv.
8. *Also throughout Galilee*	Matt. iv. Mark i.
9. A Leper healed	Matt. viii. Mark i. Luke v.
10. The Paralytic let down in bed	Matt. ix. Mark ii. Luke v.
11. The impotent Man, at Bethesda	John v.
12. The withered Hand, on the Sabbath	Matt. xii. Mark iii. Luke vi.
13. *Many healed*	Matt. xii. Mark iii.
14. *Many*, and some by mere touch	Luke vi.
15. Centurion's Servant	Matt. viii. Luke vii.
16. The Widow's Son raised, at Nain	Luke vii.
17. *Various Miracles* appealed to	Matt. xi. Luke vii.
18. *Many healed*	Matt. ix.
19. A Demoniac	Matt. ix. Mark iii. Luke xi.
20. The Tempest stilled	Matt. viii. Mark iv. Luke viii.
21. The Legion of Devils cast out [1]	Matt. viii Mark v Luke viii
22. The Woman who touched his Garment	Matt. ix Mark v Luke viii
23. The Daughter of Jairus raised	Matt. ix. Mark v. Luke viii.
24. Two blind Men	Matt. ix.
25 A dumb Demoniac	Matt. ix.
26. Power given to the Apostles to heal	Matt. x. Mark vi. Luke ix.
27. *Many Sick healed*	Matt. xiv Luke ix.
28. Five thousand fed	Matt. xiv Mark vi. Luke ix. John vi.
29. He walks on the Sea	Matt. xiv Mark vi. John vi.
30. Ship immediately at its Destination	John vi.
31. As many as touched healed	Matt. xiv Mark vi.
32. Daughter of Syrophœnician Woman	Matt. xv. Mark vii.
33. Deaf and dumb Man	Mark vii.
34. *Multitudes healed*	Matt. xv.
35. Four Thousand fed	Matt. xv. Mark viii.
36. A blind Man cured	Mark viii.
37. The great Miracle of the Transfiguration	Matt. xvii. Mark ix. Luke ix.
38. A deaf and dumb Demoniac	Matt. xvii. Mark ix. Luke ix.
39. A fish brings the tribute Money	Matt. xvii.
40. The Man blind from his Birth	John ix.
41. The infirm Woman restored	Luke xiii.
42. The Dropsy healed on the Sabbath	Luke xiv.
43. Ten Lepers cleansed	Luke xvii.
44. Lazarus raised from the Dead	John xi.
45. Blind Bartimeus cured [2]	Matt. xx. Mark x. Luke xviii
46. *Many blind and lame*	Matt. xxi.
47. The barren Fig-tree destroyed	Matt. xxi. Mark xi.
48. The Ear of Malchus restored	Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv Luke xxii. John xviii.
49. Miraculous Draught of Fishes, after his Resurrection	John xxi.

§ 11. *In what manner the Messiah was to make his public entry into Jerusalem.*

PROPHECY.—Zech. ix. 9. Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Jerusalem, behold, thy King cometh unto thee; he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass.

FULFILMENT.—Matt. xxi. 7—10. The disciples—brought the ass and the colt, and put on them their clothes, and set him (Jesus) thereon (that is, *upon the clothes*). And great multitudes spread their garments, &c. &c.—Matt. xxi. 4, 5. *All this was done*, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, Tell ye the daughter of Sion, "Behold, thy king cometh," &c. &c.

§ 12. *That the Messiah should be poor and despised, and be betrayed by one of his own disciples for thirty pieces of silver* (at that time the ordinary price of the vilest slave); *with which the potter's field should be purchased.*

PROPHECY.—Isa. liii. 3. There is no beauty that we should desire him. He is despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; and we hid as it were our faces from him: he was despised, and we esteemed him not.—Ps. xli. 9. and Ps. lv. 12—14. Yea, mine own familiar friend in

[1] St. Matthew says two demoniacs, the others mention only one. Probably one was more remarkable than the other.
[2] St. Matthew says two blind men. Of whom, doubtless, Bartimeus was the most remarkable.

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whom I trusted, who did eat of my bread, hath lift up his heel against me.—Zech. xi. 12. So they weighed for my price *thirty pieces of silver*.—Zech. xi. 13. And the Lord said unto me, Cast it unto the potter: a goodly price that I was prized at of them! And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them to the potter in the house of the Lord.

Fulfilment.—Luke ix. 58. The Son of man hath not where to lay his head.—2 Cor. viii. 9. For your sakes he became poor.—John xi. 35. Jesus Wept.— Luke xxii. 3, 4. Then Satan entered into Judas, being one of the twelve, and he went his way and communed with the chief priests how he might betray him unto them.—Matt. xxvi. 14. And Judas went unto the chief priests, and said unto them, What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you? and they covenanted with him for *thirty pieces of silver*.—Matt. xxvii. 3—8. Then Judas, who had betrayed him, brought again the thirty pieces of silver, saying, I have sinned in that I have betrayed innocent blood; and he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself. And the chief priests took the silver, and they said, It is not lawful to put it into the treasury, because it is the price of blood, and they took counsel, and bought with them the *potter's field*, to bury strangers in.

§ 13. *That the Messiah should suffer pain and death for the sins of the World.*

Prophecy.—Psal. xxii. 16, 17. For dogs (that is the *Heathens*, whom the Jews called dogs,) have compassed me; the assembly of the wicked have inclosed me; they pierced my hands and my feet. I may tell all my bones; they look and stare upon me.—Isa. l. 6. I gave my *back* to the *smiters*, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair. I hid not my face from *shame* and spitting.—Isa. liii. 5. 8. He was wounded for our transgressions: he was bruised for our iniquities; by his stripes we are healed. He was cut off out of the land of the living, for the transgression of my people was he stricken.—Isa. liii. 12. And he *bare* the sin of *many*.

Fulfilment—John xix. 1, 2. Then Pilate took Jesus, and *scourged* him. And the soldiers platted a crown of thorns,—and they *smote* him with the palms of their hands.—Matt. xxvii. 30.; Mark xv. 19. And they did *spit* upon him,—and *smote* him on the head.—Mark xv. 25. And they crucified him.—1 Pet. ii. 23, 24. Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not. Who bare our sins in his own body on the *tree* (the cross).

§ 14. *That the Messiah should be cruelly mocked and derided.*

Prophecy.—Psal. xxii. 12, 13. 7, 8. Many bulls have compassed me; strong bulls of Bashan—(that is, the wicked and furious Jews, who like the beasts fattened on the fertile plains of Bashan "waxed fat and kicked;—became proud and rebellious)—have beset me round. They gaped upon me with their mouths as a ravening and roaring lion. All they that see me, laugh me to scorn; they shoot out the lip, saying, *He trusted in God that he would deliver him; let him deliver him*, seeing he delighted in him.

Fulfilment.—Matt. xxvii. 39. 41, 42.; Mark xv. 31, 32.; Luke xxiii. 35, 36. And they that passed by, reviled him, wagging their heads. Likewise also the chief priests, and the rulers also with them, derided, *and* mocking, said among themselves, with the scribes and elders, "He saved others, himself he cannot save; if he be the Christ, the chosen of God, let him now come down from the cross, and save himself, that we may see, and we will believe him. *He trusted in God, let him deliver him* now if he will have him." And the soldiers also mocked him,—saying, "If thou be the king of the Jews, save thyself."

§ 15. *That vinegar and gall should be offered to the Messiah upon the cross: and that his garments should be divided, and lots cast for his vesture.*

Prophecy.—Psal. lxix. 21. They gave me also gall for my meat, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.—Psal. xxii. 18. They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture.

Fulfilment.—John xix. 29.; Matt. xxvii. 48.; Mark xv. 36. And they filled a sponge with vinegar, and put it upon hyssop, and put it to his mouth.—John xix. 23, 24. And the soldiers when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and also his coat; now the coat was without seam. They said therefore, "Let us not rend it, but cast lots whose it shall be."

§ 16. *That not a bone of the Messiah should be broken, but that his side should be pierced.*

Prophecy.—Psal. xxxiv. 20. He keepeth all his bones; *not one* of them is *broken*.—Zech. xii. 10. And they shall look upon me whom they have *pierced*.

Fulfilment.—John xix. 32—34. Then came the soldiers and brake the legs of the first and of the other which was crucified with him: but when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they *brake* NOT *his legs*. But one of the soldiers, with a spear, *pierced his side*, and forthwith there came out blood and water.

§ 17. *That the Messiah should die with malefactors, but be buried honourably.*

Prophecy.—Isa. liii. 9. And he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death.

Fulfilment.—Matt. xxvii. 38. 57—60. Then were there two thieves crucified with him. There came a rich man of Arimathea, named Joseph, and begged the body of Jesus; and he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth and laid it in his own new tomb.

§ 18. *That the Messiah should rise from the dead, and ascend into heaven.*

Prophecy.—Psal. xvi. 9, 10. My flesh also shall rest in hope, for thou wilt not leave my soul in *hell* (the separate state of departed spirits), neither wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption.—Isa. liii. 10. When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin,—he shall prolong his days.—Psal. lxviii. 18. Thou hast *ascended* up on high; thou hast led captivity captive; thou hast received gifts for men, that the Lord God might dwell among them.

Fulfilment.—Acts ii. 31. (David) spake before the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in *hell* (Hades, or the separate state); neither did his flesh see corruption. See also Acts xiii. 35.—Matt. xxviii. 5, 6. The angels said unto the women, "He is not here, for he is *risen*, as he said." See Luke xxiv. 5, 6.—1 Cor. xv. 4. He rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures.—Acts i. 3. He showed himself alive, after his passion, by many infallible proofs.—Mark xvi. 19.; Luke xxiv. 51.; Acts i. 9. So, then, after the Lord had spoken to them, while he was blessing them, and while they beheld, he was parted from them, and *carried up* into heaven, and sat at the right hand of God. Compare also 1 Pet. iii. 22.; 1 Tim. iii. 16.; Heb. vi. 20.

§ 19. *That the Messiah should send the Holy Spirit, the Comforter.*

Prophecy.—Joel. ii. 28. I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophecy.

Fulfilment.—See all these promises and predictions fulfilled in Acts ii. 1—4.; iv. 31.; viii. 17.; x. 44.; xi. 15

SECTION II.

PREDICTIONS RELATIVE TO THE OFFICES OF THE MESSIAH.

§ 1. *That the Messiah was to be a* Prophet *and* Legislator like unto Moses, *but superior to him, who should change the law of Moses into a new and more perfect law, common both to Jews and Gentiles, and which should last for ever.*

Prophecy.—Deut. xviii. 18, 19. I will rise them up a *Prophet* from among their brethren like unto thee, and will put my words into his mouth.... And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him. See also Deut. xviii. 15.; Acts iii. 22. and vii. 37.

Fulfilment.—That the Messiah was to be a *Prophet*, generally, see § 8. p. 451. *supra*; and how closely Jesus Christ resembled Moses, to whom he was also infinitely superior in many respects, will appear from the following particulars:—

(i.) *As to the dignity of his person.*—Heb. iii. 5, 6. Moses verily was faithful in all his house, as a *servant*, for a testimony of those things which were to be spoken after; but Christ as a *Son* over his own house, whose house are we. Other prophets had revelations in dreams and visions, but Moses talked with God face to face. Christ spake that which he had seen with the Father.

(ii.) *As to his legislative office.*—Moses was a *Legislator*, and the *Mediator* of a covenant between God and Man. Christ was the

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Mediator of a better covenant than that which was established by the sacrifice of bulls and goats. The one was mortal; the other divine. Other prophets were only interpreters and enforcers of the law, and, in this respect, were greatly inferior to Moses. This is, of itself, a sufficient proof, that a succession of prophets could not be *solely* alluded to. The person who was to be raised up, could not be like Moses, in a strict sense, unless he were a legislator—he must give a law to mankind, and, consequently, a more excellent law; for if the first had been perfect, as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews argues, there could have been no room for a second. Christ was this legislator, who gave a law more perfect in its nature, more extensive in its application, and more glorious in its promises and rewards.—Heb. vii. 18, 19. There is a disannulling of the commandment going before, for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof; for the law made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a *better hope* (i. e. of a new law) did, by the which we draw nigh to God

The *Law* of Moses belonged to one nation only; but the Gospel, which is the *Law of Christ*, is designed *for all nations*. The Messiah was to *enact a new Law*; Isa. ii. 3. Out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. This new law or covenant was to be *common to all nations*; see Isa. ii. 2, 3. and li. 4, 5.; and was to endure for ever; see Isa. lix. 21.; Jer. xxxi. 34.; Ezek. xxxvi. 27. xxxvii. 26.; Isa. lv. 3. lxi. 8.; Jer. xxxii. 40.; Ezek. xxxiv. 25.; Dan. vii. 13, 14.; Isa. xlii. 6. lxii. 2.; compared with Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. Moses instituted the passover, when a lamb was sacrificed, none of whose bones were to be broken, and whose blood protected the people from destruction—Christ was himself that paschal lamb. Moses had a very wicked and perverse generation committed to his care; and to enable him to rule them, miraculous powers were given to him, and he used his utmost endeavours to make the people obedient to God, and to save them from ruin; but in vain: in the space of forty years they all fell in the wilderness except two.—Christ also was given to a generation not less wicked and perverse; his instructions and his miracles were lost upon them; and in about the same space of time, after they had rejected him, they were destroyed.

(iii.) *As to his prophetic office and character.*—Moses foretold the calamities that would befal his nation for their disobedience.—Christ predicted the same events, fixed the precise time, and enlarged upon the previous and subsequent circumstances.

Moses chose and appointed seventy elders to preside over the people—Christ chose the same number of disciples. Moses sent twelve men to spy out the land which was to be conquered—Christ sent his twelve apostles into the world, to subdue it by a more glorious and miraculous conquest.

(iv.) *As to the benefits conferred.*—Moses delivered the Israelites from their cruel bondage in Egypt; he contended with the magicians, and had the advantage over them so manifestly, that they could no longer withstand him, but were constrained to acknowledge the divine power by which he was assisted. Moses conducted the Israelites through the desert, assuring them that, if they would be obedient, they should enter into the happy land of promise, which the wiser Jews usually understood to be a type of the eternal and celestial kingdom, to which the Messiah was to open an entrance. And Moses interceded with the Almighty for that rebellious people, and stopped the wrath of God, by lifting up the brazen serpent in the wilderness. The people could not enter into the land of promise till Moses was dead—by the death of Christ "the kingdom of heaven was opened to believers."—But JESUS has delivered us from the far worse tyranny of Satan and sin, and He *saves* ALL who truly believe in him and unfeignedly repent, *from* the guilt, the power, and the punishment of *their sins*. (Matt. i. 21.)—Jesus Christ cast out evil spirits, and received their acknowledgments both of the dignity of his nature and the importance of his mission. He was lifted up on the cross, and was the atonement for the whole world. He has also brought life and immortality to light; and opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers. As our forerunner, he hath entered into heaven, that where he is, there his followers may be also (Heb. vi. 20. ix. 24.; John xiv. 2, 3.): and as an *Advocate* he *ever* liveth to make intercession for all that come unto God by him. (1 John ii. 1.; Heb. vii. 25.)

Moses wrought a great variety of miracles, and in this particular the parallel is remarkable; since beside Christ *there arose not a prophet in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face, in all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do.* (Deut. xxxiv.) Moses was not only a lawgiver, a prophet, and a worker of miracles, but a king and a priest. He is called king (Deut. xxxiii. 5.), and he had, indeed, though not the pomp, and the crown, and the sceptre, yet the authority of a king, and was the supreme magistrate; and the office of priest he often exercised. In all these offices the resemblance between Moses and Christ was striking and exact.

Moses fed the people miraculously in the wilderness—Christ with bread and with doctrine; and the manna which descended from heaven, and the loaves which Christ multiplied, were proper images of the spiritual food which the Saviour of the world bestowed upon his disciples.

Moses expressly declares, "That it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which the prophet shall speak in my name, I will require it of him." The Jews rejected Christ, and God rejected them. In the whole course of the history of the Jews there is no instance recorded, where, in the case of disobedience to the warnings or advice of any prophet, such terrible calamities ensued, as those which followed the rejection of the Messiah. The overthrow of the Jewish empire, the destruction of so many Jews at the siege of Jerusalem, the dispersion of the surviving people, and the history of the Jews down to the present day—calamities beyond measure and beyond example—fulfilled the prophecy of Moses.

(v.) *As to the circumstances of his death.*—Moses died in one sense for the iniquities of his people: it was their rebellion, which was the occasion of it, which drew down the displeasure of God upon them and upon him: "The Lord," said Moses to them, "was angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou shalt not go in thither, but thou shalt die." (Deut. i. 37.) Moses, therefore, went up, in the sight of the people, to the top of Mount Nebo, and there he died, when he was in perfect vigour, "when his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated."—Christ suffered for the sins of men, and was led up, in the presence of the people, to Calvary, where he died in the flower of his age, and when he was in his full natural strength. Neither Moses nor Christ, as far as we may collect from sacred history, were ever sick, or felt any bodily decay or infirmity which would have rendered them unfit for the toils they underwent. Their sufferings were of another kind.

As Moses, a little before his death, promised the people that God would raise them up a Prophet like unto him—so Christ, taking leave of his afflicted disciples, told them, *I will not leave you comfortless: I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter.* (John xiv. 18. 16.)

"Is this similitude and correspondence, in so many particulars, the effect of mere chance?" says Dr. Jortin, to whom we are principally indebted for the preceding circumstances of resemblance between Jesus Christ and the Great Prophet and Legislator of the Jews:—"Let us search all the records of universal history, and see if we can find a man who was so like to Moses as Christ was. If we cannot find such a one, then we have found him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write, to be Jesus of Nazareth, THE SON OF GOD."[1]

§ 2. *The Messiah was to be a Teacher, who was to instruct and enlighten men.*

(i.) *Messiah was to be a Teacher.*

PROPHECY.—Isa. lxi. 1. The Lord hath anointed me to *preach* good tidings unto the meek.—Isa. liv. 13. All thy people shall be *taught* of the Lord.—Psal. lxxviii. 2. I will open my mouth in a *parable*.

FULFILMENT.—Mark i. 14. Jesus came .... *preaching* the kingdom of God.—Luke viii. 1. He went throughout every city and village, *preaching*, and showing the glad tidings of the kingdom of God.—Mark vi. 6. He went round about all the villages *teaching*.—Luke iv. 15. 44. He *taught* in their synagogues; and he *preached* in the synagogues of Galilee. See also Matt. iv. 23. ix. 35.; Mark i. 38, 39.—Matt. xi. The poor have the Gospel *preached* unto them.—Matt. xiii. 34. All these things spake Jesus unto the multitude in *parables*, and without a parable spake he not unto them, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, I will open my mouth in *parables*.—Mark. iv. 33. With many such *parables* spake he the word unto them. The following list of parables may serve to illustrate the prophetic character of the Messiah as a teacher: it is borrowed from Mr. Archdeacon Nare's Veracity of the Evangelists demonstrated, pp. 287—289.:—

1. Of the Blind leading the Blind	Luke vi.
2. Of the House built on a Rock	Matt. vii Luke vi.
3. Of the two Debtors	Luke vii.
4. Of the relapsing Demoniac	Matt. xii. Luke xi.
5. Of the rich Man and his vain Hopes	Luke xii
6. Of the Lord returning from a Wedding	Luke xii.
7. Of the barren Fig-tree	Luke xiii
8. Of the Sower	Matt. xiii. Mark iv. Luke viii
9. Of the Tares	Matt. xiii.
10. Of the Seed sown	Mark iv.
11. Of the Mustard Seed	Matt. xiii Mark iv.
12. Of the Leaven	Matt. xiii
13. Of the hid Treasure	Ibid.
14. Of the Merchant seeking Pearls	Ibid.
15. Of the Net cast into the Sea	Ibid.
16. Of the good Householder	Matt. xiii
17. Of the new Cloth and old Garment	Matt. ix. Mark ii Luke v.
18. Of the new Wine and old Bottles	Matt. ix. Mark ii. Luke v.
19. Of the Plant not planted by God	Matt. xv
20. Of the lost Sheep	Matt. xviii Luke xv.
21. Of the unmerciful Servant	Matt. xviii

[1] Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. pp. 135—180. second edition. See also Bp. Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies, vol. i. pp. 90—101. London, 1793, ninth edition.

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22. Of the Shepherd and the Sheep	John x.
23. Of the good Samaritan	Luke x.
24. Of the Guest choosing the highest Seat	Luke xiv.
25. Of the great Supper	Ibid.
26. Of the building of a Tower	Ibid
27. Of the King preparing for War	Ibid
28. Of the Salt	Ibid.
29. Of the Piece of Silver lost	Luke xv.
30. Of the Prodigal Son	Ibid.
31. Of the unjust Steward	Luke xvi.
32. Of the rich Man and Lazarus	Ibid.
33. Of the Master commanding his Servant	Luke xvii.
34. Of the unjust Judge and Widow	Luke xviii.
35. Of the Pharisee and Publican	Ibid.
36. Of the Labourers hired at different Hours	Matt. xx.
37. Of the Ten Pounds and Ten Servants	Luke xix.
38. Of the professing and repenting Son	Matt. xxi.
39. Of the wicked Husbandman	Matt. xxi. Mark xii. Luke xx.
40. Of the Guests bidden and the Wedding Garment	Matt. xxii.
41. Of the Fig-tree putting forth Leaves	Matt. xxiv. Mark xiii. Luke xxi.
42. Of the Thief in the Night	Matt. xxiv.
43. Of the Man taking a long Journey	Mark xiii.
44. Of the faithful and unfaithful Servant	Matt. xxiv.
45. Of the Ten Virgins	Matt. xxv.
46. Of the Talents	Ibid.

Perhaps also the following may be added:—

47. Children in the Market Place	Matt. xi. Luke vii.
48. The strong Man keeping his House	Matt. xii. Mark iii. Luke xi.

(ii.) *Messiah was to instruct and enlighten men.*

Prophecy.—Isaiah ix. 2. The people that walked in darkness had seen a great *light*; they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.

Fulfilment.—John xii. 46. I am come a *light* into the world, that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness. (See also John viii. 12. ix. 5.)—Luke ii. 32. A *light* to lighten the Gentiles.—Acts xxvi. 18. To open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to *light*, and from the power of Satan unto God.—Eph. v. 8. Ye were sometimes darkness, but now ye are *light* in the Lord; walk as children of light.—Acts iii. 26. God having raised up his son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his miquities.

§ 3. *He was to be the Messiah, Christ, or Anointed of God.*

Prophecy.—Isaiah lxi. 1. The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord hath *anointed* me to preach good tidings unto the meek.—Dan. xi. 24, 25. To *anoint* the most holy,—the *Messiah* the Prince.—Psal. cxxxii. 17. I have ordained a lamp for mine *Anointed*. See also Psal. lxxxix. 20. 51.—Psal. ii. 2. The rulers take counsel together against the Lord and against his *Anointed* or *Messiah*.

Fulfilment.—John iv. 25. 42. I know that the *Messiah* cometh, which is called the *Christ*. This is indeed the *Christ*.—vi. 69. We believe and are sure that thou art the *Christ*, the Son of the living God. See also John xi. 27.; Matt. xvi. 16.—Matt. xxvi. 63, 64. The high priest said, "I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the *Christ* the Son of God;" Jesus saith unto him, "Thou hast said." See also Mark xiv. 61.—Acts xviii. 28. He mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was the *Christ*. See also Acts ix. 22. and xvii. 3.—Acts ii. 36. Let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus whom ye have crucified both Lord and *Christ*—Phil. ii. 11. That every tongue should confess that Jesus *Christ* is Lord.

§ 4. *The Messiah was to be a Priest.*

Prophecy.—Psal. cx. 4. Thou art a *priest* for ever, after the order of Melchizedek (cited in Heb. v. 6. vii. 21.).—Zech. vi. 13. He shall be a *priest* upon his throne.

Fulfilment.—Heb. iv. 14. We have a great *high priest* that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God. (See also viii. 1.)—Heb. iii. 1. x. 21. Consider the apostle and *high priest* of our profession, Christ Jesus.—Heb. ii. 17. That he might be a merciful and faithful *high priest* in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people.—Heb. vii. 24. This man because he continueth forever hath an unchangeable *priesthood*.

§ 5. *The Messiah was, by the offering of himself as a sacrifice for sin, to make an end of sin, to make reconciliation for iniquity, to make men holy, and to destroy the power of the devil.*

Prophecy.—Isa. liii. 6. 10, 11, 12. The Lord hath *laid on him the iniquity of us all*. Thou shalt make his soul an *offering for sin*. He shall bear their *iniquities*. He bare the *sin* of many.—Dan. ix. 24. To *finish* the *transgression*, to make an *end of sins*, and to make *reconciliation for iniquity*, and to bring in an everlasting righteousness.—Gen. iii. 15. It (the seed of woman, the promised Messiah) shall *bruise* thy (Satan's) head.

Fulfilment.—Eph. v. 2. Christ hath given himself *for us*, an *offering*, and a *sacrifice* to God. (See also 2 Cor. v. 21. Rom. viii. 3.)—1 John ii. 2. He is the *propitiation* for our sins.—Heb. ix. 14. Christ, who through the eternal Spirit *offered himself* without spot, to God.—1 Pet. i. 19. *Redeemed*—with the precious blood of Christ, as of a *lamb* without blemish.—1 Pet. iii. 18. Christ hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust.—Heb. x. 12. This man, after he had offered one *sacrifice* for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God.—Heb. ix. 12. Neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood he entered in once into the holy place.—Heb. vii. 27 Who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice first for his own sins, and then for the people's; for this he did once when he offered up himself. Heb. ix. 25, 26. Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with the blood of others. But now, once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the *sacrifice of himself*.—John i. 29. The lamb of God, which *taketh away the sin* of the world.—Acts v. 31. To give repentance to Israel and *forgiveness of sins*.—1 Cor. xv. 3. Christ died *for our sins* according to the Scriptures.—1 John i. 7. The blood of Jesus Christ his Son *cleanseth us from all sin*.—Rom. v. 10. We were *reconciled* to God by the death of his Son.—2 Cor. v. 18. Who hath *reconciled* us to himself by Jesus Christ.—Col. i. 20. By him (Christ) to reconcile all things unto himself.—Heb. v. 8, 9. He became the author of *salvation* unto all them that obey him.—2 Cor. v. 15. He died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them. (See also Rom. vi. 10—12. 1 Thess. v. 10.)—1 Pet. ii. 24. Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that *we*, being dead to sin, *should live unto righteousness*.—Tit. ii. 14. Who gave himself for us, that he might *redeem us from all iniquity*, and purify unto himself a *peculiar people zealous of good works*.—1 Cor. vi. 20. Ye are *bought* with a price; therefore *glorify* God in your *body and in your spirit which are God's*.—1 Pet. iv. 1, 2. As Christ has suffered for us in the flesh, arm yourselves likewise with the same mind; for he that hath suffered in the flesh hath ceased from sin, that he no longer should live the rest of his time in the flesh, to the lusts of men, but *to the will of God*.

§ 6. *The Messiah was to be a Saviour.*

Prophecy.—Isa. lix. 20. The *Redeemer* shall come to Zion, and to them that turn from transgression in Jacob.—lxii. 11. Say ye to the daughter of Zion "Behold thy *salvation* cometh."

Fulfilment.—1 John iv. 14. The Father sent the Son to be *the Saviour* of the world.—Luke ii. 11.. Unto you is born a *Saviour*, which is Christ the Lord. (See also Matt. i. 21. Acts xiii. 23.)—John iv. 42. We have heard him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, *the Saviour* of the world.—Acts v. 31. Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a prince and a *Saviour*, for to give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins.—2 Pet. ii. 20. Have escaped the pollutions of the world through the knowledge of the Lord and *Saviour* Jesus Christ. (See also 2 Pet. iii. 18.)—Tit. iii. 6. The Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our *Saviour*.—2 Pet. i. 1. Through the righteousness of our God and *Saviour* Jesus Christ.—Phil. iii. 20. From whence (heaven) we also look for the *Saviour*, the Lord Jesus Christ.—Tit. ii. 13. Looking for.....the appearing of our great God and *Saviour*, Jesus Christ.

§ 7. *The Messiah was to be a Mediator.*

Prophecy.—Psal. cx. 1. The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand.—Dan. ix. 17. 19. O our God, cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary that is desolate for the Lord's sake. Defer not for thine own sake, O my God. Isa. viii. 14. He shall be for a sanctuary.

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FULFILMENT.—John xiv. 6. Jesus saith unto him, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me."—1 Tim. ii. 5. There is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.—Heb. xii. 24. Jesus the *mediator* of the new covenant. (See also Heb. vii. 22. viii. 6. ix. 15.)—John xv. 16. xvi. 23, 24. Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you; hitherto ye have asked nothing in my name.—John xiv. 14. If ye shall ask any thing in my name I will do *it*.

§ 8. *The Messiah was to be an Intercessor.*

PROPHECY.—Isa. liii. 12. He made *intercession* for the transgressors.

FULFILMENT.—Luke xxiii. 34. Jesus said, *Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.* Heb. ix. 24. Christ is entered into heaven itself, now to *appear* in the presence of God *for us*.—1 John ii. 1. If any man sin, we have an *advocate* with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.—Rom. viii. 34. Christ, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh *intercession* for us.—Heb. vii. 25. He is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make *intercession* for them.

§ 9. *Messiah was to be a Shepherd.*

PROPHECY.—Isa. xl. 11. He shall feed his flock like a *shepherd*, he shall gather the lambs with his arm, and carry them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young.—Ezek. xxxiv. 23. I will set up one *shepherd* over them, even my servant David. (See also Ezek. xxxvii. 24.)

FULFILMENT.—John x. 11. 14. I am the good *shepherd*, and know my sheep, and am known of mine. Other *sheep* (that is, the Gentiles) I have, which are not of this fold....and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, *and* one *shepherd*.—Heb. xiii. 20. Our Lord Jesus, that great *shepherd* of the sheep.—1 Pet. ii. 25. Ye are now returned unto the *shepherd* and bishop of your souls.—1 Pet. v. 1, 2. 4. The elders, I exhort, feed the flock of God; and when the *chief shepherd* shall appear ye shall receive a crown.

§ 10. *Messiah was to be a king, superior to all others, the head and ruler of the church, and more particularly exalted as a king, after his sufferings and resurrection.*

(i.) *Messiah was to be a King.*

PROPHECY—Psal. ii. 6. Yet have I set my *king* upon my holy hill of Zion.—Psal. cxxxii. 11. The Lord hath sworn to David, "Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy *throne*." (See also Isa. ix. 6. lv. 4. Zech. vi. 13.)—Jer. xxiii. 5, 6. A *king* shall reign, and prosper; this is the name whereby he shall be called, "The Lord our righteousness." (See also Isa. xxxii. 1.)—Ezek. xxxvii. 24, 25. David my servant shall be *king* over them. (See also xxxiv. 23, 24. Jer. xxx. 9. Hos. iii. 5.)—Zech. ix. 9. Shout, O daughter of Jerusalem, behold thy *king* cometh unto thee. (Cited as fulfilled in Matt. xxi. 5. John xii. 15. Luke xix. 38.)

FULFILMENT.—Matt. ii. 5, 6. Thus it is written by the prophet, "Out of thee shall come a *governor*, that shall rule my people Israel." (Mich. v. 2.)—Luke i. 32, 33. The Lord God shall give unto him the *throne* of his father David, and he shall *reign* over the house of Jacob for ever.—John i. 49. Nathaniel answered, "Thou art the Son of God, thou art the *king* of Israel."—John xviii. 33. 36, 37. Pilate said, "Art thou the *king* of the Jews?" Jesus answered, "My kingdom is not of this world: now is my kingdom not from hence." Pilate said, "Art thou a king then?" Jesus answered "Thou sayest that I am a king." (See also Matt. xxvii. 11.)—Acts v. 31. Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a *prince* and a Saviour.

(ii.) *Messiah was to be a king, superior to all others, the head and ruler of the church.*

PROPHECY.—Psal. lxxxix. 27. 36. I will make him, my first-born, higher than the kings of the earth. His throne as the sun before me.—Dan. vii. 13, 14. One like the Son of Man;—There was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom; that all people, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion. (See also Dan. vii. 27. ii. 44.)

FULFILMENT.—Rev. i. 3. The *Prince of the kings of the earth*.—1 Tim. vi. 15. Who is the blessed and only potentate, the *King of kings, and Lord of lords*. (See also Rev. xvii 14. xix. 16.)—Eph. i. 21. Far *above* all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come.—Phil. ii. 9. God hath highly *exalted* him, and given him a name, which is *above every name*.—Eph. i. 22, 23. God hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be *Head* over all things *to the Church*, which is his body.—Col. i. 18. Christ is the *Head of the Church*, which is his body. (See also Eph. v. 23.)—Eph. iv. 15, 16 Who is the *Head, even* Christ; from whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted.....maketh increase.—1 Cor. xii. 27. Ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular.

(iii.) *Messiah the king was to be exalted, more particularly after his sufferings and resurrection.*

PROPHECY.—Psal. ii. 6, 7. (cited and applied to Christ in Acts xiii. 33. and Heb. v. 5.) I have set my King upon my holy hill of Zion. Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee.—Psal. viii. 5. Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour.—Isa. liii. 10. 12. When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed; and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand.—Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong, because he hath poured out his soul unto death.

FULFILMENT.—1 Pet. i. 11. The prophets....testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow.—Luke xxiv. 26. Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to have entered into glory?—John xvii. 1. The hour is come, glorify thy Son.—Rom. i. 4. Declared to be the Son of God with power....by the resurrection from the dead.—1 Pet. i. 21. God . . . raised him up from the dead, and gave him glory.—1 Pet. iii. 22. Who is gone into heaven, and is on the right hand of God; angels, and authorities, and powers being made subject unto him.—Acts ii. 32, 33. Jesus hath God raised up....therefore being by the right hand of God exalted.—Phil. ii. 8, 9. Being found in fashion as man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross; wherefore God also hath highly exalted him.—Heb. ii. 9. We see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels, for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour.—Heb. xii. 2. Who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRINCIPAL PREDICTIONS BY JESUS CHRIST RELATIVE TO HIS SUFFERINGS, DEATH, RESURRECTION, THE SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL, AND THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

[*Referred to in page* 129 *of this volume.*]

SECTION I.

PREDICTIONS (FOR THE CONFIRMATION OF HIS DISCIPLES' FAITH) THAT THEY WOULD FIND THINGS ACCORDING TO HIS WORD.

PROPHECY.—Matt. xxi. 1, 2, 3. Mark xi. 2. Luke xix. 30, 31. Jesus sent two disciples, saying unto them, "Go into the village over against you, and straightway ye shall find an ass tied and a colt with her; loose them, and bring them unto me; and if any man shall say aught unto you, ye shall say, 'The Lord hath need of them,' and straightway he will send them."—Mark xiv. 13, 14, 15. Go ye into the city, and there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water, follow him; and wheresoever he shall go in, say ye to the good man of the house, "The master saith, Where is the guest-chamber, where I shall eat the passover with my disciples?" And he shall show you a large upper room. (See also Matt. xxvi. 18.)

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FULFILMENT.—Mark ix. 4, 5, 6. Luke xix. 32. They found the colt tied by the door without, in a place where two ways met, and they loose him; and certain of them that stood there said to them, "What do ye, loosing the colt?" and they said to them even as Jesus had commanded, and they let them go.—Luke xxii. 13. Mark xiv. 16. They went and found as he had said unto them.

SECTION II.

PREDICTIONS OF JESUS CHRIST RELATIVE TO HIS SUFFERINGS, DEATH, RESURRECTION, AND ASCENSION.

§ 1. *That he was to be betrayed by one of his disciples, and by Judas Iscariot.*

PROPHECY.—John vi. 70, 71. Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil? He spake of Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon, for he it was that should betray him.—Matt. xx. 18. Behold we go up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man shall be betrayed unto the chief priests and unto the scribes. (See also Matt. xvii. 22. Mark. x. 33. Luke ix. 44.)—Matt. xxvi. 2. Ye know, that after two days is the feast of the passover, and the Son of Man is betrayed to be crucified.—John xiii. 10, 11. Ye are clean, but not all; for he knew who should betray him; therefore, said he, ye are not all clean. (18. xvii. 12.)—Mark. xiv. 18. Jesus said, Verily I say unto you, One of you which eateth with me shall betray me. (Matt. xxvi. 21. John xiii. 21.) Luke xxii. 21.)—John xiii. 26. He it is to whom I shall give a sop:—he gave it to Judas Iscariot. (Mark xiv. 20.)—Mark xiv. 42. He that betrayeth me is at hand. (Matt. xxiv. 46.)

FULFILMENT.—Matt. xxvi. 14, 15, 16. One of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests and said unto them, What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you? and they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver; and from that time he sought opportunity to betray him. (Mark xiv. 10. Luke xxiii. 3. John xiii. 2.)—Matt. xxvi. 47—49. Judas, one of the twelve came, and with him a great multitude with swords and staves, from the chief priests and elders of the people. Now he that betrayed him gave them a sign, saying, Whomsoever I shall kiss, that same is he, hold him fast; and forthwith he came to Jesus, and said, Hail, Master, and kissed him.

§ 2. *That his other disciples would forsake him.*

PROPHECY.—Mark. xiv. 27. Matt. xxvi. 31. Jesus saith unto them, All ye shall be offended because of me this night; for it is written, "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered."—John xvi. 32. The hour cometh, yea is now come, that ye shall be scattered every man to his own, and shall leave me alone.—John xviii. 8, 9. Jesus answered, If ye seek me, let these go their way; that the saying might be fulfilled which he spake, Of them which thou gavest me have I lost none.

FULFILMENT.—Matt. xxvi. 56. Then ALL *the disciples* FORSOOK *him and fled.*—Mark. xiv. 53. *And they* ALL FORSOOK *him and fled.*

§ 3. *That Peter would deny him.*

PROPHECY.—Luke xxii. 31, 32. Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat; but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.—John xiii. 38. Wilt thou lay down thy life for my sake? Verily, verily, I say unto thee, The cock shall not crow till thou hast denied me thrice. (See also Matt. xxvi. 34. Luke xxii. 34.)—Mark xiv. 30. Verily I say unto thee, That this day, even in this night, before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice.

FULFILMENT.—Luke xxii. 60, 61, 62. Peter said, Man, I know not what thou sayest; and immediately, while he yet spake, the cock crew. And the Lord turned, and looked upon Peter; and Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice; and Peter went out and wept bitterly. (See also Matt. xxvi. 75. John xviii. 27.)—Mark xiv. 72. The second time the cock crew, and Peter called to mind the word that Jesus said unto him, Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice.

§4. *The circumstances, place, and manner of his sufferings.*

(i.) *That he should suffer.*

PROPHECY.—Matt. xvi. 21. Mark viii. 31. Luke ix. 22. Jesus began to teach *and* to show unto his disciples, how that he, the Son of Man, must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and after three days, be raised again the third day.—Mark ix. 31. Matt. xvii. 22, 23. The Son of man shall be delivered into the hands of men, and they shall kill him: and after that he is killed, he shall rise the third day.—Mark x. 33, 34. Matt. xx. 18, 19. Luke xviii. 31—33. Behold we go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written in the prophets concerning the Son of Man shall be accomplished: and the Son of man shall be betrayed, *and* delivered unto the chief priests, and unt the scribes; and they shall condemn him unto death, and shall deliver him unto the Gentiles. And they shall mock and spitefully entreat him, and shall scourge him, and shall spit upon him, and shall kill him, and crucify *him;* and the third day he shall rise again.

FULFILMENT.—John xi. 53. They took counsel together to put him to death.—Matt. xxvi. 4. Mark xiv. 1. Luke xxii. 2. And consulted how they might take Jesus by subtilty and put him to death.—Matt. xxvi. 66. Mark xiv. 64. Luke xxii. 71. They answered and said, "He is guilty of death"....and they all condemned him to be guilty of death.—Matt. xxvii. 26. Luke xxiii. 24. John xix. 16. When he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified.—John xix. 18. Matt. xxxvii. 35 Luke xxiii. 33.....Golgotha; where they crucified him, and two others with him. Luke xxiv. 6, 7. 26. 46. Remember how he spake unto you, when he was yet in Galilee, saying, "The Son of Man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again."..... "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things?"....Thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day.—Acts ii. 23. Him....ye have taken, and by wicked hands crucified and slain.—Acts xiii. 27. They have fulfilled (*the prophecies*) in condemning him.—Acts xvii. 3. (*Paul opened and alleged out of the Scriptures*) That Christ must needs have suffered and risen again from the dead.—Gal. iii. 1.....Christ hath evidently been set forth crucified among you.

(ii.) *The* PLACE *where he should suffer*, viz. *at Jerusalem.*

PROPHECY.—Matt xvi. 21. Luke ix. 31. He must go unto Jerusalem and suffer.—Luke xiii. 31. 33. Herod will kill thee. It cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem.—Luke xviii. 31. Matt. xx. 18. We go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written by the prophets concerning the Son of Man shall be accomplished.

FULFILMENT.—Luke xxiv. 18. Art thou only a stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the things which are come to pass there in these days? (See also Matt. xxvii. Mark xv. Luke xxiii. John xix.)—Acts xiii. 27. They that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets, which are read every Sabbath-day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him.—Heb. xiii. 12. Jesus....suffered without the gate.

(iii.) *The* PERSONS, *by whom he was to suffer*, viz. *particularly by the Chief Priests and Gentiles.*

(*a.*) *By the Chief Priests.*

PROPHECY.—Matt. xvi. 21. Mark viii. 31. Luke ix. 22. He must suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes.—Matt. xvii. 12. Likewise shall also the Son of Man suffer of them.—Mark x. 33. The Son of man shall be delivered to the chief priests and to the scribes, and they shall condemn him to death.

FULFILMENT.—Matt xxvi. 3, 4. John xi. 53. Then assembled together the chief priests and the scribes and the elders of the people unto the palace of the high priest who was called Caiaphas; and consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty and kill him.—John xviii. 13. 24. Matt. xxvi. 57. They led him away to Annas first. Now Annas had sent him bound unto Caiaphas the high priest.—Matt. xxvi. 65, 66. Mark xiv. 64. The high priest rent his clothes, saying, "He hath spoken blasphemy,—what think ye?" They answered and said, "He is guilty of death." Matt. xxvii. 20. Luke xxiii. 18. The chief priests and elders persuaded the multitude that they should *ask* Barabbas, and destroy Jesus.—Luke xxiv. 20. Acts xiii. 28. The chief priests and rulers delivered him to be condemned to death.

(*b.*) *By the Gentiles.*

PROPHECY.—Luke xviii. 31, 32. Mark x. 33. Matt. xx. 19. The Son of Man shall be delivered to the Gentiles. (Note, that when Jesus foretold that he should be crucified, it also implied that he should be delivered to the Gentiles; for crucifixion was a Roman not a Jewish punishment.)

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FULFILMENT.—Acts xiii. 28. Though they found no cause of death *in him*, yet desired they Pilate that he should be slain.—Matt. xxvii. 2. Mark. xv. 1. They delivered him unto Pontius Pilate the governor.—John xviii. 31, 32. Pilate said unto them, "Take ye him, and judge him according to your law." The Jews, therefore, said unto him, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death;" that the saying of Jesus might be fulfilled.—Mark xv. 15. Luke xxiii. 24. Pilate delivered Jesus, when he had scourged him, to be crucified.—Acts iv. 27. Against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together.

(iv.) *The manner of his sufferings*, viz. *by mocking and crucifixion.*

(*a.*) *Jesus foretold that he should be mocked.*

PROPHECY.—Mark. ix. 12. The Son of Man must suffer many things, and be set at nought.—Luke xviii. 32. Mark x. 34. The Son of Man shall be delivered to the Gentiles, and shall be mocked, and spitefully intreated, and spitted on.

FULFILMENT.—*At the high priest's.*—Matt. xxvi. 67, 68. Mark xiv. 65. Then did they spit in his face, and buffeted him, and others smote him with the palms of their hands, saying, Prophecy unto us, thou Christ, who is he that smote thee."—*Before Herod.*—Luke xxiii. 11. Herod, with his men of war, set him at nought, and mocked him, and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe.—*At Pilate's judgment hall.*—Mark xv. 17, 18, 19. Matt. xxvii. 28. John xix. 2. They clothed him with purple, and platted a crown of thorns and put it about his head, and began to salute him, "Hail, king of the Jews!" and they smote him on the head with a reed, and did spit upon him, and bowing their knees worshipped him.—*At the Cross.*—Mark xv. 29—32. They that passed by railed on him, wagging their heads and saying, "Ah, thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself, and come down from the cross." Likewise, also, the chief priests, mocking, said, among themselves, with the scribes, "He saved others, himself he cannot save; let Christ the king of Israel descend now from the cross, that we may see and believe." And they that were crucified with him reviled him.

(*b*) *Jesus foretold that he should be crucified.*

PROPHECY.—John iii. 14. As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up.—John xii. 32. And I, if I be (*more correctly*, when I am) lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.—John viii. 28. When ye have lifted up the Son of Man, then shall ye know that I am he.—Matt. xx. 19..... To mock and to scourge and to crucify him.

FULFILMENT.—Matt. xxvii. 31. John xix. 16. They led him away to crucify him.—Luke xxiii. 33. Mark. xv. 20. 25. When they were come to the place which is called Calvary, there they crucified him.—Luke xxiv. 6, 7. Remember how he spake to you.... The Son of Man must be .... be crucified. Compare also Luke xxiv. 20. Acts ii. 23. and iv. 10. 1 Cor. i. 23. Gal iii. 1.

§ 5. *Jesus Christ predicted his resurrection.*

PROPHECY.—John ii. 19. 21. Jesus said, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." He spake of the temple of his body.—John x. 17. I lay down my life that I might take it again.—Mark x. 34. (See also Mark viii. 31. Luke ix. 22.) They shall kill him, and the third day he shall rise again.—Matt. xxvii. 62, 63. The chief priests and Pharisees came together to Pilate, saying, Sir, we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, "After three days I will rise again."

FULFILMENT.—Luke xxiv. 5, 6. Why seek ye the living among the dead? he is not here, but is risen; remember how he spake to you when he was yet in Galilee. See also Matt. xxviii. 6. and xxviii. 9. 11. Luke xxiv. 15. 34. 36. John xx. 14. 19. and xxi. 4.—John xx. 27. Then saith he to Thomas, "Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands, and reach hither thy hand and thrust it into my side; and be not faithless, but believing."—Acts i. 3. To whom also he showed himself alive after his passion by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days.—Acts x. 40, 41. Him God raised up the third day, and showed him openly, not to all the people, but to witnesses chosen before of God, even to us, who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead. See also Acts ii. 32. and iv. 33. 1 Cor. xv. 20. Acts xvii. 3. xxvi. 23. Rom. i. 4.

§ 6. *Jesus Christ foretold that he would appear again to his disciples.*

PROPHECY.—John xvi. 16. 22. A little while and ye shall not see me, and again a little while and ye shall see me, because I go to the Father. I will see you again.—Matt. xxvi. 32. Mark xiv. 28. After I am risen again I will go before you into Galilee.—Matt. xxviii. 10. Mark xvi. 7. Go tell my brethren that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me.

FULFILMENT.—Mark xvi. 14. John xx. 19. Luke xxiv. 36. He appeared to the eleven as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief.—Matt. xxviii. 16. 17. The eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw him they worshipped him, but some doubted.—John xxi. 1. Jesus showed himself again to the disciples at the sea of Tiberias.—1 Cor. xv. 5, 6. He was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve, after that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once.

§ 7. *Jesus Christ foretold his ascension into heaven.*

PROPHECY.—John vi. 62. What if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where he was before.—xvi. 28. I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world; again I leave the world and go to the Father.—xx. 17. I am not yet ascended to my Father; but go to my brethren and say unto them "I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God." (See also John vii. 33. xiii. 33. xiv. 19. and xvii. 13.)

FULFILMENT.—Mark xvi. 19. After the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God. (See also Luke xxiv. 51.)—Acts i. 9, 10. While they beheld he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight. They looked steadfastly towards heaven as he went up.—Eph. iv. 10. He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens. See also 1 Pet. iii. 22. Heb ix. 24. iv. 14. vi. 20. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

SECTION III.

PROPHECIES BY JESUS CHRIST RELATIVE TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

§ 1. *The signs, which were to precede the destruction of Jerusalem.*

(i.) *The* FIRST SIGN *is, the appearance of false Christs or Messiahs.*

PROPHECY.—Matt. xxiv. 4, 5. Mark xiii. 5, 6. Luke xxi. 8. *Take heed that no man deceive you; for many shall come in my name, saying, "I am Christ," and shall deceive many; and the time draweth near.*

FULFILMENT.—These false Christs began to appear soon after our Lord's death, but they multiplied as the national calamities increased. Josephus informs us, that there were many who, pretending to divine inspiration, deceived the people, leading out numbers of them into the desert. He does not indeed expressly say that they called themselves the *Messiah* or Christ; yet he says that which is equivalent, viz. that they pretended that God would there show them the signs of liberty, meaning redemption from the Roman yoke, which thing the Jews expected the Messiah would do for them (compare Luke xxiv. 21.) Josephus further adds, that an Egyptian false prophet led thirty thousand men into the desert, who were almost entirely cut off by Felix, the Roman Procurator.[1] The same historian relates, that, in the reign of Claudius, "the land was overrun with magicians, seducers, and impostors, who drew the people after them in multitudes into solitudes and deserts, to see the signs and miracles which they promised to show by the power of God."[2] Felix, and afterwards Festus, governors of Judæa, judging these proceedings to be the commencement of rebellion against the Romans, continually sent out detachments of soldiers, and destroyed great numbers of the deluded populace. Among these impostors were Dositheus, the Samaritan, who affirmed that he was the Christ foretold by Moses; Simon Magus, who said that he appeared among the Jews as the Son of God; and Theudas, who, pretending to be a prophet, persuaded many of the people to take their goods and follow him to the river Jordan, declaring that he was divinely commissioned, and that at his command the waters would be divided, and give them a safe passage to the opposite side."[3] Many other examples of pretended Messiahs might be adduced; but the preceding are sufficient to establish the truth of our Lord's prediction.[4]

[1] Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. 2. c. 13. § 4, 5.
[2] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. 20. c. 6. § 6
[3] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. 20. c. 4. (al. 5.) § 1.
[4] In the Rev. David Simpson's Key to the Prophecies there is an instructive History of *twenty-four* false Messiahs, who deluded the Jews between the time of the emperor Adrian and the year of Christ 1682. See pp. 133—148.

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(ii.) *The* SECOND SIGN *is, Wars and Commotions.*

PROPHECY.—Matt. xxiv. 6. Mark xiii. 7. Luke xxi. 9. *When ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars, and commotions, see that ye be not troubled, and terrified; for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet.*

FULFILMENT.—These wars and commotions were as the distant thunder, that foretodes approaching storms. Previously to the destruction of Jerusalem, the greatest agitation prevailed in the Roman empire, and the struggle for the succession to the imperial throne was attended by severe and bloody conflicts. Four emperors, Nero, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, suffered violent deaths within the short space of eighteen months. The emperor Caligula commanded the Jews to place his statue in their temple; and in consequence of a positive refusal to comply with so impious a request, he threatened them with an invasion, which was prevented by his death.[1] Jesus Christ added, *see that ye* (my disciples) *be not troubled*, as the Jews will be, expecting the approaching destruction of their nation; *but the end is not yet:* these events, alarming as they seemed, were only the preludes to the dreadful and tumultuous scenes that followed.

PROPHECY.—Matt. xxiv. 7. Mark xiii. 8. Luke xxi. 10. *Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom.*

FULFILMENT.—In this prediction, Christ declares that greater disturbances than those which happened under Caligula would take place in the latter part of Claudius's reign, and during that of Nero. The rising of *nation against nation* portended the dissensions, insurrections, and mutual slaughter of the Jews, and those of other nations, who dwelt in the same cities together; as particularly at Cæsarea,[2] where the Jews and Syrians contended about the right of the city, which contention at length proceeded so far, that above twenty thousand Jews were slain, and the city was cleared of the Jewish inhabitants. At this blow the whole[3] nation of the Jews were exasperated, and, dividing themselves into parties, they burnt and plundered the neighbouring cities and villages of the Syrians, and made an immense slaughter of the people. The Syrians, in revenge, destroyed not a less number of the Jews, and every city, as Josephus[4] expresses it, was divided into two armies. At Scythopolis[5] the inhabitants compelled the Jews who resided among them to fight against their own countrymen; and, after the victory, basely setting upon them by night, they murdered above thirteen thousand of them, and spoiled their goods. At Ascalon[6] they killed two thousand five hundred, at Ptolemais two thousand, and made not a few prisoners. The Tyrians put many to death and imprisoned more. The people of Gadara did likewise, and all the other cities of Syria in proportion as they hated or feared the Jews. At Alexandria[7] the old enmity was revived between the Jews and Heathens, and many fell on both sides, but of the Jews to the number of fifty thousand. The people of Damascus,[8] too, conspired against the Jews of the same city, and assaulting them unarmed, killed ten thousand of them. The rising of *kingdom against kingdom* portended the open wars of different tetrarchies and provinces against one another; as that[9] of the Jews who dwelt in Perea against the people of Philadelphia concerning their bounds, while Cuspius Fadus was procurator; and that[10] of the Jews and Galileans against the Samaritans, for the murder of some Galileans going up to the feast of Jerusalem, while Cumanus was procurator; and that[11] of the whole nation of the Jews against the Romans and Agrippa and other allies of the Roman empire, which began while Gessius Florus was procurator. But, as Josephus says,[12] there was not only sedition and civil war throughout Judæa, but likewise in Italy—Otho and Vitellius contending for the empire.

(iii.) *The* THIRD SIGN *is, Famines and Pestilences.*

PROPHECY.—Matt. xxiv. 7. Mark xiii. 8. Luke xxi. 10. *And there shall be famines and pestilences.*

FULFILMENT.—There was a famine predicted by Agabus (Acts xi. 28.) which is mentioned by Suetonius, Tacitus, and Eusebius,[13] and *which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar*, and was so severe at Jerusalem, that (Josephus informs us) many people perished for want of food.[14] *Pestilences* are the usual attendants of famines, as scarcity and badness of provisions almost always terminate in some epidemical distemper. That Judæa was afflicted with pestilence we learn from Josephus; who says that when one Niger was put to death by the Jewish zealots, besides other calamities, he imprecated famine and *pestilence* upon them, "all which imprecations God confirmed against these impious men."[15]

(iv.) *The* FOURTH SIGN *is Earthquakes.*

PROPHECY.—Matt. xxiv. 7. Mark xiii. 8. Luke xxi. 11. *There shall be earthquakes.*

FULFILMENT.—*Earthquakes*, in prophetic language, mean commotions and popular insurrections: if these be intended, they have already been noticed under the second sign; but if we understand this prophecy *literally*, of tremors or convulsions of the earth, many such occurred at the times to which our Lord referred; particularly one at Crete, in the reign of Claudius, and others at Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, Samos, and other places, in all of which Jews were settled.[16] Tacitus mentions one at Rome in the same reign, and says, that in the reign of Nero, the cities of Laodicæa, Hierapolis, and Colossæ were overthrown; and that the celebrated city of Pompeii in Campania was overthrown,[17] and almost demolished, by an earthquake.[18] And another earthquake at Rome is mentioned by Suetonius as having happened in the reign of Galba.[19]

(v.) *The* FIFTH SIGN *is, Fearful Sights and Signs from Heaven.*

PROPHECY.—Luke xxi. 11. *There shall be fearful sights and signs from heaven.*

FULFILMENT.—Many prodigies are related by Josephus; particularly that in Judæa, at the commencement of the war, and before the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, "there broke out a prodigious storm in the night with the utmost violence and very strong winds, with the largest showers of rain, with continued lightenings, terrible thunderings, and amazing concussions and bellowings of the earth that was in an earthquake. These things were a manifest indication, that some destruction was coming upon men, when the system of this world was thrown into such a disorder; and any one would guess that these wonders portended some grand calamities that were impending."[20] The same historian, in the preface[21] to his history of the Jewish war, undertakes to record the signs and prodigies that preceded it; and accordingly in his sixth book[22] he enumerates them thus:—1. A star hung over the city like a sword, and the comet continued for a whole year.—2. The people being assembled to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, at the ninth hour of the night there shone so great a light about the altar and the temple that it seemed to be bright day, and this continued for half an hour—3. At the same feast a cow, led by the priest to sacrifice, brought forth a lamb in the middle of the temple.—4. The eastern gate of the temple, which was of solid brass, and very heavy, and was scarcely shut in an evening by twenty men, and was fastened by strong bars and bolts, was seen at the sixth hour of the night opened of its own accord, and could hardly be shut again.—5. Before the setting of the sun there was seen all over the country, chariots and armies fighting in the clouds, and besieging cities.—6. At the feast of Pentecost, as the priests were going into the inner temple by night as usual to attend their service, they heard first a motion and noise, and then a voice as of a multitude, saying, *Let us depart hence.*—7. What Josephus reckons as the most terrible of all, one Jesus, an ordinay country fellow, four years before the war began, and when the city was in peace and plenty, came to the feast of tabernacles, and ran crying up and down the streets day and night, "*A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the temple, a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides, a voice against all people.*" The magistrates endeavoured by stripes and torture to restrain him; but he still cried with a mournful voice, "*Woe, woe, to Jerusalem!*" This he continued to do for seven years and five months together, and especially at the great festivals; and he neither grew hoarse, nor was tired; but went about the walls and cried with a loud voice. "*Woe, woe, to the city, and to the people, and to the temple,*" and as he added at last, *Woe, woe, also to myself,*" it happened that a stone from some sling or engine immediately struck him dead. These were indeed *fearful signs and great sights from heaven;* and there is not a more credible historian than the author who relates them, and who appeals to the testimony of those who saw and heard them.[23] But it may add some weight to his relation, that Tacitus, the Roman historian, also gives us a summary account of the same occurrences. He says[24], that there happened several prodigies, armies were seen engaging in the heavens, arms were seen glittering, and the temple shone with the sudden fire of the clouds, the doors of the temple opened suddenly and a voice greater than human was heard, that the gods were departing, and likewise a great motion of their departing. Dr. Jortin's remark is very pertinent:—If Christ had not expressly foretold this, many who give little heed to portents, and who know that historians have been too credulous in that point, would have suspected that Josephus exaggerated, and that Tacitus was misinformed; but as the testimonies of Josephus and Tacitus confirm the predictions of Christ, so the predictions of Christ confirm the wonders recorded by these historians.[25]

(vi.) *The* SIXTH SIGN *is, The persecution of the Christians.*

PROPHECY.—Mark xiii. 9. Matt. xxix. 9. Luke xxi. 12. *But before all these things, they shall lay hands on you, and persecute* you, and *shall deliver you up to councils, to the*

[1] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. c. 8. (al. 9.) De Bell. Jud. lib. 2. c. 10.
[2] Ibid. lib 20. c. 7. § 7, &c. De Bell. Jud. lib. 2. c. 13. § 7. c. 18. § 1. edit Hudson.
[3] Ibid. c. 18. § 1. [4] Ibid. § 2. [5] Ibid. § 3. Vita Joseph. § 6.
[6] De Bell. Jud. lib. 2. c. 18. § 5. [7] Ibid § 7. et 8. [8] Ibid. chap. 20. § 2.
[9] Jos. Ant. lib. 20. c 1. § 1. [10] Ibid. c. 5. De Bell. Jud. lib. 2. c. 12. § 3, &c.
[11] Ibid. c. 17. [12] Ibid. lib. 4. c. 9. § 9.
[13] Suitonius, in Claudio, c. 18. Tacitl Annales, lib. 12. c. 43. Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 8.
[14] Antiq. lib. 20. c. 2. § 5. (al. 6.) [15] De Bell. Jud. lib. 4. c. 6. § 1.
[16] Philostratus, in Vita Apollonii, lib. 4. c 34.
[17] Taciti Annales, lib. 14. c. 27.
[18] Ibid. lib. 15. c. 22. This earthquake is mentioned by Seneca Nat. Quæst. lib. 6. c. 1.
[19] Suetonius, in Galba, c. 18.
[20] De Bell. Jud. lib. 4. c. 4. § 5. [21] De Bell. Jud. § 11.
[22] Ibid lib. 5. c. 5. § 3.
[23] Mr. Millman has admirably wrought up these portentous signs, in his Poem on the fall of Jerusalem, pp. 108—114.
[24] Evenerant prodigia—Visæ per cœlum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, set subito nobium igne collucere templum. Expassæ repente delubri fores, et audita major humana vox, *Excedere Deos.* Simul ingens motus excedentium. Tacit. Hist. lib. 5. c. 13. p. 21. edit. Lipsii.
[25] Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 41

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synagogues, and to prisons, to be beaten; and shall kill you. And ye shall be hated of all nations, and *shall be brought before rulers and kings for my name's sake, for a testimony against them.*

FULFILMENT.—The precision with which the time is specified, is very remarkable. Previously to the other prognostics of the destruction of Jerusalem, the disciples of Jesus Christ were taught to expect the hardships of persecution; and how exactly this prediction was accomplished we may read in the Acts of the Apostles. There we find that some were *delivered to councils,* as Peter and John. (iv. 5., &c.) Some were *brought before rulers and kings,* as Paul before Gallio (xviii. 12.), (Felix xxiv.), Festus and Agrippa (xxv.). Some had *a mouth and wisdom which all their adversaries were not able to gainsay nor resist,* as it is said of Stephen (vi. 10.), that *they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit of which he spake,* and Paul made even Felix to *tremble* (xxiv. 25.), and the Gospel still prevailed against all opposition and persecution whatever. Some were *imprisoned,* as Peter and John (iv. 3.). Some were *beaten,* as Paul and Silas (xvi. 23.). Some were *put to death,* as Stephen (vii. 59.), and James the brother of John (xii. 2.). But if we would look farther, we have a more melancholy proof of the truth of this prediction, in the persecutions under Nero, in which (besides numberless other Christians) fell those two great Champions of our faith, St. Peter and St. Paul. And it was *nomini prælium,* as Tertullian[2] terms it; it was a war against the very name. Though a man was possessed of every human virtue, yet it was crime enough if he was a *Christian:* so true were our Saviour's words, that they should be hated of all nations *for his name's sake.* Hence arose that common saying among the heathens—*Vir bonus Caius Sejus; tanquam modo quod Christianus:* Caius Sejus is a good man, *only* he is a Christian.

(vii.) *The* SEVENTH SIGN *was, The Preaching of the Gospel throughout the known world.*

PROPHECY.—Mark xiii. 10. *The Gospel must be published among all nations.* The

FULFILMENT of this prediction is recorded, from Christian and from Heathen testimony, *supra,* pp 130, 131.

§ 2. *The Circumstances of the Destruction of Jerusalem.*

(i.) *The Siege of Jerusalem by the Roman Armies.*

PROPHECY.—Luke xxi. 20. Matt. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14. *When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies,* [and] *the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing where it ought not, in the holy place,—then know that the desolation thereof is nigh.*—Luke xix. 43. *The days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench round about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side.*

FULFILMENT.—The devoted place, which was the immediate object of these formidable denunciations, is here most clearly pointed out. The *abomination* of *desolation* is the Roman Army; and *the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place* is the Roman army encamped around Jerusalem; for not only the temple and the mountain on which it stood, but also the whole city of Jerusalem and several furlongs of land round it, were accounted holy. This Jesus Christ declared to be *the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet* in his ninth and eleventh chapters; and so let every one who reads these prophecies understand them, and in reference to this very event they are understood by the rabbins. The Roman army is further called the *abomination,* on account of its ensigns, for the images of the emperor and the eagles, which were carried in front of the legions, were regarded with religious abhorrence by the Jews, as they were ranked among the pagan deities, and reverenced with divine honours. Josephus relates, that after the city was taken, the Romans brought their ensigns into the temple, placed them over the eastern gate, and sacrificed to them there.[3]

A *trench was* literally *cast about* Jerusalem, when that city was besieged by Titus. The Roman armies *compassed it round about* completely; and although it was at first considered an impracticable project to surround the whole city with a wall, yet Titus animated his army to make the attempt. Josephus has given a very particular account of the building of this wall; which, he says, was effected in *three days,* though it was not less than *thirty-nine furlongs* (nearly *nine* English miles) in length, and had thirteen towers erected at proper distances, in which the Roman soldiers were placed, as in garrisons. When the wall was thus completed, the Jews were *so inclosed on every side,* that no person could escape out of the city, and no provision could be brought in: so that the besieged Jews were involved in the most terrible distress by the famine that ensued.[4]

(ii.) *Christ's prophetic advice to the Christians who might then be in Jerusalem to make their escape.*

PROPHECY.—Matt. xxiv. 16—18. Mark xiii. 14—16. Luke xxi. 21. *Then let them which are in Judæa flee to the mountains, and let them which are in the midst of it depart out, and let them that are in the* [adjacent] *countries enter thereinto. And let not him that is on the house-top go down into the house, neither enter therein to take any thing out of his house. And let him that is in the field not turn back again to take up his garment* (which he had thrown aside as an incumbrance).

FULFILMENT.—This counsel was wisely remembered and wisely followed by the Christians afterwards. By *Judæa,* in this part of our Lord's prophecy, we are to understand all the southern parts of Palestine, both the plain and the hill countries, which at this time had received the appellation of Judæa. By the *mountains* we are to understand the countries on the eastern side of the river Jordan, especially those which during the Jewish war were under the government of the younger Agrippa, to whom the emperor Claudius gave Batanæ and Trachonitis (the tetrarchy of Philip), and Abilene (the tetrarchy of Lysanius). Nero afterwards added that quarter of Galilee where Tiberias and Tarichea stood, and in Perea, Julias with its fourteen villages. As all these mountainous countries remained in obedience to the Romans, those who fled into them were safe. In the twelfth year of Nero, Josephus informs us that Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria, came with a powerful army against Jerusalem; which he might have assaulted and taken; but without any just reason, and contrary to the expectation of all, he raised the siege and departed. Immediately after his retreat, "many of the principal Jewish people forsook the city, as men do a sinking ship." And a few years afterwards when Vespasian was drawing his forces towards Jerusalem, a great multitude fled from Jericho into the *mountainous country* for their security.[5] Among these it is probable that there were some Christians; but we learn more certainly from ecclesiastical historians,[7] that, at this juncture, all who believed in Jesus Christ, warned by this *oracle* or prophecy, quitted Jerusalem, and removed to Pella, and other places beyond the river Jordan: and thus marvellously escaped the general shipwreck of their country; for we do not read any where that so much as one Christian perished in the siege of Jerusalem.

(iii.) *The appearance of false Christs and false prophets during the siege.*

PROPHECY.—Mark xiii. 22. Matt. xxiv. 24. *False Christs and false prophets shall rise, and shall show great signs and wonders; insomuch that if* it were *possible, they should deceive the very elect* (that is), the disciples of Jesus Christ.

FULFILMENT.—Our Saviour had before cautioned his disciples against false Christs. (See p. 458. *supra.*) This prediction is not a repetition of the former prophecy, but relates to those imposters who appeared during the time of the siege, and concerning whom Josephus[8] thus speaks:—"The tyrannical zealots, who ruled the city, suborned many false prophets to declare, that aid would be given to the people from heaven. This was done to prevent them from attempting to desert, and to inspire them with confidence. In this manner imposters, abusing the sacred name of God, deluded the unhappy multitude; who, like infatuated men that have neither eyes to see, nor reason to judge, regarded neither the infallible denunciations pronounced by the ancient prophets, nor the clear prodigies that indicated the approaching desolation."

(iv.) *The Miseries of the Jews during, and subsequently to, the siege.*

PROPHECY.—Luke xxi. 22. *For these to be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled.*—Mark xiii. 17. 19. Matt. xxiv. 19. 21. Luke xxi. 23, 24. *But woe to them that are with child, and that give suck in those days, for in those days there shall be great tribulation, distress in the land, and wrath upon this people; such as was not from the beginning of the creation which God created, unto this time; no, nor ever shall be. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations.*

FULFILMENT.—It is a very material circumstance in this prophecy that the calamity of the Jews should be so strange and unparalleled, as never was in the world before; for though it might easily have been foretold from the temper of the people, which was prone to sedition, that they were very likely to provoke the Romans against them; yet there was no probability that all things should have come to such an extremity; for it was not the design of the Roman government to destroy any of those provinces which were under them, but only to keep them in subjection, and reduce them by reasonable severity in case of revolt. But that such a calamity should have happened to them under Titus, who was the mildest, and farthest from severity of all mankind, nothing was more unlikely; and that any people should conspire together to their own ruin, and so blindly and obstinately run themselves into such calamities, as made them the pity of their enemies, was the most incredible thing; so that nothing less than a prophetical spirit could have foretold so contingent and improbable a thing as this was. To the extreme sufferings of the Jews, Josephus bears most ample testimony. In the preface to his history of the Jewish War, speaking generally of the calamities that befell the Jews, he says, almost in our Saviour's words, thus

[1] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 2. c. 25.
[2] Tertul. Apol. c. 2. p. 4. edit. Rigaltii. Paris, 1675.
[3] De Bell. Jud. lib. 6. c. 6. § 1.
[4] Ibid. lib. 5. c. 12. § 1, 2, 3
[5] Ibid lib. 2. c. 19. § 6. c. 20. § 1.
[6] Ibid. lib. 4. c. 8. § 2
[7] Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 6. Epiphanius adversus Nazaræos lib. 1. § 7.
[8] Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. 6. c. 5.

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"*all the calamities, which had befallen any nation* FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD, *were but small in comparison to those of the Jews.*"[1] A brief enumeration of particulars, will, however, show the extremities to which this unhappy nation was reduced.

Within the city, the fury of the opposite factions was so great that they filled all places, even the temple itself, with continual slaughters. Nay, to such a height did their madness rise, that they destroyed the very granaries of corn, which should have sustained them; and burnt the magazines of arms which should have defended them.[2] By this means, when the siege had lasted only two months, the famine began to rage, and at length reduced them to such straits, that the barbarities which they practised are not to be imagined. All the reverence due to age, and the sacred ties of parent and child were annihilated. Children snatched the half baked morsels which their fathers were eating, out of their mouths; and mothers even snatched the food out of their own children's mouths.[3] As the siege advanced, the ravages of the famine increased, and devoured the people by whole houses and families; the upper rooms were filled with women and children who were dying by famine, and the lanes of the city were full of the dead bodies of the aged.[4] The children, also, and the young men, wandered about the market places like shadows, and fell down dead wheresoever their misery seized them. At length the famine became so extreme, that they gladly devoured what the most sordid animals refused to touch; and a woman of distinguished rank (who had been stripped and plundered of all her goods and provisions by the soldiers), in hunger, rage, and despair, killed and roasted her babe at the breast, and had eaten one half of him before the horrid deed was discovered.[5]

During the siege, many hundreds, who were taken by the Romans, were first whipped, then tormented with various kinds of tortures, and finally crucified; the Roman soldiers nailing them (out of the wrath and hatred they bore to the Jews), one after one way, and another after another, to crosses by way of jest: until at length the multitude became so great that room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies.[6] Thus terribly was their imprecation fulfilled:—*His blood be on us, and on our children!* (Matt. xxvii. 25.)

Not to enter into details of the multitudes that were massacred by the contending factions at Jerusalem, the full accomplishment of Christ's prediction, that the Jews should *fall by the edge of the sword*, is recorded by Josephus[7] when describing the sacking of that city.

"And now rushing into every lane, they slew whomsoever they found, without distinction, and burnt the houses and all the people who had fled into them. And when they entered for the sake of plunder, they found whole families of dead persons, and houses full of carcasses destroyed by famine; then they came out with their hands empty. And though they thus pitied the dead, they did not feel the same emotion for the living, but killed all they met, whereby they filled the lanes with dead bodies. The whole city ran with blood, insomuch, that many things which were burning, were extinguished by the blood." Thus were the inhabitants of Jerusalem slain by the sword; thus was she laid even with the ground, and her children with her. "The soldiers being now wearied with killing the Jews and yet a great number remaining alive, Cæsar commanded that only the armed, and they who resisted, should be slain. But the soldiers killed also the old and the infirm; and taking the young and strong prisoners, carried them into the women's court in the temple. Cæsar appointed one Fronto, his freedman and friend, to guard them, and to determine the fate of each. All the robbers and the seditious he slew, one of them betraying another. But picking out such youths as were remarkable for stature and beauty, he reserved them for the triumph. All the rest that were above seventeen years old he sent bound into Egypt, to be employed in labour there. Titus also sent many of them into the provinces, to be slain in the theatres, by beasts and the sword. And those who were under seventeen years of age were slain. And during the time Fronto judged them, a thousand died of hunger."

But *the falling by the edge of the sword* mentioned in our Lord's prophecy is not to be confined to what happened at the siege, in which not fewer than eleven hundred thousand perished.[8] It also comprehended all the slaughters made of the Jews, in different battles, sieges, and massacres, both in their own country and at other places, during the whole course of the war. Thus, by the command of Florus, who was the first author of the war, there were slain at *Jerusalem*,[9] *three thousand and six hundred*:—By the inhabitants of *Cæsarea*,[10] *above twenty thousand*:—At *Scythopolis*,[11] *above thirteen thousand*:—At *Ascalon*,[12] *two thousand five hundred*, and at *Ptolemais*, *two thousand*:—At *Alexandria*, under Tiberius Alexander the president,[13] *fifty thousand*:—At *Joppa*, when it was taken by Cestius Gallus,[14] *eight thousand four hundred*:—In a mountain called *Asamon*, near *Sepphoris*,[15] *above two thousand*—At *Damascus*,[16] *ten thousand*:—In a battle with the Romans at *Ascalon*,[1] *ten thousand*:—In an ambuscade near the same place,[2] *eight thousand*:—At *Japha*,[3] *fifteen thousand*:—By the Samaritans upon Mount *Garizin*,[4] *eleven thousand and six hundred*:—At *Jotapa*,[5] *forty thousand*:—At *Joppa*, when taken by Vespasian,[6] *four thousand two hundred*:—At *Tarichea*,[7] *six thousand five hundred* and after the city was taken, *twelve hundred*:—At *Gamala*,[8] *four thousand* slain, besides *five thousand* who threw themselves down a precipice:—Of those who fled with John from *Gischala*,[9] *six thousand*:—Of the *Gadarenes*,[10] *fifteen thousand* slain, besides an infinite number drowned:—In the villages of *Idumæa*,[11] above *ten thousand slain*:—At *Gerasa*,[12] *a thousand*—At *Machærus*,[13] *seventeen hundred*:—In the wood of *Jardes*,[1] *three thousand*:—In the castle of *Masada*,[15] *nine hundred and sixty*:—In *Cyrene*, by Catullus the governor,[16] *three thousand*:—Besides these, many of every age, sex, and condition, were slain in this war, who are not reckoned; but of those who are reckoned, the number amounts to above *one million three hundred fifty-seven thousand six hundred and sixty*: which would appear almost incredible, if their own historian had not so particularly enumerated them.

But besides the Jews who *fell by the edge of the sword*, others were also to *be led away captive into all nations*; and, considering the numbers of the slain, the number of the captives too was very great. There were taken particularly at *Japha*,[17] *two thousand one hundred and thirty*:—At *Jotapa*,[18] *one thousand two hundred*:—At *Tarichea*,[19] *six thousand* chosen young men sent to Nero, the rest sold, to the number of *thirty thousand and four hundred*, besides those who were given to Agrippa:—Of the *Gadarenes*,[20] *two thousand two hundred*:—In *Idumæa*,[21] above *a thousand*. Many besides these were taken at *Jerusalem*, so that, as Josephus himself informs us,[22] the number of the captives taken in the whole war amounted to *ninety-seven thousand*; the tall and handsome young men Titus reserved for his triumph; of the rest, those above seventeen years of age were sent to the works in Egypt; but most were distributed through the Roman provinces, to be destroyed in their theatres by the sword or by the wild beasts; those under seventeen were sold for slaves. Of these captives many underwent a hard fate. *Eleven thousand* of them[23] perished for want. Titus exhibited all sorts of shows and spectacles at Cæsarea, and[24] many of the captives were there destroyed, some being exposed to the wild beasts, and others compelled to fight in troops against one another. At *Cæsarea*, too, in honour of his brother's birth-day,[25] *two thousand five hundred* Jews were slain; and a great number likewise at *Berytus* in honour of his father's. The like[26] was done in other cities of Syria. Those whom he reserved for his triumph[27] were Simon and John, the generals of the captives, and *seven hundred* others of remarkable stature and beauty. Thus were the Jews miserably tormented, and distributed over the Roman provinces; and are they not still distressed and dispersed over all the nations of the earth?

Was not this *a time of great tribulation*? Were not these *days of vengeance* indeed? Was there ever a more exact accomplishment of any prediction than these words of our Saviour had?

(v.) *The total destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem.*

PROPHECY.—Matt. xxiii. 37, 38. Luke xiii. 34, 35. *O Jerusalem! Jerusalem!—Behold your house is left unto you desolate.*—Matt. xxiv. 2. Mark xiii. 2. Luke xxi. 6. *The days will come, in the which there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.*—Luke xix. 44. *They shall lay thee even with the ground, and shall not leave in thee one stone upon another.*—Luke xxi. 24. *Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.*

FULFILMENT.—It seemed exceedingly improbable that the events here foretold by Jesus Christ should happen in that age, when the Jews were at perfect peace with the Romans; and the strength of their citadel was such, as constrained Titus to acknowledge that it was the SINGULAR HAND OF GOD, that compelled them to relinquish fortifications which no human power could have conquered.[28] Our Saviour's words, also, were almost literally fulfilled, and scarcely *one stone was left upon another*. The temple was a building of such strength and grandeur, of such splendour and beauty, that it was likely (as it was worthy) to be preserved, for a monument of the victory and glory of the Roman empire. Titus was accordingly very desirous of preserving it, and protested[29] to the Jews, who had fortified themselves within it, that he would preserve it, even against their will. He had[30] expressed the like desire of preserving the city too, and repeatedly sent Josephus and other Jews to their countrymen, to persuade them to a surrender. But an over-ruling Providence directed things otherwise. The Jews themselves[31] first set fire to the porticoes of the temple, and then the Romans. One of the soldiers,[32] neither waiting for any command, nor trembling for such an attempt

[1] Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. 1. Præf. § 4.
[2] Ibid. lib. 5. c. 1. § 4.
[3] Ibid. lib. 5. c. 10. § 2, 3.
[4] Ibid. lib. 5. c. 12. § 3.
[5] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 3. § 3, 4. The historian deplores the cruel deed, as a most flagrant violation of nature, which had never been perpetrated by Greek or barbarian; and such as he would not have related, if there had not been innumerable witnesses to it in his own age. It may be proper to remark, that this horrid circumstance was a further accomplishment of the prophecy of Moses in Deut. xxviii. 53. 56, 57.; and which had twice before been fulfilled,—first in Samaria, the capital of the idolatrous ten tribes, when besieged by Benhadad, king of Syria (2 Kings vi. 29.), and again in Jerusalem, when besieged by Nebuchadnezzar. See the Lamentations of Jeremiah, li. 20. iv. 10.
[6] Ibid. lib. 5. c. 11. § 1.
[7] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 8. § 5. c. 9. § 2, 3.
[8] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 9. § 3.
[9] Ibid. lib. 2. c. 14. § 9.
[10] Ibid. lib. 2. c. 18. § 1.
[11] Ibid. § 3.
[12] Ibid. § 5.
[13] Ibid. § 8.
[14] Ibid. § 10.
[15] Ibid. § 11.
[16] Ibid. c. 20. § 2.

[1] Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. 3. c. 2. § 2.
[2] Ibid. § 3.
[3] Ibid. c. 7. § 31.
[4] Lib. 3. c. 7. § 32.
[5] Ibid. § 36.
[6] Ibid. c. 8. § 3.
[7] Ibid. c. 9. § 9, 10.
[8] Lib. 4. c. 1. § 10.
[9] Ibid. c. 3. § 5.
[10] Ibid. c. 7. § 5.
[11] Ibid. c. 8. § 1.
[12] Ibid. c. 9. § 1.
[13] Lib. 7. c. 6. § 4.
[14] Ibid. § 5.
[15] Ibid. c. 9. § 1.
[16] Ibid. c. 11. § 2.
[17] Lib. 3. c. 7. § 31
[18] Ibid. § 36.
[19] Ibid. c. 9. § 10.
[20] Lib. 4. c. 7. § 5
[21] Ibid. c. 8. § 1.
[22] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 19. § 2. and 3.
[23] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 9. § 2.
[24] Ibid. lib. 7. c. 2. § 1.
[25] Ibid. lib. 7. c. 3. § 1.
[26] Ibid. c. 5. § 1.
[27] Ibid. § 3.
[28] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 9. § 1.
[29] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 2. § 4.
[30] Ibid. lib. 5. c. 8. § 1. c. 9. § 2, &c. c. 11. § 2. lib. 6. c. 2. § 1.
[31] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 2. § 9.
[32] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 4. § 5.

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but urged by a certain divine impulse, threw a burning brand in at the golden window, and thereby set fire to the buildings of the temple itself. Titus[1] ran immediately to the temple, and commanded his soldiers to extinguish the flame. But neither exhortations nor threatenings could restrain their violence. They either could not hear, or would not hear; and those behind encouraged those before to set fire to the temple. He was still for preserving the holy place. He commanded his soldiers even to be beaten for disobeying him: but their anger, and their hatred of the Jews, and a certain warlike vehement fury overcame their reverence for their general, and their dread for his commands. A soldier in the dark set fire to the doors; and thus, as Josephus says, the temple was burned against the will of Cæsar.

When the soldiers had rested from their horrid work of blood and plunder, Titus gave orders to demolish the foundations of the city and the temple.—But, that posterity might judge of the glory and value of his conquests, he left three towers standing as monuments of the prodigious strength and greatness of the city; and also a part of the western wall, which he designed as a rampart for a garrison to keep the surrounding country in subjection. All the other buildings were completely levelled with the ground. It is recorded by Maimonides, and likewise in the Jewish Talmud, that Terentius Rufus, an officer in the army of Titus, with a ploughshare tore up the foundations of the temple, and thus remarkably fulfilled the words of the prophet Micah: *Therefore shall Zion, for your sake, be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest.* (Micah iii. 12.) The city also shared the same fate, and was burnt and destroyed together with the temple.[2] With the exception of the three towers, above mentioned as being left standing,[3] all the rest of the city was so demolished and levelled with the ground, that those who came to see it could not believe that it had ever been inhabited. And when Titus came again to Jerusalem in his way from Syria to Egypt, and beheld the sad devastation, he bitterly lamented the cruel necessity, which had compelled him to destroy so magnificent a city. After the city was thus taken and destroyed, a great quantity of riches were found by the Romans, who dug up the ruins in search of the treasures which had been concealed in the earth.[4] So literally were the words of Jesus Christ accomplished in the ruin both of the city and of the temple! Well might Eleazer say to the Jews who were besieged in the fortress of Masada—"What is become of our city, which was believed to be inhabited by God?—It is now demolished to the very foundations; and the only monument of it that is left is—the camp of those who destroyed it, which is still pitched upon its remains." Well might he express a passionate wish that they had all died before they beheld that holy city demolished by the hands of their enemies, and the sacred temple so profanely dug up from its foundation.[5]

As the Jews were to be *led away captive into all nations*, so was Jerusalem to be *trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.* So completely was Judæa subjugated, that the very land itself was sold by Vespasian, the Gentiles possessing it, while the Jews were nearly all slain or led into captivity; and Jerusalem has *never since* been in the possession of the Jews. When, indeed, the emperor Hadrian visited the eastern parts of the Roman empire and found Jerusalem a heap of ruins, forty-seven years after its destruction, he determined to rebuild it; but not exactly on the same spot. He called the new city Ælia, placed a Roman colony in it, and dedicated a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, in the room of the temple of Jehovah. This profanation of the holy place was the great cause of the rebellions and sufferings of the Jews during the reign of Hadrian. The city was once more taken by them and burnt.—Hadrian rebuilt it—re-established the colony—ordered the statue of a hog (which the Jews held in religious abhorrence) to be set up over the gate that opened towards Bethlehem; and published an edict, strictly forbidding any Jew, on pain of death, to enter the city, or even to look at it from a distance. Thus the city remained, till the time of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, who greatly improved it, and restored the name of Jerusalem; but the Jews were not permitted to reside there. Attempting in vain to get possession of their capital, Constantine caused their ears to be cut off, their bodies to be marked as rebels, and dispersed them over all the provinces of the empire, as fugitives and slaves. The emperor Julian, from enmity to the Christians, favoured the Jews; and, in the vain hope of contradicting the prophecy concerning it, attempted to rebuild the temple; but he was miraculously prevented, and obliged to desist from his impious undertaking. Jovian revived the severe edict of Hadrian; and the Greek emperors continued the prohibition; so that the wretched Jews used to give money to the soldiers for permission to behold and weep over the ruins of their temple and city, particularly on the return of that memorable day on which it had been taken by the Romans. In the reign of Heraclius, Chosroes, king of Persia, took and plundered it; but Heraclius soon recovered the possession of it.—In 637, the Christians surrendered Jerusalem to Omar, the Saracen caliph, who built a mosque upon the site of Solomon's temple. It remained in the possession of the Saracens above 400 years, and then was taken by the Turks. They retained it till the year 1099, when the Franks took it under Godfrey of Boulogne, General of the Crusaders. The Franks kept possession 88 years, that is, till 1187, when the Turks, under Saladin, retook it by capitulation, and with them it has remained ever since.[6]

"Thus literally has this prophecy been hitherto fulfilled!—Jerusalem has been thus constantly trodden down of the Gentiles,—the Romans, the Saracens, the Franks, and the Turks.—Its ancient inhabitants have been expelled, and persecuted, and its holy places have been polluted. The eagles of idolatrous Rome, the crescent of the impostor Mahomet, and the banner of popery, carried by the Crusaders, have been successively displayed amidst the ruins of the sanctuary of Jehovah, for nearly eighteen hundred years."[1] And the Jews are still preserved a living and continued monument of the truth of our Lord's prediction, and of the irrefragable truth of the Christian religion.

The conclusion of the prediction, however (TILL *the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled*), indicates that Jerusalem,—the city once *beautiful for situation* and *the joy of the whole earth*,—shall NOT be trodden down for ever. "The times of the Gentiles will be fulfilled, when the times of *the four great kingdoms* of the Gentiles, according to Daniel's prophecies, shall be expired, and *the fifth kingdom*, or the kingdom of Christ, shall be set up in their place, and *the Saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever.* Jerusalem, as it has hitherto remained, so probably will remain in subjection to the Gentiles, *until* these *times of the Gentiles be fulfilled*; or, as St. Paul expresses it, (Rom. xi. 25, 26.) *until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so all Israel shall be saved*, and become again the people of God. *The fulness of the Jews* will come in as well as *the fulness of the Gentiles.* For (ver. 12, 25, 26.) *if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles; how much more their fulness! For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part has happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved.*[2]

SECTION IV.

THAT THERE IS SALVATION ONLY THROUGH CHRIST—AND THE DANGER OF REJECTING IT.

§ 1. *That there is salvation* ONLY *through Christ.*

PROPHECY.—Zech. xiii. 1. In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, for sin and for uncleanness.—Mal. iv. 2. Unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of Righteousness arise, with healing in his wings.—Isa. liii. 11. By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many.—Isa. lix. 20. The Redeemer shall come to Sion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob See Rom. ix. 26.—Ps. cxviii. 22. The stone which the builders refused, the same is become the head stone of the corner. *Isa.* xxviii. 16. Matt. xxi. 42.

FULFILMENT.—John iii. 16. God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life. Compare also 1 Thes. v. 9.; John xvii. 3.—Luke xxiv. 47. That repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name. See also Acts x. 43.—Acts xiii. 38, 39. Through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins; and by him all that believe are justified.—Acts iv. 11, 12. This is the stone which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the head of the corner. Neither is their salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.

§ 2. *Of the necessity of believing in Christ, and the danger of rejecting him.*

Deut. xviii. 15. 19. The Lord will raise up unto thee a prophet Unto him shall ye hearken—Whosoever will not hearken unto my words, which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him. [In Acts iii. 23. this prediction is cited and applied to Jesus Christ.]—Numb. xv. 30, 31. The soul that doth aught presumptuously—reproacheth the Lord: and that soul shall be cut off from among his people, because he hath despised the word of the Lord. -Ps. ii. 12. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the right way.

John iii. 18. He that believeth on him is not condemned; but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only Son of God.—Heb. ii. 3. How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?—Heb. x. 26. 29. If we sin wilfully, after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries. He that despised Moses's law died without mercy, under two or three witnesses: of how much sorer punishment shall ye be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace.—*The Lord shall be revealed from Heaven with his mighty angels*, as

[1] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. 6. § 6 & 7.
[2] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 6. § 3. c. 7. § 2. c. 8. § 5.
[3] Ibid. lib. 7. c. 1. § 1.
[4] Ibid. lib. 7. c. 1. § 2.
[5] Ibid. lib. 7. c. 8. § 7.
[6] Bp. Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies, vol. ii. pp. 57—69. The preceding account of our Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, the subversion of the Jewish polity, and the calamities which have befallen the Jews, are chiefly abridged from this learned prelate's eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first dissertations, with occasional assistance from Mr. Kett's History, the Interpreter of Prophecy, vol. i. pp. 268—333.

[1] Kett on Prophecy, vol. i. p. 333.
[2] Bp. Newton's Dissertations, vol. ii. p. 70.

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flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Christ. 2 Thes. i. 7, 8.

"*The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy*" (Rev. xix. 10.);—and of that testimony it were easy to have offered hundreds of instances equally striking with those above given. Copious as the preceding table of prophecies is, *the selection has necessarily been restricted to* THE PRINCIPAL, in order that this article of our Appendix might not be extended an undue length. The reader, who is desirous of seeing all (or nearly all) the predictions relative to the Messiah, is referred to Huet's *Demonstratio Evangelica*, Prop. IX. (vol. ii. pp. 595—1056. Amsterdam, 1680,) and to Mr. Barker's "*Messiah: being the Prophecies concerning him methodized, with their Accomplishments; London*, 1780." 8vo. Both these works have been consulted in drawing up the preceding table of prophecies and their accomplishments. At the end of Vol. II. Book II. (pp. 1374—1380.) of Dr. Hales's Analysis of Sacred Chronology, that learned writer has given two series of the great prophecies and allusions to Christ in the Old Testament; which are expressly cited either as *predictions fulfilled* in him, or applied to him by way of *accommodation*, in the New Testament. The *first* of these series describes Jesus Christ in his *human nature*, as the PROMISED SEED OF THE WOMAN in the grand charter of our Redemption (Gen. iii. 15.); and his pedigree, sufferings, and glory in his successive manifestations of himself, until the end of the world. The *second* series describes his *character* and *offices*, human and divine. Although these two series of prophecies consist *only* of references to the Old and New Testament, some of which necessarily coincide with the predictions above given at length; yet the biblical student will find his time not ill spent in comparing them. The second series contains many titles and offices of Jesus Christ, which could not, for want of room, be inserted in the present work.

To conclude:—It is a FACT worthy of remark, and which ought *never* to be forgotten, that *most* of the prophecies, delivered in the Old Testament concerning the Messiah, were revealed *nearly*, and some of them *more than three thousand years* ago, and yet scarcely one of them can be applied to any man that ever lived upon earth except to Him, who is Immanuel, God with us, the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom "*give all the prophets witness.* (Acts x. 43.) With regard to the predictions announced by Jesus the Messiah, the voice of history in every age—(and especially the present state of Jerusalem and of the Jews)—concurs to demonstrate their truth, and, consequently, the truth of the Gospel. The more, therefore, we contemplate these astonishing FACTS,—the more deeply we investigate the wonderful display of divine power, wisdom, and goodness,—the more we shall be disposed to exclaim, with the amazed centurion,—TRULY THIS WAS THE SON OF GOD!

No. VII.

PROOFS OF THE GENUINENESS OF JOSEPHUS'S TESTIMONY CONCERNING JESUS CHRIST.

[*Referred to in p. 81. of this Volume.*]

JOSEPHUS, though a strict pharisee, has borne such a noble testimony to the spotless character of Jesus Christ, that Jerome considered and called him a Christian writer. Mr. Whiston, and some modern writers are of opinion that he was a Nazarene or Ebionite Jewish Christian; while others have affirmed, that the passage, above cited from his Jewish Antiquities, is an interpolation, principally (it should seem) on the ground that it is too favourable to be given by a Jew to Christ: and that, if Josephus did consider Jesus to be the Christ or expected Messiah of the Jews, he must have been a believer in him, in which case he would not have despatched the miraculous history of the Saviour of the World in one short paragraph. When, however, the evidence on both sides is fairly weighed, we apprehend that it will be found to preponderate most decidedly in favour of the genuineness of this testimony of Josephus: for,

1. *It is found in all the copies* of Josephus's works, which are now extant, whether printed or manuscript; in a *Hebrew* translation preserved in the Vatican Library[1], and in an Arabic Version preserved by the Maronites of Mount Libanus.

2. It is cited by Eusebius, Jerome, Refinus the antagonist of Jerome, Isidore of Pelusium, Sozomen, Cassiodorus, Nicephorus, and by many other authors, Greeks, Syrians, and Egyptians, of the fourth and fifth centuries; all of whom had indisputably seen various manuscripts, and of considerable antiquity. How then can men, living eleven or twelve hundred years *after* these writers—and, who are so remote both from the sources consulted by them, as well as from the events related by them,—prove that all these ancient authors were utterly destitute of discernment and that all sagacity is exclusively reserved for our times?

3. Josephus not only mentions with respect John the Baptist,[2] but also James the first bishop of Jerusalem.—"*Ananus*" (he says) "*assembled the Jewish Sanhedrin, and brought before it* JAMES *the Brother of Jesus who is called Christ, with some others, whom he delivered over to be stoned as infractors of the law.*"[3] This passage, the authenticity of which has *never* been disputed or suspected, contains an evident reference to what had already been related concerning Christ; for why else should he describe James—a man of himself but little known—as the brother of Jesus, if he had made no mention of Jesus before?

4. It is highly improbable that Josephus, who had discussed with such minuteness the history of this period,—mentioned Judas of Gallilee, Theudas, and the other obscure pretenders to the character of the Messiah, as well as John the Baptist and James the brother of Christ,—should have preserved the profoundest silence concerning Christ, whose name was at that time so celebrated among the Jews, and also among the Romans, two of whose historians (Suetonius and Tacitus), have distinctly taken notice of him. But in all the writings of Josephus, not a hint occurs on the subject except the testimony in question.

5. It is morally impossible that this passage either was or could be forged by Eusebius who first cited it, or by any other earlier writer. Had such a forgery been attempted, it would unquestionably have been detected by some of the acute and inveterate enemies of Christianity; for both Josephus and his works were so well received among the Romans, that he was enrolled a citizen of Rome, and had a statue erected to his memory. His writings were also admitted into the Imperial Library: the Romans may further be considered as the guardians of the integrity of his text; and the Jews we may be assured, would use all diligence, to prevent any interpolation in favour of the Christian cause. Yet it *cannot* be discovered that any objection was ever made to this passage, by any of the opposers of the Christian faith in the early ages: their silence therefore concerning such a charge is a decisive proof that the passage is not a forgery. Indeed, the Christian cause is so far from needing any fraud to support it, that nothing could be more destructive to its interest, than a fraud so palpable and obtrusive.

To this strong chain of evidence for the genuineness of Josephus's testimony, various objections have been made, of which the following are the principal:—

OBJECTION.—1 *This passage was not cited by any early Christian before Eusebius, such as Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian or Origen; nor is it cited by Chrysostom or Photius, who lived after his time.*

ANSWER.—There is no strength in this negative argument against Eusebius, drawn from the silence of the ancient fathers. The fathers

[1] Barionius (Annales Ecclesiastici, ad annum 134,) relates, that the passage in this Hebrew Translation of Josephus was marked with an obelus, which could only have been done by a Jew.

[2] Ant. Jud. lib. 18. c. 5. § 2. [3] Ibid lib. 20. c. 8. (al.) 9. § 1.

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did not cite the testimony of Josephus, 1. either because they had no copies of his works; or, 2. because his testimony was foreign to the design which they had in writing; which was, to convince the Jews that Jesus was the Messiah, out of the Old Testament, and, consequently, they had no need of other evidence; or, 3. because, on account of this very testimony, the evidence of Josephus was disregarded by the Jews themselves.[1]

Objection. 2.—*The passage in question interrupts the order of the narration, and is unlike the style of Josephus.*

Answer.—It is introduced naturally in the course of the historian's narrative, the order of which it does *not* disturb. It is introduced under the article of Pilate, and connected with two circumstances, which occasioned disturbances; and was not the putting of Jesus to death, and the continuance of the apostles and disciples after him, declaring his resurrection, another very considerable circumstance, which created very great disturbances? And though Josephus does not say this in express terms, yet he intimates it, by connecting it with the two causes of commotion, by giving so honourable a testimony to Jesus, and telling us that he was crucified at the instigation of the chief persons of the Jewish nation. It would scarcely have been decent in him to have said more on this head. The following view of the connection of the passage now under consideration will confirm and illustrate the preceding remarks:—

In his Jewish Antiquities, (book xviii. c. i.) he ralates, in the first section, that Pilate introduced Cæsar's images into Jerusalem, and that, in consequence of this measure producing a tumult, he commanded them to be carried thence to Cæsarea. In the second section, he gives an account of Pilate's attempt to bring a current of water to Jerusalem, the expense of which he defrayed out of the sacred money: this also caused a tumult, in which a great number of Jews were slain. In the third section he relates that *about the same time* Pilate crucified Jesus, who was called Christ, a wise and holy man; and (§ 4.) *about the same time also*, he adds, another sad calamity put the Jews into disorder, which he promises to narrate after he had given an account of a most flagitious crime which was perpetrated at Rome in the temple of Isis: and, after detailing all its circumstances, he proceeds (§ 5.), agreeably to his promise, to describe the expulsion of the Jews from Rome, by the emperor Tiberius, in consequence of the villanous conduct of four of their countrymen. Such is the connection of the whole chapter; and when it is fairly considered, we may safely challenge any one to say, whether the passage under consideration interrupts the order of the narration: on the contrary, if it be taken out, that connection is irrecoverably broken. It is manifest, that Josephus relates events in the order in which they happened, and that they are connected together only by the time when they took place.

With regard to the objection that the passage in question is unlike the style of Josephus, it is sufficient to reply in the quaint but expressive language of Huet, that *one egg is not more like another, than is the style of this passage to the general style of his writings.* Objections from style are often fanciful; and Daubuz has proved, by actual collation, the perfect coincidence between its style and that of Josephus in other parts of his works.[2] This objection, therefore, falls to the ground.

Objection 3.—*The Testimony of Josephus concerning Jesus, could not possibly have been recorded by him; for he was not only a Jew, but also rigidly attached to the Jewish religion. The expressions are not those of a Jew, but of a Christian.*

Answer.—Josephus was not so addicted to his own religion, as to approve the conduct and opinion of the Jews concerning Christ and his doctrine. From the moderation which pervades his whole narrative of the Jewish war, it may justly be inferred, that the fanatic fury, which the chief men of his nation exercised against Christ could not but have been displeasing to him. He has rendered that attestation to the innocence, sanctity, and miracles of Christ, which the fidelity of history required: nor does it follow that he was necessitated to renounce on this account the religion of his fathers. Either the common prejudices of the Jews, that their Messiah would be a victorious and temporal sovereign, or the indifference so prevalent in many towards controverted questions, might have been sufficient to prevent him from renouncing the religion in which he had been educated, and embracing a new one, the profession of which was attended with danger: or else, he might think himself at liberty to be either a Jew or a Christian, as the same God was worshipped in both systems of religion. On either of these suppositions, Josephus might have written every thing which this testimony contains; as will be evident from the following critical examination of the passage.

The expression, "*if it be lawful to call him a man*," does not imply that Josephus believed Christ to be God, but only an extraordinary man, one whose wisdom and works had raised him above the common condition of humanity. He represents him as having "*performed many wonderful works.*" In this there is nothing singular, for the Jews themselves, his contemporaries, acknowledge that he wrought many mighty works. Compare Matt. xiii. 54. xiv. 2., &c. and the parallel passages in the other Gospels. Josephus further says, that "*he was a teacher of such men as gladly received the truth with pleasure,*"—both because the moral precepts of Christ were such as Josephus approved, and also because the disciples of Christ were influenced by no other motive than the desire of discerning it. "*He drew over to him many, both Jews and Gentiles.*" How true this was, at the time when Josephus wrote, it is unnecessary to show. The phrase, "*This was the Christ,*"—(ὁ Χριστος ουτος ἦν,) by no means intimates that Jesus was the Messiah, but only that he was the person called Christ *both* by the Christians and Romans; just as if we should say, "This was the same man as he named Christ." Jesus was a common name, and would not have sufficiently pointed out the person intended to the Greeks and Romans. The name by which he was known to them was *Chrestus* or *Christus*, as we read in Suetonius and Tacitus; and if (as there is every reason to believe) Tacitus had read Josephus, he most probably took this very name from the Jewish historian. With regard to the resurrection of Christ, and the prophecies referring to him, Josephus rather speaks the language used by the Christians than his own private opinion: or else he thought that Christ had appeared after his arrival, and that the prophets had foretold this event,—a point which, if admitted, and if he had been consistent, ought to have induced him to embrace Christianity. But it will readily be imagined, that there might be many circumstances to prevent his becoming a proselyte; nor is it either new or wonderful that men, especially in their religious concerns, should contradict themselves, and withstand the conviction of their own minds. It is certain that, in our own times, no one has spoken in higher terms concerning Christ than M. Rousseau; who, nevertheless, not only in his other *writings, but also* in the very work that contains the very eloquent *eulogium* alluded to, inveighs against Christianity with acrimony and rancour.[1]

The whole of the evidence concerning the much litigated passage of Josephus is now before the reader; who, on considering it in all its bearings, will doubtless agree with the writer of *these* pages, that it is genuine, and consequently affords a noble testimony to the credibility of the facts related in the New Testament.

[1] The above refuted objection is examined in detail by professor Vernet, in his traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne, tome ix. pp. 165—221.

[2] See Daubuz Pro Testimonio Josephi de Jesu Christo, contra Tan. Fabrum et alios (8vo. Lond. 1706,) pp. 128—205. The whole of this Dissertation is printed at the end of the second volume of Havercamp's edition of Josephus's works. Mr. Whiston has abridged the collation of Daubuz in Dissertation I. pp. v.—vii. prefixed to his translation of the Jewish historian, folio, London, 1737. Bosii Exercitatio Critica ad Flavii Josephi Periocham de Jesu Christo. annexed to Ottii Spicilegium ex Josepho Lug Bat. 1741. 8vo.

[1] Appendix to the Life of Dr. Lardner, Nos. IX. and X. 4to. vol. v. pp. xlv.—cxlviii. Works, 8vo. vol. i. pp. clv.—clxviii. Vernet, Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne, tome ix. pp. 1—236. Huet, Demonstr. Evang. vol. i. pp. 46—55. Œuvres de Nonotte, tom. vi. pp. 382—391. Colonia La Réligion Chrétienne Autorisée par des Auteurs Païens, (Paris, 1826, 2d edit.) pp. 360—379. In pp. 395—485. his editor, the Abbé Laboudérie, has reprinted David Martin's elaborate Dissertation sur le Témoignage rendu à Jesus Christ par Josèphe, dans les Antiquités Judaiques, liv. 18. chap. 4. Bretschneider's Capita Theologiæ Judæorum Dogmaticæ, e Flavii Josephi Scriptis collecta, (8vo. Lipsiæ, 1812,) pp. 59—64. See also *Fides divina Flaviana*, or a Vindication of the Testimony given by Josephus concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ. By Jacob Bryant, Esq. 8vo. London. 1780

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